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Being Palestinian: Shaping Palestinian Children's National Identity through Family Practices

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The Israeli occupation has shaped the lives of Palestinian families for generations. Under occupation, Palestinian children continue to craft identities connected to place, specifically in their relationship with Palestine as a nation-state. Drawing from a qualitative research project using the concept of place as a lens through which to view children's negotiations with their environments, this paper examines how Palestinian identity is related to marginalization and dislocation from place as a result of the ongoing Israeli occupation. Eighteen interviews were conducted with Palestinian children and their families living in the West Bank and East Jerusalem. The research used a place-based methodology including collaborative family interviews, mapmaking, and drawing. The data generally reinforced the view that a history of dislocation and marginalization from place and resulting from the longstanding occupation contribute to feelings of frustration. While participants were frustrated with the ongoing occupation, they also experienced a sense of hope for Palestine as a people and a nation. Reinforced through family practices, these oftentimes conflicting feelings ultimately shape Palestinian national identity, or "being Palestinian."

Imagining the Future in London and New York City: Quantum Personhood and Age Imaginaries in the Lives of High School Seniors

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In this paper I consider the emerging findings from a two-year comparative ethnography beginning in 2014, exploring the themes of imagined futures, aspiration and transitions into adulthood among school leavers in New York City and London. Building on my existing research into age and social identity, this research presents new theoretical perspectives on how the future is figured as part of the experience of schooling, in relation to other closely connected concepts including childhood, youth, age, social identity, and aspiration.

Here I use the novel, inter-connected concepts of 'age imaginaries' and 'quantum personhood' in order to get better purchase on what 'the future' means, both as a term of analysis and as impending reality to the students involved in the research. I argue that the notion of 'age imaginaries' is useful for describing how we make sense of ourselves and our relationships with others through imagined, and imaginatively constructed, ideas of age-related identity. Individuals must negotiate understandings of age as an aspect of identity in relation to their own lived experiences; but they must also do so in relation to an imagined set of broader social categories – of generation, of school year groups, of 'childhood', 'youth', 'adulthood', and so on – through which age-based notions of belonging and difference are nurtured, reinforced and

negotiated relationally. Notions of aspiration and futurity are a fundamental aspect of how age is imagined, and in order to provide a deeper understanding of how temporality is figured in relation to social identity I employ the concept of ‘quantum personhood’. By using imagery and metaphor derived from quantum physics, quantum personhood explores how the supposedly inchoate, isolate individual person can be conceived, electron-like, to co-exist in multiple places, across space and time, both in the past and present but also across diverse potential futures, in ways that while seemingly incongruent are in fact more often concurrent and even complimentary. This leads to an exploration of the ways in which quantum personhood is made sensible (and, often, in the process, invisible) to existing social and cultural taxonomies of the person, particularly in relation to the imaginings of age, individual purpose and aspiration. I argue that this leads to new ways of thinking about how we are socialised into futurity, and what impacts this may have on how we conceptualise and experience childhood, youth and adulthood.

The research provides a rich, comparative ethnographic portrayal of the everyday practices through which students on the cusp of entry into the ‘adult’ world make sense of their impending futures. In considering these issues, I identify emerging examples of student agency in achieving aspirations as well as barriers to these aspirations. I also interrogate the social, economic and political discourses that underpin the notions of aspiration (of futurity) that students are presented with in school. I am therefore interested in the conditions, both individual and social, that lead to choices about future trajectories. Finally, I explore examples of how to facilitate and foster agency at the institutional and discursive level in order to assist students in developing and fulfilling their aspirations.

Problematizing the Promotion of ‘Healthy Active Play’: Considering Children’s Perspectives in a Critical Examination of the Growing Public Health Discourse on Play

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A continued increase in obesity among children and youth globally is predicted based on fears around the transformation of children’s lives, their leisure activities and the overall reduction of what has been termed ‘active play’. While public health efforts aim to promote children’s physical health outcomes, what is problematic is that such efforts do not take into account children’s diverse perspectives and affective experiences of playing. Furthermore, promoting play primarily for *physical* health may have unintended consequences regarding the meanings that playing has for children. This paper will discuss the rise in public health programmes promoting ‘active play’ to children within the context of obesity prevention, specifically drawing on an example from Canada. The presentation will include a discussion of findings from a study examining children’s constructions of play through photography and interviews with 25 children aged 7 to 11 years living in Montréal, Canada. The children’s perspectives will also be placed in dialogue with the growing Canadian public health discourse on ‘active play’. The findings from this research suggest that for children: a) play is an emotionally salient end in itself; b) play involves, but is much more than ‘active play’; c) elements of risk are considered to be a pleasurable component of children’s play activities. This contrasts with the public health discourse on play, which instrumentalizes children’s playing as a means to promote a physical health end and which appears to enable some representations of play (i.e., active) while delegitimizing others (i.e., sedentary play) as risky and unhealthy. The findings from this study will be discussed drawing on the analytical concept of ‘biopedagogies’ and they will further be situated within the larger body of anthropological and sociological literature on childhood and children’s play. We argue that the notions of ‘active play’ and ‘healthy childhood’, upon which the public health campaigns are based, include problematic assumptions about the universality of the value attributed to physical health and assumptions

that active leisure is a critical contributor to what is called ‘optimal childhood development’. We further consider the possible unintended consequences of this public health discourse, particularly with regard to children's social and emotional well-being and highlight the need to further question its emergence within public health. This research emphasises children’s perspectives as an important form of knowledge to consider, particularly when addressing their social and leisure lives.

Moreno Como Yo: Racial Perceptions among Children in the Dominican Republic

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The Clark Doll Experiment was originally conducted in 1939 by two African-American psychologists named Dr. Kenneth and Mamie Clark. This experiment was designed to examine children's attitudes about race. African American children were asked to choose between a black doll and in response to a series of seven questions. This study sought to replicate the Clark Doll Experiment in the Dominican Republic in order to compare how race is perceived in children cross culturally. 17 participants were recruited through snowball sampling. Children were shown 6 dolls that ranged in skin color and hair texture and were asked 9 questions. Children were asked to point at a doll in response to each question. Responses were videotaped, later transcribed and coded for frequency. A translator was present for interviews conducted in Spanish. As this particular experiment was part of a larger examination of how race is experienced in the Dominican Republic, other research methods were utilized. Semi-structured informal interviews were conducted, field notes were taken and a racial identity survey was distributed to adult participants. The results of the original Clark and Clark Doll found that 59% of participants chose the White doll as the “nice” doll and 59% chose the Black doll as being the “bad” doll. This study similarly found that 41.18% chose the White doll as the “nice” doll and 70.59% chose the Black doll as the “bad” doll. This would suggest that racial preference is apparent early on which could influence adult racial preferences.

Memories of Tomorrow: On Children, Labor, and Postcolonial ‘Development’

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What happens at the threshold of transformation when lives lived within a particular trajectory of manual labor are offered release through formal schooling? Through a focus on the everyday experiences of a group of street children in Kolkata, India this paper contests the popular binary framing of child labor vs schooling, in which the latter has been constructed as the idealized form of emancipation from ‘manual work’. In this polarized view of the world, it is not surprising that children engaged in manual labor get viewed, often simultaneously, as terribly exploited as well as easily redeemable through formal schooling. Frequently, however, what is lost in translation and miscalculated within its assumed ease is the everyday density of children’s lives in ‘manual labor’. To attend to this density this paper suspends faith in schooling’s potential rearrangement of these children’s lives and focuses instead on their practices of dwelling. This dwelling is one in which the ordinary certainty of labor does not make these children immune to desiring, being challenged by and imagining lives within the normative horizons of schooling and yet they are unable to stick with schooling. This is often explained by these children’s lack of prior

and/or adequate immersion in a disciplinary apparatus and steps towards its more effective institutionalization dominate the terrain of educational reform.

In a stark departure from this prescriptive viewpoint, this paper dwells on these children's more intimate experiences with scavenging, literacy instruction and formal enrollment. It locates these within a longer history of a postcolonial mediation of 'development' and the role of children within this in order to more critically interrogate recent efforts by Indian state to recalibrate the lives of marginal children which includes guaranteeing all children the 'right to education'. This paper thereby attempts to open-up a reading of the stable ordinariness of manual labor in these children's lives as that which gets produced within the complex entanglement of postcolonial capitalism. As the paper discusses these children's extensive practices of dwelling, their modes of living labor have been generated by the exigencies of survival within postcolonial development with its thick trace producing their surprising engagement with schooling.

Can the Influence of Food Marketing on Childhood Obesity be Curtailed?

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Childhood obesity has continued to be an issue of major concern in different societies today. Research has shown that overweight and obese children are more likely to grow into overweight/obese adults if not properly managed. Predominantly, this is a consequence of adaptation to certain habits. These children find themselves becoming more conversant with particular lifestyles as they grow into adulthood – a major one being unhealthy eating.

Food marketing has become one of the greatest influencers of food cravings in children. Food marketers have understood the relationship between food consumptions and the need to excite these food cravings. Food marketing has been adopted as one of the effective ways to create demands on products and services, and children are usually the major targets.

Due to the steadily increasing rates of obese and overweight children, there is the need to develop a sustainable approach of managing this issue.

This review looks at different measures adopted by different countries to curtail food marketing and its effects. It starts off by analyzing how food marketing can influence excess food consumption and the unrealistic crave for unhealthy food options, and the effects these have on childhood obesity trends.

The review also examines the different strategies used to propagate food marketing by different groups and how these could be matched with counter actions to help promote healthy living amongst children.

Disoriented: Transnational Mexican Youth in the Aftermath of Deportation

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This paper focuses on the experiences of transnational Mexican youth in the aftermath of Deportation -- their own or that of a family member. The everyday lives of young people, regardless of

their U.S. immigration status, are deeply affected by deportation and return. In deportation's wake, young people find themselves out of place, dislocated from familiar settings and disoriented by the chaos of removal. Following several young people as they "return" to Mexico, I show how the experiences of undocumented migrant youth who are de facto U.S. citizens and U.S. citizen children who have been de facto deported converge. When U.S. citizen children and youth go to Mexico with deported loved ones, they embody a compromised form of citizenship, as they leave the United States and become undocumented migrants in their parents' nation of origin. Similarly, despite their indisputable place in the nation, undocumented migrant youth can become "alien" when they return or are returned to Mexico; their welcome to unknown or previous communities can be chilly as they again face inhospitality that is extended to newcomers. In both the United States and Mexico, transnational young people with diverse immigration statuses are likely to be positioned outside the nation. Inflexibility and exclusion best describe the placements—as location and position—of young migrants affected by deportation. The experiences of migrant youth reveal the instability of the ostensibly fixed category of legal citizenship and underscore the disorienting effects of cross-border movement in an age of deportation.

Educational Models in Scandinavia and the United States: A Cross-Cultural Perspective on the Developmental Pressures of Schooling

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In the three Scandinavian countries (Norway, Denmark and Sweden), the value of *omsorg* (care, nurturance, support) has had a profound influence on educational goals, methods and practices, particularly in the years after 1960). If we include Finland, some of the features of what could be called "the Nordic model of education" include the following: 1) the focus on a child-centered education, with the child's autonomy and personal development being viewed as being at the center; 2) the attempt to provide a home-like, warm and personal environment in the school and the classroom; 3) the emphasis on student democracy; and 4) the conscious use of the school as an instrument for achieving social justice, including the areas of social and gender equality. Drawing on extensive fieldwork in Scandinavia and in East Bay Public schools, this paper will compare and contrast the developmental pressures on children, teachers and parents from a cultural and lifespan perspective.

Cultural Transmission through Everyday Caretaking in Sri Lanka and the U.S.

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In this paper, I describe how I came to think about culture and its transmission through my research with children in Sri Lanka and the questions that project left me with, questions I am beginning to pursue in my new work with families in the U.S. I start with an example of my observations of interactions between children and their family members in a Sri Lankan village, along with what older people said about these interactions and the context in which they occurred. I use the example to illustrate why it is necessary to use both a cognitive models approach to culture and a more psychodynamic approach – and to consider both as they unfold over a life course and in interaction with others. This conceptualization of culture that I argue for explains how central cultural models in Sri Lanka involving hierarchy and personhood are transmitted from one generation to the next, why people care about them, and how they emerge, shift, and may be reinforced in different domains of life. This provides a model for thinking

about how cultural reproduction happens more generally. However, up until now, my research with children has primarily focused on long-standing practices and robust cultural models. The new project I have begun in the U.S. tackles these questions about how culture is transmitted in messier circumstances, exploring how this works when cultural messages are more disparate, changing, contradictory, and open to individual interpretation. How is it that caretakers select, prioritize, and make sense of contradictory cultural resources as they respond to the shifting demands of everyday life and the needs of their particular children? How do these choices made on the fly create the context in which children develop and acquire their own cultural outlooks? And how can this seemingly ad hoc, widely variable process engaged in by individual parents, children, and others in a community produce the kind of cultural patterning that may be observed? I present preliminary results from my new research with families in the U.S. to suggest how we might build richer understandings of culture.

Sensoria in U.S. Patriotic Holidays: Culture as Fundamentally Embodied

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The contention that children learn through sensorimotor interplay has been a somewhat neglected theme in child anthropology, no doubt partly because it was associated with Jean Piaget's cognitive-developmental stage theories rather than with sociocultural research. Yet the social participation of all age groups is sensorial and embodied, from birth throughout the life cycle. Recently, anthropologists such as Kathryn Geurts have argued that humans are ushered into cultural life through the sensoria of social life, a view in line with Victor Turner's contention that cultural symbols have meaning based in the senses as well as in abstract or verbalized values.

This paper employs a case study -- an eight year, multi-method, child-centered ethnography of American patriotic holidays -- to illustrate the importance of sensorial cultural symbols to the appropriation of cultural meaning. Children's experiences at July 4th and Memorial Day serves to underscore the fundamental embodiment of culture among children and adults alike.

Racial Tension and Student Resistance in a Faith-based Afterschool Program

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This paper examines how race intersects with gender and age to affect service provision and reception in a faith-based afterschool program located in the U.S. South. Using "at risk" discourses, staff members portrayed low-income children of color as at risk for ambiguous educational and socioeconomic failures and that simply being urban, black, and young was a cause for intervention. Yet, participating children spoke differently about their lives and understood their participation in the afterschool program according to their own educational and religious goals. This paper explores the racial tensions that arose between white staff members and African American children due to such incongruities and pays close attention to the overt and subtle resistance strategies children used to undermine staff while continuing to reach their goals. Such techniques worked to disrupt program activities, promote solidarity among students, and reveal social and racial differences between white employees and volunteers, and the African American children involved in the afterschool program.

Children of Mexican Migrant Farmworkers in Oregon: Experiences of Belonging

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This paper explores the experiences and negotiations of belonging for children of Mexican migrant farmworkers in Oregon. Ethnographic data was collected over the course of several months with Mexican migrant farmworkers and their children in Oregon agricultural fields. The children in this project continually cross different moral and social boundaries in order to negotiate belonging. These children have found unique ways to redefine notions of belonging while resisting placement into migrant generational divides and notions of assimilation utilized by the state.

Leaning Away? Social Contradiction and the Gendered Politics of Aspiration in the Contemporary United States

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This paper examines a contested gendered politics of aspiration in the contemporary United States. While I invoke in my discussion ethnographic research concerning the gendered burdens that shaped adolescent girls' aspirations in the Silicon Valley of the early 2000s, my primary focus here is on emergent cracks in a postfeminist ideology that, in the early 2000s as now, has encouraged girls and young women to view their presents and aspirational futures as matters of personal choice and adept management, thereby obscuring intersecting processes of social stratification (Gender, sexuality, race, class) that shape the life experiences and trajectories of young women. In particular, I explore Silicon Valley's role in the production of a contemporary corporate feminism aimed at young women, and the ways in which both young women's lived experiences across lines of race and class, as well as shifting public discourse about gender stratification and violence in the contemporary United States, are reworking young women's aspirational context as well as the ways in which young women negotiate gendered aspirational ideals.

Girls on the Go: Traveling Homeless Young Women Navigate Environmental Hazards, Economic Challenges, and Gendered Expectations

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This paper explores the stories of the original four research collaborators in the Youth Trek Project, young women between the ages of 17 and 19. They were homeless traveling girls, sometimes camping, sometimes squatting. By law, un-emancipated minors cannot legally determine where their bodies are in space. For these self-possessed young women, whose physical health is disproportionately at risk, bodily self-determination is critical. This is apparent not only in their travel ambitions and transcontinental travel but also in their responses to sexual assault, in their efforts to access reproductive healthcare, their refusal of labor exploitation and sexual harassment, and in the ways they cultivate their look and present themselves in everyday life. They are coming of age as homeless traveling women and they are besieged by laws that criminalize poverty and penalize them personally. As they travel in dyads and groups they

explore new places and meet new people, but they also face challenges to their expertise and authority, and in their ability to do decision making in group settings. Their testimony about traveling alone highlights how traveling as a homeless female is a brave act, defying social attitudes that poor and homeless people should not travel; and challenging historic ideas that women are to be sheltered and contained, inhabiting the private domain

Diagnostic Dilemmas: How American Clinicians Make Sense of Young Children's Aggressive Behavior

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Aggressive behavior is one of the central symptoms involved in a wide-range of childhood psychopathology and the number one reason young children are referred to mental health clinics in the United States. At the same time, most people consider the display of aggressive behavior to be a very normal part of a young child's development, particularly between the ages of two and five. Differentiating between normative and non-normative aggressive behavior during these years, then, becomes quite difficult, especially as children are rapidly developing and moving in and out of periods of more or less aggression. In this paper, I will unpack some of these tensions associated with treating young children's aggressive behavior as a form of diagnosable psychopathology, by drawing on nine months of ethnographic data I collected in a child mental health clinic focused on treating child behavioral disorders. In particular, I argue that different American cultural models of children—as on the one hand innocent and vulnerable, and on the other, intentional and manipulative—are used in the diagnostic and treatment practices of the clinic to navigate the often ambiguous criteria used to identify the Disruptive Behavior Disorders (DBDs), specifically Oppositional Defiant Disorder (ODD) and Conduct Disorder (CD). The quality of intentionality is central to the diagnosis of the DBDs, but very difficult to determine in young children. I argue that in employing a “biopsychosocial” model to explain the etiology of their young patients' symptoms, clinicians are able to gloss over the much larger issue of whether young children are able to act “with intention” and use biomedical reasoning to attempt to treat problems that were often clearly rooted in social disruption. In avoiding etiological formulations, clinicians obscure the much larger social contexts that affect their largely poor, African-American patient population.

Navigating the Cultural Space(s) of Children's Bodies at Play: Power, Discourse, and Parents' Nostalgic Reflections

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We all play. But what happens if play is no longer defined as such, but rather, viewed as goal-oriented only, a means to a specific end, or necessary to make us active and healthy or high performance athletes? Or, what if play was viewed as risky, irresponsible, frivolous or even dangerous? These ideas about play seem to be embedding themselves in social and institutional discourses in North America. There is also a great fear that

play is extinct, that children do not play anymore in Canada, that we are suffering from what *The Guardian* writer Libby Brooks calls “alleged ludic illiteracy”, and that this has repercussions for Canadian citizenship, nationhood, and Canadian life. Consequently, play discourses appear to be infused with prescriptions for “how to be healthy”, “how to get ahead in schooling” and “how to be a future Canadian athlete”, which align nicely with the political rationalities of late modernity, competitiveness and the “capitalization of life” (Gordon, 1991, p. 44). By advancing “play” as a utilitarian and productive method for a desired citizenry, social institutions may be complicit in bio-political agendas that unwittingly strip play of precisely those elements- pleasure, freedom, spontaneity- which have been viewed as critical for children’s well-being. It is within these contexts, that parents are facilitating their children’s play. Drawing from qualitative interviews with N=19 diversely-positioned parents in Toronto, Canada about their children’s play, we examine how parents construct and negotiate their children’s play practices within dominant discourses of health, excellence and performance. Drawing on concepts such as Probyn’s (1996) notion of nostalgia as a “phantasmatic feature of childhood” and Butler’s (1997) re-reading of Freud’s theory of melancholia, we discuss parents’ preoccupations about play, how their sense of themselves as good parents is (re)produced through their children’s play, and how they (re)construct their own play childhoods living through the spaces of their children’s play.

Eating for Empire: U.S. Childhood Obesity as a National Security Threat

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This paper examines the way in which the notion of childhood as an actionable site for shaping a more perfect future is revealed through political-advocacy efforts that focus on child health and development, interrogating the long-standing historical relationship between childhood and political nationalisms against the contemporary American concern over childhood obesity. Fears of a “childhood obesity epidemic” emerged in the context of internal contests over government-run healthcare and international conflicts over the future of American identity and security. We are told repeatedly: “Our children are the first generation of Americans expected to live shorter lives than their parents.” Designed to motivate public concern, there lies an ambiguity at the heart of the premise: who is really at risk, the children or the American promise?

Michelle Obama chose to make childhood obesity one of her two signature issues as First Lady of the United States (the other is military families), launching her *Let's Move!* campaign in 2010, while I was an intern in the East Wing. This case study examines how national security emerged as a minor motivation in the campaign, when the Department of Defense issued a report, “Too Fat to Fight” (2010), finding that obesity was the primary medical reason for military disqualification in the U.S.

I will explore literatures from anthropology and postcolonial studies showing how the safety and security of children has long been a guiding trope for internationalism, following Anne Stoler’s arguments that the “intimate domain” of child rearing “figure[s] in the making of racial categories and in the management of imperial rule.” Whereas the architecture of colonialism focused on civilizing or educating the infantile, irrational colonial subject (Nandy 1997), the biopolitics of American empire makes demands on the physical growth of the rational child with an eye to the future viability of its own body politic.

Glocal Visions: Future Perspectives of Young Faroe Islanders

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This paper focuses on the youth of a remote North Atlantic island community struggling against persistent emigration of young resourceful persons to Europe with the following question as framework: What are young people's expectations and aspirations for the future? Where do they see their 'home'? In late modern society with unpredictable social and cultural changes, the relation between local and the global identities and values has become complex and multifaceted. The 'glocalization' of society demonstrates how any local strategy has a non-local dimension today.

Even if young people cannot predict the future, each and one of them is a source to ideas that differ from the typical forecast voiced by adult 'experts'. Young people have kaleidoscopic views of the future and individual strategies to realize personal life projects. Using work by among others Ulrich Beck and Zygmunt Bauman on identity and values in late modern society, the paper aims to shed light on young people's priorities and choices: What do they wish and what do they expect? This issues will also be discussed from a gender perspective.

The paper is based on data collected in two locations in the Faroe Islands in May 2014. The participants were from two eighth grade classes; one from the capital Torshavn and one from Runavík. The pupils were interviewed and wrote essays about how they imagine the Faroe Islands to look in the year 2045.

The paper contributes to the knowledge on the lives and futures of young people affected by socio-economic and cultural shift and uncertainty in a European periphery.

Simon Nicholson Redux: The New Playground of Loose Parts

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Simon Nicholson, the accomplished artist and faculty member of The Open University, has recently been rediscovered in the world of American play space design, especially his Theory of Loose Parts, a belief about the necessity of randomness and choice in elements that encourage creativity in play. The connections of the work of Colin Ward to that of Nicholson are clear, with Ward serving as a program consultant for courses Nicholson and his team developed for the OU, and Nicholson citing Ward in his work. They held a common belief that a child's autonomy in the built and natural environments provided important opportunities for development. Although "play" has always been seen as critical in the development of the young child, the definition has not always been in sync with the beliefs of Ward and Nicholson. Over time, American playground designs have become devoid of opportunity for discovery and invention, and even celebrated collaborations between neighborhood groups and designers have resulted in prescriptive environments with little to no opportunity for creative play.

Recently, after over forty years, the theories of Simon Nicholson and Colin Ward appear to be finding new platforms and advocates in America; contemporary early childhood education has been rediscovering the power of autonomous play, discovery, and invention. The work of Stuart Brown, MD, and Kenneth Ginsberg, MD illustrates the dangers prescriptive play has on a child's development; Elizabeth Goodenough's project *Where Do the Children Play?* demonstrates the surprisingly positive potential of urban settings in contrast to the weaknesses of suburbia as places for play; and Richard Louv's *Last Child in the Woods* advocates autonomous outdoor play for children, which is predicated on the natural world,

the ultimate kit of “loose parts”, as the setting in which a child can explore and discover. David Rockwell’s Imagination Playground at Burling Slip in Manhattan, New York, opened in the summer of 2010 and has been touted as a revolutionary approach to playground design but the referential terminology is clearly drawn from Nicholson. Rockwell’s 7.5 million dollar, “child-centric playground” is being praised in the press for its kit of parts approach to play, the foundation of Nicholson’s creativity theory. But is it truly an environment predicated on randomness, possibilities, discovery, and invention or is it a predictable, prescriptive environment with limited possibilities for real autonomous play?

This paper will discuss Rockwell’s Imagination Playground, the film *Where do the Children Play?*, and Louv’s “Leave No Child Indoors” movement, as *Play* viewed through the lens of the work of Colin Ward and Simon Nicholson.

Understanding Community through Play: Incidental Learning in a Peruvian Agricultural Community

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In an agricultural community of highland Peru, children’s most frequent activity during communal events is play with peers. Children shift their frames of reference from family or school to play when adults leave them to their own devices or indicate that they should stay out of the way. In the process of staying out of the way, children turn to play with siblings, cousins, and other young relatives or classmates, creating their own forms of peripheral participation without directives from adults. In the play frame, children have a great deal of autonomy in organizing their own activities, which makes this a rich arena for examining how children appropriate the forms of behavior and organization that go on around them while they play, and those that they learned through family and school activities.

When children participate peripherally in communal activities through play, they learn about communal practice incidentally, through goals of successful play. I build on Strauss’s (1984) model of intentional versus incidental learning by theorizing strategies of instruction and acquisition on the incidental side of the spectrum, which Strauss left undeveloped. I define intentional learning as situations in which a learner and teacher both focus their attention toward the same learning goals, in contrast to incidental learning, which may involve focal attention on the part of a learner and/or a teacher who have different goals. In the case of children’s play, when adults correct children for being disruptive, the adults have the instructional goal of teaching children to stay out of the way. Children, in contrast, respond to these corrections with the goal of figuring out the best strategies for playing without adult interruption. In other words, adults focus on the goals of communal activities while children focus on the goals of peer play. This differs from children’s family-framed participation in communal activities, where children are focused on assisting their parents in accomplishing common goals. It also differs from school-framed participation, where students and teachers alike are focused on ensuring collective compliance with school rules. In both the family and school frames, children learn intentionally about communal norms through adult guidance and learner acquisition strategies. In the play frame, however, children learn communal norms incidentally by ordering their play in ways least likely to be interrupted by adult reprimands. They learn, for example, which spaces they can play in, how loud they can talk, which adults they can bother, and what kinds of questions they can ask to whom.

I draw on Vygotsky’s (1978) *zone of proximal development* to suggest that children in early schooling are only able to conceptualize belonging to relatively abstract social groups such as an agricultural community when they approach these through more immediately relevant and concrete social frames. By

experiencing community through the primary socialization of family, secondary socialization of schooling, and peer group socialization of play, children develop cognitive frameworks with which they can eventually come to understand the complex interfamilial and political dynamics that position them as belonging to an agricultural community.

Child Protection or Gift, Interrupted?: Competing Discourses Following Russia's U.S. Adoption Moratorium

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This research explores the liminality both of Russian institutionalized children and of the Americans poised to become adoptive parents before Russia's 2012 ban on U.S. citizen adoptions of Russian children. I draw on sources in both the Russian and American mainstream media to interrogate the discourses of these potential child-parent pairs as either innocent/loving or deviant/disqualified, depending on the aims of the source. I find that coverage of the adoption moratorium in both countries creates a space for criticizing the Russian state's decision. Yet I argue that such criticism, because it is based on children "frozen in time" by the ban (Cook 2002), forecloses a more nuanced discussion of how the privilege of prospective parents, rather than or in addition to American society being more inclusive, is a key component in the advantage these children might have enjoyed had their adoptions been allowed.

Modernization and Unintended Cultural Consequences in a Chinese Orphanage

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In this paper I will examine modernization and unintended cultural consequences in a Chinese orphanage, which I will refer to as "*Zujing*" [a pseudonym]. *Zujing* started as a two-room facility in 1998; by early 2000, with the help of one international agency, it was a well-established orphanage. After 2002, other international organizations (NGOs) quickly became involved, providing funding for the orphanage, specifically to support older children and the medical clinic.

During a return trip to *Zujing* with my daughter in 2009, I learned that a major international fundraising campaign was underway with the goal to modernize the orphanage. The "Original Orphanage," as it became known as by hundreds of adopting parents, would witness in its short existence rapid growth but more importantly, a location change. In 2011, we returned to *Zujing*, and visited the orphanage. The modernization effort involved moving the "Original Orphanage" from its location in the heart of a growing city to a new facility on a mountain top, "where the air is clean and the buildings are modern and welcoming."

This paper examines *Zujing*, a Chinese orphanage at the intersection of global and local geographies and cultures. I look at how modernization efforts resulted in unintended cultural consequences for the workers, children, and elderly who lived in it. With the best of intentions, NGOs and Chinese leaders planned and built a state of the art facility incorporating regular visits from international health and medical teams. Yet, assumptions of western NGOs and Chinese leaders about modernity, geography and

space, did not anticipate the unintended cultural consequences, including longer commute for workers resulting in a loss of some of the “original workers” and isolation from the bustling city center and larger community.

Opting out of School, Together: Parents’ Choices and Children’s Education

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Today many families in the United States are opting out of mainstream public and private school systems. While most literature focuses on the reasons for homeschooling or unschooling, which are many and varied, very little research focuses on the ways that these families come together in social support networks to negotiate the joys and challenges of unschooling.

With the understanding that social capital increases when people- and families- join and participate in social support networks, I have explored one such unschooling group in Southern California. Through ethnographic study I shifted the focus from reasons why these families opt out of mainstream education, and instead examined how and why they join together at their weekly “park day”.

The Currency of Care: Migration, Remittances, and Debt among Transnational Maya Youth

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Since 2011, political and social anxieties have escalated around an increase of children migrating unaccompanied to the U.S., with 2014 estimates nearing 75,000 detained children. Largely attributed to gang violence, child abuse and deepening poverty in Central America, the “surge” of migrant children has generated an expansive network of institutions and organizations designed to “care for” children in immigration detention while simultaneously attempting to remove them from the state via deportation. From fieldwork in U.S. federal facilities for children and with young migrants and their families in the highlands of Guatemala, this paper explores alternative explanations for the perceived increase, most significantly that youth are *agents* in a global chain of care, individuals who themselves manage and employ transnational migration as a collective and historically-rooted survival strategy. While the literature of the global chain of care depicts children as either left behind in the global south or as privileged beneficiaries of caregiving in the global north (Parrenas 2001, 2005; Hochschild 2000, Yeates 2005), this paper extends the analyses of geography and gender to include dimensions of age in the examination of global care chains. Through an analysis of conflicting meanings assigned to remittances—ranging from a perversion of the parent-child relationship or a corruption of a romanticized childhood to intimate expressions of care or obligations that bind a child to larger kinship and communal networks—I argue that children are not only recipients of the moral economies of care but also critical agents of transnational caregiving.

Troubling the Libidinal Economies of play: Children's Ruptures and Rhizomatic Becomings in the Spaces of Play

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While children do, at times, take up the biopedagogical discourses about health and the body, simultaneously they appear to recognize the notion of pleasure and fun in play. As Zaffira (child participant) explains, "Play is exercise, happiness and having fun". This notion of pleasure and fun in play is one echoed by almost all our young participants. According to Deleuze and Guattari (1987) pleasure can be understood as a flow of energy, a puissance that drives being, becoming, potentialities and while desire and puissance are inherently productive they become mapped by libidinal economies such as governance and control of the production of desire. Policy makers homogenize and stratifying play's dimensions, often overlooking the experiences of children and what specifically engages and sustains their participation in play and how they derive meaning from their experiences. Drawing from qualitative interviews with N=29 diversely-positioned children (aged 6-18 years old) in Toronto, Canada our findings show that children's play is a multi-dimensional reality where they freely create and get in and out of different layers of meaning-making (Yeu, 2011), creating hidden possibilities of understanding the world beyond play (and adult) regulations. Deleuze's (1987) concept of the rhizome as an alternative to logic and linearity will be used as an analytical concept to explore how children (re)create difference, rupture, multiplicity and connection through play. We conclude by suggesting that as active agents in disrupting notions of (parental) regulation and risk concerns, children are able to make play routines heterogeneous and creative, transgressing stratification of bio-management and surveillance (Yeu, 2011).

"There's No Place Like Home": Oaxacan Student Migrants' Perceptions of the Pros and Cons of their Living Arrangements

Jayne Howell (CSU Long Beach) [jayne.howell@csulb.edu]

The United Nations Millennium Development Goals prioritized universal schooling by 2015 as an essential key to curbing poverty, improving health, and increasing gender equality. The Mexican government touts the successes of neoliberal policies resulting in dramatic increases in schooling access and attendance in recent decades: Whereas in 1990 fewer than 60 percent of Mexican students completed the then mandatory Grade 6 level, today over 90 percent of children complete primary school. Moreover, schooling levels are on the rise at the compulsory middle school level, and in December 2014 the senate ratified legislation to make upper secondary schooling mandatory. Schooling advances have been facilitated by the Mexican government's concerted efforts to provide scholarships including cash transfer programs such as Oportunidades (formerly PROGRESA) that provide progressive stipends to needy households that comply with nutrition, health and school attendance guidelines.

Perceptions that schooling is essential for the economic stability that comes with skilled employment are well documented for rural Mexico (Knight 1994; Lewis 1960; Friedlander 1975 among others). Scholars argue that schooling allowed poorer Oaxacans to "[rise] from the ranks" during the social and economic "whirlwind" that followed the Mexican Revolution (1910-1917) (Hayner 1948:38). However, the government reports an only 1.6 percent likelihood that a poor rural student will attend university (relative to 1 in 4 students in economically stable

urban households). The insufficient number of rural schools has resulted in thousands of rural Oaxacan children and youth children relocating to urban areas to *salir adelante* (get ahead) despite these odds. Even as expansion of the schooling system into rural areas since the 1980s has enabled more children to remain living at home through at least age 12 (the ideal age for completing primary school), it is not uncommon for children to relocate at if not before the onset of puberty in order to further their studies. Age, resources and social networks are factors that determine the living arrangements students rely on when studying outside their natal communities.

This discussion incorporates ethnographic data collected through participation observation and interviews with rural-born adult Oaxaqueños who first left their villages to study between the ages of 8 and 14. It presents individuals' accounts of their experiences while living in the four most common arrangements made by student migrants, namely: (1) living with relatives (typically aunts, uncles and godparents); (2) staying in a *casa hogar* (communal residence); (3) residing in an *internado* (state-sponsored school with a dormitory); and (4) working as a domestic servant in exchange for room and board in the employers' home. Analysis focuses on factors that led making arrangements, the benefits that students and parents identified, and the concerns expressed about the emotional, social and at times physical costs associated with each. Concluding comments focus on efforts made by NGOs and the government to provide safe and economical housing options for students.

Brazil is Not Yours: Complaints as Indicators of Social Oppression and Expressions of Discontent in Brazilian Youth

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Through an ethnographic study of Brazilian high school students from Curitiba, Parana, I show that students have strong opinions and bold perspectives regarding prominent issues such as crime, corruption, and education, and they express such perspectives through the mode of complaining. Data collected through semi-structured interviews, participant observation, and focus groups show that complaints serve social bonding purposes and also provide voice and agency to an "undermined" or even "marginalized" group. The perspectives embedded in these complaints present new insights and even challenges to normative adult thought regarding the nature and solution to the issues of crime, corruption, and education. Insights from these perspectives can be used for policy adjustment and implementation, and further attention and encouragement should be given to spaces of complaint.

Constructing Success

Porfirio Loeza (CSU Sacramento) [loeza@csus.edu]

My contribution to the panel relates to the applied understanding of the complexity of class culture and behaviors that lead to the construction of what is considered successful and what is less successful. There are classroom practices that promote a sense of who is successful and critically influence the students' development of a positive self-image. These practices may not always be teacher initiated, yet they have the same net consequence of heightening those students that are considered successful and trouncing those considered less deserving. Apart from this, these questions are grounded in my belief that children do indeed bring a complex multiplicity of strengths into the classroom. All too often these strengths are ignored or minimized in part due to our failure at understanding the nature of classroom events and how

these connect to school-related success. By acknowledging these strengths, the constructed perception of success can be realized by a greater number of students.

Love That Binds: Gendered Expectations for Romance and Motherhood in Inner City Naples (Italy) and their implications for Socioeconomic Vulnerability

Heather Loyd (Kansas State U) [loydheather@gmail.com]

This paper examines the role that cultural orientations to romantic love and motherhood plays in the reproduction of class structures in inner city Naples, Italy. The paper reveals 1) how gendered orientations to romantic love and mothering in inner city Naples supports an alternative economy for young girls, offering gains in social status to those involved in romance and those who become mothers, and 2) the resulting economic constraints that teenage mothering places on low SES families in inner city Naples, as the family network is often activated to support the new baby. The Neapolitan neighborhood in which these girls live, the Quartieri Spagnoli, has high rates of official unemployment (up to 50%), chronic school absenteeism and dropout (up to 50%), teenage pregnancy (40-50%), and is under the strong influence of the organized crime system, the Camorra. While we know that teen pregnancies are positively correlated with adverse socioeconomic conditions (e.g. Kiernan et al 1998; Kiernan and Mensah 2010; Stevens 2002), we still know little about the cultural puzzle pieces contributing to teenage mothering - the day-to-day practices that a girl participates in from a young age that has implications for teen pregnancy, the cultural frameworks within which these practices are embedded, and the long term socioeconomic effects of those cultural orientations. The study reveals the role of the everyday practices that foster what I call a gendered 'conservative project,' in which young girls, through interactions with older females and peers, are socialized into cross-generational gendered ways of thinking, acting and feeling, which often bind them to romantic relationships as teens that can lead to teen mothering, school dropout, and in the long run, limited access to the labor market and socioeconomic vulnerability. Quartieri Spagnoli girls who are already marginalized from mainstream Italian society must participate in their local moral economy by orienting to romance, beauty, and femininity. As Bettie (2003) notes, girls who do not meet mainstream norms operate in an alternative symbolic economy in which they earn different badges of dignity that symbolically heal class injuries – in the Quartieri Spagnoli, becoming a mother is one of these badges of dignity. Once a young girl gets pregnant, it often makes her entire family more vulnerable; Extra mouths to feed compounded by factors such as a scarcity of social services and low employment opportunities in Naples make it difficult for families to generate enough income to escape a “zone of precariousness” (Morlicchio 2005). This paper offers a more complete understanding of the conditions that produce and sustain poverty, including examining holistically the intersections of gender, class, and cultural frameworks in an inner city community. Findings offer insight into issues affecting young mothers and their children's health, and can help direct policy to meet the needs of inner city youth. This paper is based on sixteen months of participant observation, linguistic analysis of video-recordings in Neapolitan homes and streets, and in-depth interviews conducted between 2008-2010, as well as three months of video and interview data collected between 2012-2015.

Stamped: Space and the Embodiment of Violence on Young Racialized Bodies

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From Trayvon Martin to Jordan Manners, the trend in popular media to characterize young racialized bodies as violent and the spaces they occupy as dangerous has created a feedback loop between systemic oppression and racism and how young colored bodies are depicted in the news. In this paper I want to explore the ways in which racialized youth participate in the transformation of public spaces to unauthorized spaces. I will explore the ways in which racialized youth embody space that is considered deviant or unsafe, and how mainstream media positions these unsafe spaces as fixed to these bodies. The relationship between youth and space is significant then, specifically when we talk about the ways that youth are relegated to, but also choose to be in 'outside' and peripheral spaces. The paper's focus will be on the Jane and Finch area in Toronto's North York region, characterized as both dangerous and deviant by media and official sources alike. In examining this neighborhood, and the language used by media to describe it, we will begin to see how social and physical spaces are considered 'dangerous' and 'deviant', and finally how spatial constitution of deviance is embodied in racialized youth. The production of 'deviant' youth space is used in specific ways by the media to evoke distinct cultural and spatial imagery in the public imagination. This creates a culture of fear that surrounds racialized and immigrant areas and racialized bodies, allowing for institutionalized but also public violence to be enacted on those bodies.

Discovering the Kid Researcher

Cynthia Maurer (Rutgers U Camden) [cmaurer@camden.rutgers.edu]

This paper examines how established relationships with children can foster and shape research in unexpected ways, underlying the importance of including children in research to understand their cultural practices. Ashley, a then eight-year-old girl who was my babysitting charge, helped guide my dissertation's qualitative approach to be more reflective of tween television culture. She provided me access to a friendship group interested in television and supplied me with the status that I was trustworthy "other". This paper also explores the benefits and tensions that arise from established relationships between child participant and adult researcher, boundaries that were regularly tested.

As a participant who was extremely aware of the project goals, Ashley contributed thoughtful questions and suggestions about activities, shows, and discussions of television, eventually viewing herself as a kid researcher. As a kid researcher, Ashley was able to point out flaws in thought processes about tween television and emphasize the most important aspects of television for tweens. These casual conversations produced new themes and questions for the project by refining the focus on what was important to her and her friends.

Maintaining several roles occasionally proved problematic for Ashley, highlighting tensions that can occur with the inclusion of children in the process of developing research design. Ashley would use her relationship with me to try to improve her station in the social hierarchy amongst her friends during research sessions. The power struggles that sometimes ensued strained the social dynamics, which reflected the girls' desire for social order. These tensions and struggles resulted in a better understanding of the social negotiations children participate in while watching television and hanging out.

In understanding and interpreting children's cultural practices, particularly those surrounding television, it is vital to include children in the process. Not only does it take into consideration their own agency, it gives adults an opportunity to consider how they create their own culture.

Understanding Children and Indigenous Culture through Spirituality and Reincarnation

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The NFB film *Totem: Return and Renewal* begins with the story of a Haisla Chief in BC Canada returning in the 19th century to the place where all his children died from smallpox and meeting his children's spirits. Then a spirit being appeared to him and told him to erect a totem pole for their benefit there. They came down from their tree burial spots to their Dad. He made the pole, which was taken away to Sweden without his or anyone's consent. Who would have believed this Chief's experience and its poignancy? To this day the Indigenous peoples of northern BC have intense experiences of children who remember their previous lives, a topic I have been documenting for 21 years. The poignancy of what children experience and say and communicate from the time they are babes is listened to in these cultures. Isn't it time we learned to listen to their wisdom too? Accounts of such experience and my experience with these people over the past two decades describe why I think this is essential.

The Work of Play: Child Psychotherapy in Contemporary Korea

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In the last few decades, mental health has become a growing public concern for both adults and children in Korea. In 1979, the U.N. announced the "Year of the Child" and shortly thereafter, medical hospitals in Korea began to develop separate pediatric programs. Prior to that, children who had psychiatric problems were treated the same as adults, without much attention to differences in the phases of cognitive and socio-emotional development across the human life span. When specific pediatric programs were developed, much of the focus was on inpatient services for children with disabilities rather than a broader frame for understanding disorders and atypical development. Since then, outpatient programs have multiplied in both number and diversified in the types of treatments offered. Play therapy as a type of psychotherapy for children continued to grow in popularity in Korea throughout the time of fieldwork (2005-2008). It emerged at the periphery of psychological and medical expertise. Along with other therapies such as art or music therapy, play therapy programs were often described to me as more popular among mothers and children precisely because they were playful and seemed less clinical. By being perceived as less clinical, these playful alternatives were less likely to be associated with stigma surrounding diagnosis and treatment for any mental health issues. However, this reduction of stigma through highlighting the playfulness of this therapy also made it difficult for practitioners to communicate the work they did and the work the children were doing by coming to therapy. This paper is based on the results of preliminary fieldwork from 2005-2007 and intensive fieldwork from 2007-2008 in Seoul, South Korea. I argue that the work of play was produced by child psychotherapists who use play in treatment programs who had to articulate the hybrid definition of work/play to children and families. The work of play refers to what play does (what it produces) as well as what is required to make play happen (what produces it). To these ends, this paper is grounded in the contemporary realities of the therapeutic work needed to repair the inability to play—a part of sociality not often taken seriously in an increasingly

competitive world for children who must prove their ability to out-work and out-study their peers—and the professional/personal struggles entangled in a play therapist's efforts to have their work acknowledged as work and not just play.

Participatory Action Research as Auto-Ethnography: Methodological and Ethical Issues in Using Photo-Elicitation in a Canadian First Nations Childhood Center

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How can local childrearing practices be articulated in contexts where national and global discourses on appropriate childhoods and childrearing are dominant? In Yogyakarta, Indonesia, Newberry encountered the conflict between World Bank-funded initiatives aimed at early childhood education, care and development and local values and practices not yet publicly articulated. Pace-Crosschild works as a practitioner in early childhood with Aboriginal children and families in a small Canadian city. Here, local practices were interrupted by residential schooling historically and now again by a dominant discourse on appropriate childrearing and education driven by provincial and national policies. This paper is a preliminary report on a pilot project conducted in Canada and aimed at using photo-elicitation to help articulate local childrearing values. For the project, a set of First Nations parents working with the early childhood center run by Pace-Crosschild were given cameras. They were asked to take pictures of everyday childrearing practices with particular attention to sleeping, bathing, eating and playing. Although originally investigator-driven, the project changed to be guided by the choices of the participant-photographers. Subsequent phases of the research included interviews conducted by First Nations students and child center staff with the photographers and then with people attending regional Powwows and a set of elders. Although final analysis of the material is not yet complete, this paper offers a description of the evolution of the project to become more participant-driven. This discussion will include the question of whether photo-elicitation offers the opportunity for participatory action research as a form of auto-ethnography. Ultimately, ethical dilemmas over the production and control of this knowledge were significant challenges to the project. Consequently, this preliminary analysis also includes a consideration of the ethics of such projects of local articulation and whether participatory research as a kind of auto-ethnography is possible.

Ideology, Voice, and Difference in Nepali student Democratic Agency

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The concept of “voice” as a metaphor for authenticity and personal agency has a particular resonance for political participation in emerging democracies. Speaking in “one’s own voice” implies an ability to be and act autonomously, which is a crucial assumption in the democratic franchise. A Bakhtinian perspective, however, would suggest that individual speakers speak in a diversity of voices through which institutional political ideologies and social discourses assert their authority. In this paper, I explore how members of political party aligned student unions at Nepal’s Tribhuvan University voiced their political identity at a critical juncture in which the very structure of the Nepalese state was being contested. As members of party aligned student unions – Maoist, Marxist-Leninist, Congress, *Madhesis* and *Adivasis Janajati* – these young students, drawn from Nepal’s geographic and ethnic breadth, were drawn into a

debate about constitutional reform which might have decentralized Nepal into a federal structure based on ethnicity and caste. Though student union members seldom strayed from the ideological positions and social discourses of the parties they identified with, the authority with which they were voiced was sometimes challenged. The paper concludes with a reflection on the outcome of the November 2013 elections which suggest, overall, that youth political agency may not be so easily mobilized by political parties in the future.

Seeing Kids: Teaching to Learn and Learning to Teach in Los Angeles

Marjorie Faulstich Orellana and the UCLA Teacher Education Team (UCLA) [orellana@gseis.ucla.edu]

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This alternative format session will involve a group of pre-service Teacher Education students reporting on their experiences in learning to see through ethnographic inquiries with kids in an after-school club in Los Angeles. Students participate in the program and write field notes aimed at shifting from a teacher- or adult-centric lens to one centered on kids: their actions, thoughts, feelings and experiences. The field notes are read and responded to by the instructional/research team, and then used in debriefing meetings each week. Often, we re-enact situations that we observed together and discuss what we could have done, as participants in the setting, to further elicit kids' ideas and understandings. The pre-service teachers are developing inquiries focused on particular aspects of kids' engagement in the setting: issues of voice and imagination, language and gender are key themes. In this session, we will frame the larger project in relation to the current landscape of Teacher Education and educational practice, which is largely centered on the aims and goals of adults, and driven by a testing regime. We ask how teachers can learn to see kids and learning as central to the cultivation of their own pedagogical expertise. Teacher Education students will present vignettes from their field notes and inquiry projects, and we will engage in a collaborative "teatro" experience with our audience as we problematize situations we have witnessed and consider them from new angles.

The 'Well-Educated' Child: A Generational Perspective on Children's Education and Transitions to Social Adulthood in Rwanda

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This paper draws from the second empirical chapter of my doctoral thesis, which examines how and why children's transitions to social adulthood have changed in rural Rwanda from colonialism to the present (1930-2014). This paper presents a gendered and generational analysis of the meaning, purpose, and process of children's education and marriage when the members of the eldest Generation (b. 1923-1954) in this cross-generational study were children. In this colonial era, elders lived and transitioned to social adulthood within a kinship-based lineage system that idealized the 'well-educated' child and reciprocal intergenerational responsibilities on one hand, while seeking to reproduce a strict gendered and generational hierarchy through these same ideals. The analysis in this paper provides the context for

understanding the significance of continuity and change in parental/caregiver priorities and young people's life course over time in Rwanda, as well as the situation of children and youth in Rwanda today.

The analysis in this paper draws from ten months of doctoral fieldwork conducted in one rural and one urban site in central Rwanda between August, 2012 and March, 2014. The narratives presented represent life history, informal, and genogram interviews with the eldest cohort in the research project's four multi-generational family case studies. I interpret their stories within a framework that recognizes the dynamic influence of memory and social memory. To that end, I compliment data from elders with data from their extended families, key informant interviews, focus groups, archival data, and seven months of ethnographic research in the elders' rural village.

In focusing the analytical lens on children's education and the institution of marriage, I am reclaiming kinship theory as a fundamental starting point to any contemporary study of Rwandan children's changing social processes. Without this theoretical underpinning, it is difficult to grasp the social, moral, political, and economic context within which children historically achieved the social status of adulthood in Rwanda, and the significance of any continuity and change. At the same time, the empirical evidence and analysis in this paper challenges kinship theory that positions children at the center of social (re)production and/or the reproduction of the domestic cycle and life cycle without acknowledging that their position was deeply political and relational. Even in a highly structured, hierarchical, and punitive social system such as theirs, children exercised agency and autonomy. Most of the time they chose to adhere to their elders' ideals, but at other times they resisted their elder's authority. This met with varying degrees of success. These patterns raise interesting questions about the prevalence, motives for, and purpose of children's self-interest in this interdependent group-centric culture.

The Impact of Psychosocial Needs across the Lifespan on Cultural Dynamics

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Internal psychological processes are the battleground of disjunctive globalized culture. I argue the explanatory value of the symbiotic relationship between psychological and social processes has yet to be realized in cultural studies of our globalized world. In this paper, I discuss instances of ethnographic fieldwork across the lifespan where psychosocial perspectives can elucidate processes of culture change. The ethnological approach shows how different perspectives gain force, reconcile with other perspectives, and are resisted across the lifespan as global processes impact local life-ways. Individuals actively synthesize models based on the efficacy and redundancy of certain values, instantiating them in variable selves and settings. Changes in cultural values do not just occur with dislocations or through gradual drift. An individual's conception of self and society changes across the lifespan, thereby altering the values they hold most dear. Previous fervent beliefs can nostalgically fade as new "traditions" can gain force. Change is not an instantaneous, unpredictable alteration from a past stable state to a present state bereft of all previous meanings. Culture change is a dynamic, continuous process of gradations, contestations, and heterogeneity between existing and new, covert and spoken values for cultural actors.

'Play to Learn' vs. 'Play to Win': School Influences on Student Orientations to Educational Achievement

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Research in the education and youth culture argues that schools play a powerful role in cultivating the orientations that students have to their own schoolwork, informing their persistence and later successes in educational institutions. Yet, while classic studies examine how schools construct the meaning of work, rarely has scholarship explored how schools differently inform the value of play for educational achievement. This is particularly important given the recent surge in work on informal learning via a curricular form termed “play to learn,” a movement in education research that argues young people best learn “21st century skills” with digital technology as they play online among their peers. This proposal, based on my fieldwork in two technology-rich middle schools that vary by race and class, investigates how schools differently cultivate young people’s orientations to not only work but also play.

Comparative analysis of data collected through fieldwork in two middle schools that vary by race and class, key predictors of student success, are used to focus attention on how schools differently construct the value of technology, work, and play. I examine how teachers perceive young people’s uses of digital technology online, including use internet-connected cell phones, interactive whiteboards, and social media, as these platforms are key sites of youth cultural participation. I interviewed 75% of teachers at each school (N=30), and interviewed random samples of 15 youth from one classroom of 8th graders at each school where observed classroom patterns were most representative. Interviews with teachers allowed me to draw out boundary-making processes related to student activities with digital technology, and interviews with students provided narratives reflecting on their middle school experience, as well as their present-day orientations to work and play in educational institutions.

I find that schools differently transmit messages to students that construct boundaries between “educational” activities and youth culture-driven pursuits with digital technology online. Narrating on their experiences over the course of middle school, students at a school that blurs boundaries between school and youth culture develop a “play to learn” relationship to their schoolwork. At a school that enforces boundaries between school and youth culture students develop a “play to win” relationship to their schoolwork. These different student frames shape how students approach the meaning of their schoolwork (interest-driven vs. institutionally-driven), as well their peer dynamics (low-stakes play vs. high-stakes competition). Interestingly, young women at the “play to win” school report less confidence with their schoolwork and fewer educational aspirations than young women with “play to learn” orientations.

Studying Childhood to Understand Change: Research with Pre-teens and Teens in Ladakh, India

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Research with children can provide valuable insights regarding how cultures and societies change. Today there is much interest and concern—both within anthropology and beyond—about the processes and repercussions of social, economic, and cultural change, especially in less-developed and developing regions of the world. Children’s experiences, actions, and practices, in addition to parents’ resource allocation decisions and their priorities in socializing their children, reveal much about what is at stake in local contexts. Drawing on my research with pre-teens and teens in Ladakh, India, a rural, under-served

region of the western Himalayas, I highlight three areas in which child-focused research provides important insight.

First, such research illuminates how people respond to and choose to integrate broader economic and social change into their everyday lives, because research on childhood experiences can show us why certain types of futures are being imagined and sought after. Among Ladakhis of all backgrounds, there is strong emphasis on children's need to become educated and obtain a professional job, although the local employment market is severely lacking. Research with young people and their parents has allowed me to explain why becoming educated is important for social reasons beyond simply generating wealth.

Second, communities' ideas about what are most important for children's wellbeing, and their associated practices, can help us understand the relevance of economic development narratives to local cultural practices and beliefs. There is, for example, great variation within India's low-income rural communities' usage of modern institutionalized education, though schools have become accessible and the benefits of education have been widely promoted. My research with adolescents sheds light on how local culture resonates with some development goals and ideals, and thus why Ladakhis' have achieved a nearly 100% rate of schooling. The specific ways in which economic development has come to be meaningful to Ladakhis and within contemporary Ladakhi culture has much to offer for anthropological theories of change. In addition, such research could help planners and policymakers understand how culture plays a role in the integration of economic development initiatives into everyday practices.

Finally, young people in developing regions are at the forefront of socio-cultural change, and must navigate pressures and conflicting messages, often without the benefit of parents who had similar experiences growing up. How kids make sense of seemingly paradoxical ideals can provide important examples of cultural resilience and continuity, the agency of children and adults, and innovative acceptance or usage of modern global ideals. In Ladakh, the importance of becoming educated is equal to that of fulfilling traditional familial obligations. This can pose problems for youth when the moral obligation to help one's family in times of need creates a barrier to gaining a good education. What young people do about such problems, and how they make sense of competing responsibilities, reveals the nuances of change, as it is in fact subject to complex and uncertain processes. It also grounds the study of sociocultural change in everyday practices and experiences.

Creating, Playing, and Learning Together: A Study of Student Participation at an Afterschool Program

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Using ethnographic methods and a sociocultural perspective, this study explores the way in which elementary school students and college undergraduates participate in activities at an afterschool program. Borrowing Holland's (1998) notion of individual agency within figured worlds and Rogoff's (1994) notion of a Community of Learners, this study examines the points of tension and negotiation that were observed in play-based activities at an afterschool program. Several studies of student agency are situated in a classroom context (Raino, 2010; Scardamalia & Bereiter, 1991), or focus on middle and high school students (McIntyre, 2006). However there is still a need to discuss how elementary age students express agency through their participation in informal activities as they collaborate with peers and adults without the constraints of traditional classrooms.

Latino-Citizen Children's Mental Health after Parental Detention or Deportation

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In the United States, approximately 5.5 million children live with at least one unauthorized immigrant parent; about 4.5 million of these children are U.S.-born citizens. In recent years, there has been a staggering increase in the number of detentions and deportations, which has resulted in many U.S. citizen children being left without their parents for prolonged, and often indefinite, periods of time. The detention and deportation of a parent can be detrimental to children's mental health as they and their families experience multiple emotionally and socially stressful events, in addition to separation, during their parents' involvement with immigration enforcement. To date, few studies have systematically assessed for possible short- and long-term effects of parental detention and deportation on citizen children's wellbeing. To understand the impact of parental detention and deportation on children's mental health, we examined mental health outcomes of 75 Latino citizen children (ages 6 to 12) living in mixed-status families. Specifically, we compared mental health outcomes (trauma, internalizing and externalizing symptoms) of children who have experienced the detention or deportation of a parent within the last 2 years against those of children who have not experienced such event and whose parents were also unauthorized immigrants. Results from a multivariate analysis of covariance comparing the two groups, indicate a significant multivariate effect of parental immigration status on trauma variables. Findings showed that having a parent who had experienced detention or deportation was significantly associated with greater post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) symptoms in children, as reported by caregiver and child. Further analyses also revealed that, following parental detention and/or deportation, children displayed a higher number of externalizing and internalizing problems. Therefore, we conclude that citizen children of detained or deported parents are at greater risk of undesirable outcomes than their citizen peers whose parents are unauthorized but have no involvement with immigration enforcement. These conclusions are discussed in the context of the evolving U.S. immigration policy. Lastly, recommendations for policy-making and interventions responsive to the needs of mixed-status families, and specifically to Latino citizen children who have experienced parental detention/deportation, are also discussed.

Economic Inequality and the Political Mobilization of Youth in Israeli Society

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In July of 2011, 400,000 demonstrators took to the streets in Israel to protest growing social inequality in Israel. The National Association of Israel Students was central the organizing efforts of what came to be called the Social Justice Movement. Support also came from a variety of socialist youth movements and political parties. The Social Justice Movement was similar to the 2011 Occupy Wall Street movement in the US but preceded events in the US by several months. Widespread social protest began with concerns about housing for young people but quickly turned to broader issues of social, economic and political inequality. Protest was renewed during the summer of 2012 but ended following outbreaks of violence between police and protestors, political cleavages among the protestors, and the public self-immolation of one of the protestors. Israeli political parties also played a role in neutralizing the protest and peeling away youth leadership. Protest was renewed in the summer of 2013 in a smaller and less effective

manner. This paper examines the role of Israeli youth in the Social Justice Movement. It examines the organizational strategies of the protestors, the key economic and symbolic issues involved, and the widespread claims made by youthful protestors that growing social, economic, and political inequality is robbing Israeli youth of its future.

Beyond Child Soldiering: Rethinking Children's Engagement in the Armed Conflict in Colombia

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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 and de Berry, 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 (Rosen, 2005; Honwana, 2006, Hart, 2006; Rosen, 2007; Poretti, 2008).

This research focuses on the mobile trajectories of children's lives under conditions of political violence and economic uncertainty in Colombia, and will examine how children maintain normalcy in the face of daily violent conflict. Employing arts-based methods of data collection, this paper examines the dynamics of the use of children in the armed conflict in Colombia, demonstrating the variable of agency in differentiating among child soldiering, child displacement and child trafficking.

Spanning Boundaries and Creating Communities of Care in Child Welfare

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In this paper, I reflect back and look forward from my book, *System Kids: Adolescent Mothers and the Politics of Regulation*. Based on two years of ethnography, *System Kids* considers the daily lives of adolescent mothers as they negotiate an urban child welfare system to meet the needs of their children and themselves. The work demonstrates how institutional "silos" construct the lives of youth as disconnected, reinforcing unforgiving policies and imposing demands on young women the system was intended to help. Institutional borders create identity dilemmas, as youth struggle to present coherent and "socially acceptable" selves. I draw on the concept of "boundary spanning" (Kelly 1992:254), which involves looking across disciplines, methods, and communities to inform social action and political engagement (Cosgrove and McHugh 2000). What sorts of collaborations can reduce segregation and social borders between "privileged" youth in U.S. society and "marginalized" youth in care? What types of social connections (micro and macro) can better help youth in care gain access to multiple pathways to their versions of "good" lives? When we focus on social connectivity, we move away from viewing children as parts to be fixed and institutions as the mechanisms to fix the separate pieces. When we over-focus on one aspect of an individual client, or on one part of a system, we blind ourselves to the embedded and interconnected lives of children, youth, caseworkers, administrators, policymakers, researchers, and the rest of us in the public sphere.

Cosmopolitan Strategies: Career Aspirations, Advancements, and Limitations among Child and Youth Vendors in Cusco, Peru

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In the streets of Cusco, child vendors offer postcards, finger-puppets, and other souvenirs to tourists. Despite encouragement from adults to make use of manual vocational training, child vendors continue to have career aspirations within the tourism industry. Working with tourists affords diverse benefits, not always conceptualized in terms of economic wealth. Child vendors appreciate conversing with tourists for the opportunity to practice their English, to learn about other countries, and to occasionally make longer lasting relationships that provide them with peer status, and emotional as well as economic support. While working in hospitality or as a tour guide can be seen as a step up to a legal and sanctioned career, being a vendor allows for more fluid and personalized, and less structured, types of interactions. However, while both local citizens and government officials consider tourism a development beacon for economic prosperity and stability, Cusco's children and youth are also apprehensive about the industry's continued viability in an ever-changing, and often uncertain, global economic climate.

This paper explores the career aspirations of three of Cusco's child vendors who are now in their early 20s, focusing on how, over time, they have understood their diverse—yet often still limited—opportunities to be connected to the larger world through tourists. I track how aspirations shift in the face of both advancement and inertia, evaluating how discourses about the present and the future engage with the ambiguities of tourism, education, and career-making as access points for cosmopolitanism, worldliness, and ultimately, success itself.

“We Can Be Anywhere” and “It’s Double or Nothing”: Intergenerational Play, Family Discourse, and Children’s Cultural Learning among U.S. Middle-Class Dual-Earner Families

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In this paper, I explore how children's co-participation in intergenerational play facilitates cultural learning and contributes to the cultural shaping of family discourse in U.S. middle-class dual-earner families. I employ a comparative case study approach to illustrate and trace out how U.S. middle-class children, ages 5-11, are mentored into culturally valued actions, thoughts, and feelings through their involvement in shared play, as family members recruit culturally available resources to delineate and express key facets of their emotional and relational lives. The paper highlights children's active engagement in cultural learning through the analytic lens of language socialization, which sheds light on the co-constructed discursive processes involved in apprenticing children's cultural competencies, identities, and worldviews. Data analysis draws on a corpus of ethnographic videotaped observational and interview data collected by the Center on Everyday Lives of Families (CELFL), which documents the daily activities and cultural values of 32 ethnically diverse, middle-class dual-earner families residing in the Los Angeles, California metropolitan region.

Employing case study analysis of family interactional and interview data, I identify and compare two culturally salient discursive frames that are used by U.S. middle-class families to provide children with opportunities for cultural learning through play. The first discursive frame highlights the role of imaginative play and is utilized by family members to apprentice children into liberal democratic values,

actions, and stances that emphasize creativity, adaptability, and innovation—as, for example, when a father and daughter use imaginative play to expand the bounds of the ordinary by co-creating imaginative opportunities to “be anywhere.” In contrast, the second discursive frame emphasizes competitive play and is utilized by family members to apprentice children into culturally salient values, actions, and stances that champion the merits of self-discipline, strategy, and ambition—as, for example, when a mother and father along with their two children collaboratively co-construct a “double or nothing” basketball drill game that involves calculated risks intended to motivate increasing levels of mastery and success. The paper’s comparative analysis illustrates how U.S. middle-class families deploy motivationally salient discursive configurations of play to co-create and reinforce a family ethos which, in turn, draws upon culturally shared resources while also expressing personal meanings and relational styles that are threaded across various strands of family life.

The paper sheds light on how U.S. middle-class families differentially mobilize, enact, and re-shape Euro-American ideals about play as a developmentally desired endeavor that facilitates children’s learning. Additionally, the paper emphasizes how children are socialized into culturally salient modes of acting, thinking, and feeling through their co-participation in intergenerational play, while simultaneously serving as cultural agents who meaningfully contribute to the cultural shaping of U.S. middle-class family life.

Education in Crisis? Expanding Concepts of Education in Crisis in the United States and Northern Ireland

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As we enter the year 2015, the neglect of “education in crisis” is increasingly pointed to as a key contributor to the shortfall of the achievement of the Millennium Development goals and those set out by Education for All. Despite the growing importance of “education in crisis” in academic and policy discourse, an established definition of what exactly “crisis” or “education in crisis” eludes consensus. The United States, so often characterized as “high income” and “developed”, does not typically make the cut as a nation in crisis. Northern Ireland also remains unnamed, though its history places it in crisis in the relatively recent past. As the United States, along with its education, becomes increasingly characterized by inequality, Northern Ireland and the education therein continues to be characterized by segregation of students along the lines of the area’s two major religious/ethnic groups, Protestant and Catholic. Though these nations are highly dissimilar in many ways, here I examine their similarities with respect to questions of education in crisis and Alan Smith’s writing on education for peace and diversity. I suggest through a comparison of these vastly different places that they share a status of being deeply divided, both culturally and structurally. This division, I believe, calls for new types of thought around the issue of “education in crisis” and a re-characterization of the educational experiences of groups of students in the United States and Northern Ireland. To this end, I am currently conducting ethnosemantic interviews to investigate the effects of this inequality on the experiences and the perceptions of education of Bay Area high-school students.

Westernizing Emotion Socialization in Russian *Dietski Doma*

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This paper examines trends in emotion socialization in Russian children's homes (*detdoma*) between 1996 and 2002, with a focus on attachment socialization. It examines the shift between different emotion socialization practices such as "toughening attachment" (purposively non-responsive childcare in institutions) and "trading children for childhood" (the framing of inter-country adoption as the exchange of Russian children to Western adoptive parents for the children's chance at economic success and emotional development). It argues that two central features shaped *detdoma* workers' attachment socialization of children in the 1990s: the perceived need to 1) socialize children's attachment in an attempt to establish economic and emotional security for children in uncertain times after the fall of the Soviet Union; and 2) shape children's understandings of attachment within transnational contexts as child migration to the West increased over the course over the decade. Investigating attachment socialization within Russian children's homes immediately after the fall of the Soviet Union demonstrates on example of the roles of examining children's cultural geographies (shifting demographics, cultural norms, economic transition, and intersections of political ideologies) in shaping emotional socialization within institutions over time. It also highlights how economic and political transition impact taken-for-granted assumptions within child development literature about what constitutes attachment and child love, family or kinship, and domesticity – particularly parent-child interaction models of emotion socialization.

Homeless, Yet Attached to Home: Childhood Poverty and the Paradox of Medical Humanitarian Care in Cairo

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Based on over two years of ethnographic fieldwork conducted in Cairo, Egypt (2007-2010) with homeless children and adult humanitarian workers in a prominent foreign-funded global health NGO, this paper demonstrates how children understand, negotiate, and creatively transform global health interventions. It traces the life histories and everyday practices of children who simultaneously live on the streets of Cairo and inside the NGO's street children shelter. Drawing on the intimate experiences and perspectives of children, I argue that medical humanitarian intervention – spanning free psychiatric care to mandatory lice treatments – represent what I call a *paradox of humanitarian care*. On one hand, homeless children are recognized as salient objects of compassion and concern through their bodily vulnerability and status as rights-bearing subjects; on the other, their poverty is reframed as a an individualized, biomedical problem. The research sheds light on the multiple ways in which children both draw upon and reject this model of free medical care to better manage the conditions of poverty and structural violence in their lives. These findings contribute to a growing body of anthropological literature on children's rights and the effects of global health regimes in and beyond the contemporary Middle East.

At the Crossroads where Colorblind America Meets #blacklivesmatter: Incarcerated Young Men's Perspectives on Race and Inequality

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This paper explores children and youth analyze race and inequality at this strange moment where colorblind post-racial discourses butt heads against emerging #blacklivesmatter social movements in the aftermath of Ferguson and other recent police violence. I draw on workshops and writings by incarcerated in the "melting pot suburbs" of Los Angeles's Inland Empire – where youth are often taught to be color blind and yet see the stark significance of racial and class divides in their daily lives. The juvenile hall class room offers a microcosm into debates about the significance of race in contemporary America as youth struggle with each other and their teachers over whether to embrace colorblindness or to offer clear critiques of the ways Black and Latino lives are devalued. I will highlight how young people use maps and stories of their movements through the unequal suburban landscapes of the Los Angeles region to develop complex understandings of how the intersection of race, class and space constrains opportunity in America.

Attaching the Cue-Giving Child: Changing Child Rearing Ideas in the Global North

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This paper will examine contemporary understandings of the child as a rational, cue-giving individual with the capacity and need for attachment. These ideas are influential among educated, upper middle class parents in the US and translate into a specific type of child-rearing practices known as attachment parenting, popularly associated with such practices as baby-wearing, co-sleeping, and on-cue breastfeeding. I will investigate the child rearing literature that inspires attachment parenting, in particular, the immensely influential *The Baby Book* by Dr. William Sears, as well as provide an insight into how this is implemented in practice in the Global North. The paper will examine the practical implementation of the "expert" advice of Dr. Sears in the U.S. and in Latvia, two countries where attachment parenting is becoming increasingly popular. France, where attachment parenting has been criticized by such influential authors as Elizabeth Badinter, will serve as an additional case study. I will explore the underlying assumptions of this style of parenting, which emphasizes the "natural" uniqueness of the mother, at least in the new-born period, over that of the father or other family members, and hence contributes towards an unequal, gendered division of labor in the household. I will then sketch the portrait of the "child," her body, agency and rationality that attachment parenting envisions. To conclude, the paper will explore the wider social implications that attachment parenting movement projects regarding the correct rearing of the right kind of "future human" in the Global North, which presupposes the existence of human defect caused by "pathological" forms of attachment and places children in the precarious space of unspoiled, innate innocence, ready to draw adults attention and attachment by natural cues.

Global Humanitarianism and the “Revaluation” of Special Needs Children in Chinese State-Run Orphanages

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Since the Chinese government first began allowing international adoption in 1992, over 130,000 children have migrated to a wide range of countries in the global north. Although most scholarly attention has focused on healthy female adoptees, in recent years a growing number of special needs children have been placed in foreign homes. This paper highlights the efforts that take place *in China* to transform unwanted disabled and ill children into internationally desirable daughters and sons. I draw upon extensive ethnographic fieldwork in four medical foster homes in China run by Western evangelical Christians that cared for special needs youth. In these homes, first-world ideologies and practices of care “revalued” these marginalized children and prepared them for middle-class lives abroad. The presence of global humanitarian aid has allowed Chinese authorities to outsource this type of intimate labor to highly resourced foreign groups, which are motivated by their own child-saving agendas. This case study illustrates the interlinked relationship between humanitarianism, orphanage care, and the commodified transnational circulation of children.

Expert Visions of Children and Childhood: The Enlightenment and Beyond

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The notion that specific pedagogical techniques can produce properly modern and rational human characters can be traced back at least to the Enlightenment. The general idea of “enlightenment” as a human possibility was articulated in various ways by different thinkers throughout history, but arguably all visions of enlightenment are undergirded by a common faith in some notion of human improvement and perfectibility. In this paper, I will explore how ideas about perfectible human character have shaped and been shaped by the historical conditions within which relationships between adults and children emerge. I will consider how the perfectible child is figured in the writings of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, primarily in his pedagogical treatise *Emile, or On Education*. In reading this text, I will draw attention to the pedagogical possibilities projected by Rousseau, as well as to the historical conditions which simultaneously enabled and were altered by these imagined possibilities. I will juxtapose this reading of Rousseau with a discussion of contemporary discourses and practices of character education that have emerged in the context of the American charter school movement. I will focus on the popular works of journalist Paul Tough, who has made a number of influential arguments about the importance of character education in bringing about educational success among minority students in the United States. I will ask what kind of pedagogical possibilities Tough projects in his writings, and I will compare these to the possibilities articulated by Rousseau. In comparing these projections, I do not posit any necessary relationship between them. My purpose is to read both of these authors as offering specific visions of pedagogy aimed at improving the character of the child in order to ensure the social and political reproduction of certain forms of adulthood. In juxtaposing these two moments, I want to draw attention to the ways in which historical conditions have shaped and been shaped by the politics of pedagogy and human improvement through education.

Being Seated: Classroom Arrangements, Seating Assignments, and the Making of the “Good Student” in China's Public Schools

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Across the globe, an important feature of children's daily school experience is the frequent reshuffling of seating arrangements. Drawing from ethnographic fieldwork in a county level town in Northwest China, this article addresses how the particular use of classroom space conveys and reinforces the boundary between “good” and “bad,” between “simple” and “contaminated” (and/or “contaminating”) students -- labels with gendered connotations. My account here focuses on the basic patterns of seating arrangement and the strategies implemented by school teachers, through which the material border of space induces into a flexible and highly perceptible hierarchy of symbolic values. While early scholarly accounts focused primarily on the effects of seating arrangements on students' classroom behavior and literacy learning, I show that spatial arrangements in Chinese public schools do not necessarily engage children and increase their participation in classroom learning. More importantly, spatial arrangements in classroom setting create significant inequalities among children, some of which are academic or pedagogical, while others are metaphorical and relate directly to personal identity.