

NEOS

A PUBLICATION OF THE ANTHROPOLOGY OF CHILDREN AND YOUTH INTEREST GROUP

VOLUME 10, ISSUE 2

OCTOBER 2018

PUBLICATION UPDATE

Victoria Holec
(U of Lethbridge; *Neos* Editor)

Welcome to another year of *Neos*! Our October 2018 issue is brimming with news and exciting changes! First of all, I would like to introduce myself as the new *Neos* Editor. I am currently a PhD candidate working at the University of Lethbridge, in the departments of Anthropology, Sociology, and the Institute for Child and Youth Studies. As an interdisciplinary scholar with a non-linear career, I work at the intersections of youth, digital methods, and discourse and media studies. My dissertation research examines Millennial identities in microblogs, the usefulness of the generation as a category of analysis, media representations of youth, and methodologies to study youth issues through co-conceptualization.

I am thrilled to be working with the *Neos* and ACYIG advisory boards, the editorial team, and the communications committee. Our collaboration to date has been outright marvellous and I continue to be impressed by the efficiency and thoughtfulness everyone contributes. I encourage you to check out our Communications and Membership Volun-

teers, Publication Staff, and ACYIG Advisory Board pages to learn more about who all of our volunteers and staff are. Special thanks goes to Nicole Gallicchio for providing critical feedback and lending her expertise in guiding me through my first issue. As a final note, I am grateful to Véronique Gilbert, from whom I took over the editor role, for her organization and record-keeping, and transitioning me into this position.

Special Section Topic in October 2018 Issue: Child and Youth Displacement

Neos is aware of the current discourses on child and youth displacement that penetrate the geo-political sphere. In the wake of the politics of child separation, we have decided to dedicate a special section in this issue to scholars who work in the areas of child/youth/family migration, separation, displacement, adoption, and trauma.

For this issue only, I decided to upset the existing structure of *Neos* by removing article sections and grouping all articles under a special section topic. The primary driving force behind this special topic section was the urgency of the “politics of child separation.” Since June, our newsfeeds have been flooded with headlines about family, youth, and child separation, bringing to the forefront discourses about displacement, segregation, violence, adoption, and trauma that are in fact all but new.

The aim of this issue was to provide scholars working on child and youth displacement a platform to connect the current discourses in North America and elsewhere (referring to both the unravelling insights on family separation in the U.S. and ongoing repercussions of colonial violence in imperialized countries) to the existing work they have been doing. What you will find in the following pages are articles that, as a collective, examine issues of displacement cross-culturally and historically while positioning youth voices as central. Contributors examine displacement, institutionalized violence, trauma of relocation, and far-reaching socio-emotional implications for young people.

For the next issue, *Neos* will return to its familiar format, and I look forward to your submissions!

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In This Issue... (linked)

UPDATES

Publication Update	1
Advisory Board Update	2
Membership Update	2
Social Media Update	3

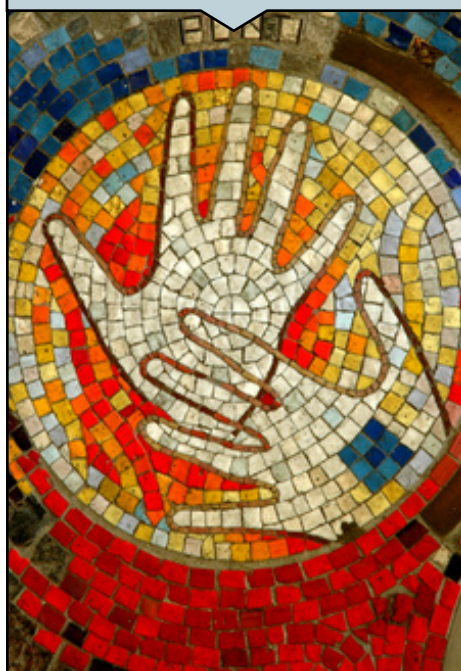
CFP: *Rethinking Child and Youth Marginalities: Movements, Narratives and Exchanges* 3

ARTICLES

Special Topic Section – Child and Youth Displacement.	5
Feature Articles	20

ANNOUNCEMENTS

Photo Submissions	23
New Book Announcements.	24
Member News	26
Solicitations for February 2019	28
Neos Contributors	28



ADVISORY BOARD UPDATE

Helen Vallianatos
(U of Alberta; ACYIG Convener)

I hope that many of you will be in attendance at the American Anthropological Association annual meeting in San Jose this November. Please make a point of attending the ACYIG annual business meeting on Friday, 12:15–1:45pm. This is the place to share ideas, learn what is happening, meet colleagues with shared research interests, and hear about ways to get more involved.

Our invited session is scheduled for Thursday morning, 10:15am to noon, entitled Children and Youth as Emotional Suspects (3-0380). Organized by Rachel Stryker and chaired by Elsa Davidson, this session includes six presentations that examine “child-focused emotional biopolitics.” The panel shares work undertaken in diverse global contexts—Palestine, Burundi, Haiti, and the United States. This promises to be a timely discussion, as in the past year children’s and youth’s emotional, evocative words and images have created touchstones for larger societal calls for resistance and empowerment, with young people leading efforts to create social change. Conversely, others may call for the need of further regulation and control of dissenting youth voices. The panelists’ examination of young people’s emotional capital, of their “capacities for emotional regulation, and their subjectification as emotional suspects” in a wide variety of political contexts will no doubt be enlightening.

There are a number of other sessions focused on children and youth, from sessions examining migration experiences and language socialization (2-0325,

3-0785), learning (3-0855, 4-0745, 5-0790), and health and well-being (2-0035, 2-0510, 6-0350), to biocultural perspectives (5-0975) and youth studies (3-1060). You may find a compilation of all ACYIG session on our website, compiled by our website manager Scarlett Eisenhauer. I encourage you all to attend these and other related papers and sessions, and to consider sharing your learnings with others via our blog or even in a future *Neos* article. See you in November!

MEMBERSHIP UPDATE

Amy Paugh (James Madison U;
Membership Coordinator)

ACYIG’s membership has been growing! After experiencing a decrease over several years, as have other sections and interest groups of the American Anthropological Association, we are now seeing growth in our membership numbers. As of August 2018, ACYIG has over 650 members, which is an increase of 17% from the same time last year. Graduate and undergraduate students make up almost 30% of our membership. ACYIG’s membership remains primarily based in the United States; however, our international members represent another 38 countries. In addition, we continue to have over 1600 subscribers to the ACYIG listserv.

Let’s keep up the trend of retaining current members and adding new ones! Please remember to renew your membership and encourage interested colleagues and students to sign up. Membership in ACYIG is free to members of the American Anthropological Association. To join ACYIG, go to <http://www.americananthro.org> and log in to your AAA account. Select “Add interest group” from the menu on the left side of the page. Check

the box for “Anthropology of Children and Youth Interest Group” and proceed through the checkout process. There will be no charge. The same box should be checked each time that you renew your AAA membership.

SOCIAL MEDIA UPDATE

Maria Barbero (Florida International U;
Social Media Coordinator)

Do you have a new book or article out? Are you planning a conference or edited collection related to childhood and youth? Contact us so we can share the exciting news with our followers. ACYIG has hundreds of followers from around the world. With dozens of shares from our ACYIG followers, our posts can reach thousands of Facebook and Twitter users. We also welcome all multimedia material and invite you to follow our new YouTube channel. There, you will find teaching material on topics such as children and gender, youth migration, and childhood in the media. As #AmAnth2018 approaches, look to our social media for events and panels related to children and youth!

Please forward any social media inquiries to Maria at mbarb055@fiu.edu. I look forward to hearing from you!

Facebook: www.facebook.com/ACYIG/

Twitter: @ACYIG_AAA

YouTube: ACYIG AAA Channel

LinkedIn: Anthropology of Children & Youth Interest Group

CFP: RETHINKING CHILD AND YOUTH MARGINALITIES: MOVEMENTS, NARRATIVES, AND EXCHANGES

Anthropology of Childhood and
Youth Interest Group (ACYIG)
Biennial Conference
March 7–9, 2019
Rutgers University—Camden, NJ

Co-sponsored by: AAA Anthropology of Children and Youth Interest Group, Department of Childhood Studies (Rutgers-Camden), Department of Sociology, Anthropology and Criminal Justice (Rutgers-Camden), and The Graduate School (Rutgers-Camden)

In a world centered on adults, “childhood” as a social category is marginal. Such marginality makes complex tracks on child and youth bodies, psyches, relationships, and spaces. Existing research on children and youth has expanded our understanding beyond a binary and static reading of their lives by framing the multiple sources of marginality as active sociocultural processes that are embedded in—but are not overdetermined by—enduring effects like structural violence, capitalism, racism, homophobia, and nationalism. This scholarship compels us to pay attention to the movements, narratives, and exchanges that mark these processes of making, breaking, and negotiating marginalities. This conference aims to rethink child and youth marginalities in generative and creative ways that situate young people at the center, and that resist their dehumanization, whether through criminalization or romanticization.

The questions that this conference seeks to explore include, but are not limited to, the following: What are the different ways in which children and youth

experience marginalization? To what extent do young people identify and engage with categories produced by the state and civil society around their marginalization? How critical is biological age to the construction of marginality, particularly given the tendency to fetishize the “neglected” child while pathologizing the “juvenile”? How does increased state surveillance along with reduced social protection affect the kin and domestic households of children and youth, including their roles and relationships in these domains? How do global efforts to improve the lives of marginal children represent marginality as an ahistorical and universal condition? How do youth create counter-narratives within projects of improvement directed by the state and civil society? By documenting the tensions between young people’s economic and social precarity and their desire for a more equitable future, how does scholarship and advocacy on or with marginal youth reconceptualize marginalities?



This conference seeks to bring together emerging and established scholars and practitioners across the fields of anthropology, sociology, geography, education, urban studies, and social work to understand, rethink, and transform child and youth marginalities. In addition, we will consider conference submissions on a full range of themes connected to the anthropology of children and childhood.

Aimee Meredith Cox, Associate Professor in Anthropology and African American Studies at Yale University (<https://anthropology.yale.edu/people/aimee-meredith-cox>), will give our keynote address. Dr. Cox's award-winning book, *Shapeshifters: Black Girls and the Choreography of Citizenship* (Duke University Press, 2015), explores how Black girls in a Detroit homeless shelter develop creative strategies through performance, protest, and the politics of respectability that resist the binds of poverty, racism, and sexual & gendered violence. Their narratives speak to broad conditions of deindustrialization and urban change and reclaim Black life in the urban United States.

Although participants are welcome to submit panel proposals, the conference organizers will also be forming panels from individually-submitted papers based on the categories below.

If you would like to be considered for inclusion on one of these panels, please clearly indicate the categories on your submission. You may suggest more than one category:

1. Methodology
2. Violence
3. Illness and (Dis)ability
4. Schooling and Skilling Youth
5. Youth Movements
6. Race and Ethnicity
7. Labor and Work
8. Gender and Sexuality

Submissions may be made in the following formats:

- 1. Individual Volunteered Paper:** Individual paper presentations are 15 minutes long and will be grouped into organized sessions of related papers.
- 2. Panel Session:** A panel is a group of papers (no more than 4) submitted jointly for a single session. In addition to individual paper abstracts, submission materials must include a panel title, abstract, session chair, and discussant (optional; in addition to the four paper presenters). Panel sessions are 90 minutes in length.
- 3. Roundtables:** Roundtables raise a significant question to be discussed by multiple panelists, and offer unique opportunities for learning and exchange. In lieu of individual abstracts, roundtable proposals should include a single abstract identifying the targeted questions that panelists will address, and the names and affiliations of

panelists. Proposals for roundtables should include at least 4 panelists. Roundtables are 90 minutes in length.

- 4. Workshops:** A workshop typically utilizes a structured, didactic format in which the organizer is a specialist and participants attend to learn the specialty. Workshops should be offered free of charge. Submissions should include the abstract, a short biography of the workshop leader, and any specific technology or space requirements. Workshops may be 90 minutes.
- 5. Performance/Other Presentation:** We welcome innovative presentations (performance art, visual presentation, short-film, meet-the-author session, etc.) that relate to the conference theme. If you would like to propose a session in this format, provide a summary of the performance/presentation and any specific technology or space requirements. Performances are 90 minutes in length. To discuss other possibilities, please email: ACYIG2019.aaa@gmail.com.

All submissions should include:

- **author/organizer name(s) and affiliation(s);**
- **title;**
- **500-word abstract;**
- **three key words;**
- **the conference theme(s) (one or more, if any) which this submission addresses; and**
- **space or A/V needs.**

Submissions should be emailed to ACYIG2019.aaa@gmail.com by Monday, December 3, 2018, by 5 pm EST.

SPECIAL TOPIC SECTION — CHILD AND YOUTH DISPLACEMENT

The Securitization of Refugee Youth: Ethnographies of Political Violence and Displacement

Marisa Ensor (Georgetown U)

Attention to African refugee youth has recently increased among academics and practitioners in the context of the ongoing “securitization” of the continent, mirroring similar developments in other conflict-affected regions. Contemporary intellectual engagement with displaced African youth often adopts a securitization perspective, representing a shift from their earlier focus on development and humanitarianism. As a result, current conceptualizations of young African refugees encompass notions of “risk,” “fear,” and “threat.”

Contributing to the ongoing debate on the securitization of forced displacement, I argue that current tendencies to examine young refugees’ experiences of political violence and displacement through an uncritical security lens may actually increase, rather than mitigate the risk of radicalization. Findings discussed are the result of UNICEF-sponsored ethnographic fieldwork among displaced communities from Burundi and the Central African Republic.

Anthropology, Displaced Youth, and Securitization Theory

The current emphasis on securitization has prompted a global reassessment of

fundamental notions of national identity, national security, and the role of the state. Recent estimates suggest that nearly one in four youth globally are affected in some way by armed conflict (Hagerty 2017). This reality has sparked renewed global moral panics about youngsters’ ambiguous relationship with the state—a complex situation that the anthropology of children and youth is ideally positioned to illuminate.

Anthropology’s engagement with security issues is still an emergent but increasingly prominent focus of the discipline. Samimian-Darash and Stalcup, among others, have recently noted that “it is possible and important to take security as an anthropological object” (2017, 79). Indeed, the core claim of securitization theory—that “security” involves a transition from one social order (“ordinary politics”) to another (the extra-political realm of “emergency”) (Buzan et al. 1998)—speaks directly to longstanding concerns in political anthropology regarding the relationship between citizens and states, and the role of socio-political processes in mediating that relationship (Holbraad and Pedersen 2012, 170).

Interrogations of the passage from ordinary politics to states of emergency tend to construct “emergencies” as “states of exception”—that is, outside of the realm of normalcy. Anthropological contributions, however, reveal that, in the context of protracted violent conflict in Africa and elsewhere, war and displacement do not constitute “states of exception,” but rather the “social conditions” (Lubkemann 2008) that have framed the lives of several generations of refugees. This is particularly the case for the youngest members of many violence-affected communities in Africa, a majority of whom have spent their entire lives in a context of conflict-induced displacement.

Ethnographic Engagement with Securitized Refugee Youth

In Burundi, a violence-ravaged Central African country, young people have emerged as critical stakeholders in the ongoing conflict. Political violence has engulfed Burundi since April 2015 when President Nkurunziza announced his bid for a disputed third term. More than 400,000 Burundians subsequently sought refuge in neighboring nations. The vast majority report having fled their country owing to insecurity and repression at the hands of the *Imbonerakure*. The *Imbonerakure* (the Kirundi word for “those who see far”) is the youth wing of the Burundi ruling party. Young *Imbonerakure* militias are recruited in the name of national security. Yet, they are widely believed to engage in beatings, banditry, rape, extrajudicial killings, and political assassinations. As disenfranchised Burundian youth continue to be indoctrinated as militias tasked with identifying and terrorizing suspected opponents, the *Imbonerakure* have come to exemplify the ambiguous boundaries between victims and perpetrators, security and violence, and the socio-cultural and geographical displacement that often characterizes the securitization of uprooted youth.

The situation in the Central African Republic (CAR) is another example of the risk of securitizing the experiences of displaced youth. Forced displacement in CAR results from cycles of fighting between predominantly Muslim Séléka rebels and mainly Christian anti-Balaka militias since 2013. More than one in five of CAR’s 4.9 million inhabitants have been displaced (UN Data 2017). Many of them are Muslim youth who face the prospect of protracted displacement in isolated camps in neighboring Chad. “Characterizations of this ‘displaced youth bulge’ as harbingers of violent extremism are not uncommon” (Ensor 2017, 19), as incidents of crime and acceptance of the use of violence as a

political tool are both reportedly on the rise.

Chad responded by increasing border patrols and tightening border security, creating in the process additional obstacles for legitimate refugees fleeing persecution. The conditions encountered by young Central African refugees in Chad are hardly conducive to their successful integration. “The temptation to join the fight rather than wait in despair is real for many young men, especially when refugees cannot obtain education or employment and are isolated in camps for years” (Martin-Rayó 2012, 84). As I have argued elsewhere, the succession of intensified violence and subsequent waves of displacement in the complex and unwelcoming political, ethnic and religious environment that characterizes both CAR and Chad precludes the establishment of clear causal links between forced migration and radicalized attitudes (Ensor 2017).

Moving Forward

The globalization of security threats has caused human mobility to be brought under intense scrutiny. Concomitant changes in policies and practices are likely to have far-reaching implications for young African refugees—especially, although not exclusively, males—who are increasingly portrayed as security threats. In war-torn African countries such as Burundi and Chad, this pattern has increased local tensions between refugees and host communities, and the propensity to see displaced youth as an inherent security risk. A youth-sensitive anthropology of displacement that incorporates critical attention to the securitization process can further shed much needed light on what happens to young people when spaces of counterinsurgency and humanitarianism collide.

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Education for the Namibian Jul’hoansi —At What Cost?

Velina Ninkova (U of Tromsø)

During colonialism, boarding schools became the most successful tool for the assimilation of indigenous peoples and the extermination of their cultures and languages. Harrowing memories of physical, sexual, and psychological abuse permeate the accounts of boarding school survivors across the Americas, Scandinavia, and Australia (Carroll 2009; Dawson 2012; Lind Meløy 1980). The international recognition of indigenous peoples’ rights has helped expose the extent of the violence inflicted upon indigenous communities, and some governments and religious bodies have assumed responsibility for their wrongdoings. While the road ahead is long, the first steps towards reconciliation and decolonization have been taken. The boarding school systems are now thought of as a shameful chapter of the past. Across southern Africa, however, a similar story of marginalization and abuse is currently unfolding. This paper focuses on a group of San former hunter-gatherers—the Jul’hoansi of central eastern Namibia—and their experiences in boarding schools. It is based on data collected through long-term ethnographic work with communities and schools since 2008.

For the past three decades, the San of southern Africa have gotten access to formal education as part of the international push for *Education for All*, and their states’ development agendas. Dispossessed and marginalized, San communities have struggled to catch up with the demands of the globalized world. Encounters with mainstream schooling have brought little positive changes. Instead of empowerment, San children’s experiences with education speak of cul-

tural assimilation, neglect, and abuse. As a result, large numbers of San children drop out before the completion of their primary education—figures disproportionately higher than those reported for other groups (Dieckmann et al. 2014; Hays 2016; Le Roux 1999).

Central eastern Namibia lies on the fringes of the Kalahari Desert, and its recent history is shaped by extensive European settlement over the course of the 20th century. Large portions of the dry and scarcely populated land are fenced and owned by white farmers. The Jul'hoansi live in remote areas either as low-paid manual farm laborers or as subsistence farmers on resettlement farms established by the government to address their “land problem” after independence from South Africa in 1990. Distances are long and communities are scattered. Education is accessible through government boarding schools built by main roads or larger settlements.

The Namibian education policies adopted after 1990 are among the most progressive in the region and recognize the importance of mother tongue and culturally appropriate education. However, multicultural classrooms, lack of qualified Jul'hoan teachers, and widespread stigma against the San as primitive and underdeveloped hinder the inclusion and visibility of their culture and language in schools. Children as young as seven are sent away from their families and immersed in an often hostile and unfamiliar linguistic and cultural environment.

The physical infrastructure of hostels is poor, and the majority of Jul'hoan students cannot afford a blanket. The food is bland and unvaried, and many report hunger. “They are bush people, they don't need much,” is how one teacher rationalized this neglect. Common complaints revolve around lack of safety and fear of educators and students from more dominant ethnic groups. “Herero



girls make us wash their underwear,” a secondary schoolgirl reported. Children speak of beatings, threats, fear of witchcraft, and constant reminders by others that they should “go back to the bush.” A primary schoolgirl said: “The teacher beats us with a stick because we are stupid.” While not openly reported by children, educators and regional surveys suggest that sexual abuse occurs, and its perpetrators remain unpunished.

Jul'hoan children are socialized in a permissive home environment and learn to

exercise personal autonomy and freedom of expression and movement from an early age. By contrast, their daily routine in boarding schools is strictly regimented and their movements are restricted. This is not recognized as a cultural difference by educators, and Jul'hoan children's difficulties to adjust to a strict schedule are often attributed to lack of parental care. The gap between schools and parents is deepened by both physical and social distance. On the few occasions when parents visit schools, they are reminded of

their own illiteracy and inadequacy in the modern world. Teachers describe parents as not understanding “the value of education,” or not knowing anything useful that they can pass to their children. For teachers, educating the Jul’hoansi often means educating them out of their culture and into civilization. In the words of a primary school principal: “When they come, they don’t know anything. We teach them hygiene ... discipline, respect. It is difficult.” Not surprisingly, parents express concerns that their children are becoming ashamed of their culture and of their background.

The government and NGOs’ attempts to solve the “San problem” often fail because they do not acknowledge the deep structural inequality that San communities, such as the Jul’hoansi, face. For as long as the San are treated as empty vessels that need to be filled with all things good and civilizational, their participation in the state institutions will remain marginal. Meanwhile, a whole Jul’hoan generation is educated into thinking that the problem lies within themselves, and not in the system that has engineered their oppression.

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- Children are psychologically and physically harmed, murdered, relocated, and impoverished daily by violence that permeates and spills out from conflict zones, even to the end of being born of them. Conversely, they carry signs, work as spies and prostitutes, throw stones, shoot guns, and detonate bombs, in concert with and/or against adults. What then does it mean to conduct research ethically with and about children and childhood inside conflict zones, and/or with those displaced by them?
- Theoretically and methodologically, I recommend scholars adopt a problem-centered approach, working backwards from the problem of conflict to address children’s lives amid and as a result of it. By working backwards, the variability and complexity of children’s roles comes into clear focus. This focus makes apparent that consulting multiple disciplines, and moreover, transdisciplinarity, is essential in studying children. In its absence, we risk not seeing the variability of children’s experiences. As Jill Korbinn argued, it is vital that we “understand the variability of experience involving children and violence” (2003, 432). I argue that the reverse, a siloed approach emanating from one discipline, constructs a narrow, unrealistic view of humanity. Additionally, it does not allow us to see the individual child as a complex, even contradictory, actor. As a result, we fail to understand how children experience “everyday” (Nordstrom and Robben 1995) structural and physical violence as both its victims and agents. This failure produces a decontextualized unidimensional and therefore misleading portrait of children. That portrait, I argue, translates into a lack of accountability to research participants. If we as scholars methodologically preclude an opportunity to demonstrate children’s multidimensionality and, moreover, do not allow them to give voice to the meanings *they* make out of their lived experiences, we fail them. In what follows, I draw upon years of fieldwork in Middle Eastern and African conflict zones, especially with 5- to 8-year-old Palestinian and Israeli children, beginning in the 1990s and up through the present. I do so to make recommendations for how to transdisciplinarily, and thus, ethically, conceptualize children and childhood to give voice to children’s multidimensionality.
- A transdisciplinary approach to children and conflict zones requires us to critically merge methodologies that posit children or childhood on a spectrum of passive to active. These include a) developmental, b) instrumental-biological, c) legal, and d) social constructivist methodologies. Such a merger necessitates that—while considering children to be vulnerable—researchers should be cognizant of the

Conducting Ethical Research with Children Inside and/or Displaced by Conflict Zones

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fact that children may behave unethically. They may behave that way because they are too young to reason morally, or simply choose to act unethically. Akin to adults and amid arguably unethical situations in which they choose among the available options, children may become child soldiers or militants. In this sense, children, like adults, are complicated beings, acting differently based on context or time. Researchers must proceed accordingly, ensuring children's safety as research participants, as well as their own. They should interview children sensitively but *also* critically.

Transdisciplinary adoption and integration of a psychology-based *developmental approach* enables researchers to consider the impact of conflict on children. These kinds of approaches posit children as vulnerable. Human beings pass through biological and cognitive stages of development. Children, these approaches argue, are not capable of comprehending and actively shaping the world around them. They must first pass through all requisite developmental stages. As a result, these approaches conclude, it is the world, or rather, adults who administer it, who actively shape children's development. Assuming children to be passive, scholars following this line of reasoning have explored the impact of conflict on Palestinian children's post-traumatic stress disorder levels (e.g., Quota, Punamaki, and Sarraj 1997), Israeli children's coping abilities (e.g., Klingman, Sagi, and Raviv 1993), and/or Palestinian children's resiliency (e.g., Punamaki, Quota, and El-Sarraj 2001) in the face of conflict.

The importance of being open to consider approaches positing children as passive becomes even clearer when considering children who have become child mothers through implementation of rape as a weapon of war. These approaches are equally crucial when considering their resultant children. They have been bio-

logically produced for political and economic gain by males on one side of a conflict, and without consent of females on another side. In order to account for the instrumental role assumed by these war babies, it is essential that analyses about conflict zone children also integrate gender and feminist studies approaches that I name *instrumental-biological*. These approaches help us to recognize why these children have been created to, for example, "purify" the enemy. They ensure that when we attempt to construct a representative description of the lives of children impacted by conflict we do not overlook human beings who exist solely because of conflict. It is therefore essential that in addition to their mother's experiences, we also incorporate these human beings' unique experiences.

Scholars should also consider integrating *legal approaches* into their analyses. Legal norms and conventions, on the one hand, define and influence children's safety in conflict zones, and on the other hand, determine penalties for enacting violence that defines these zones. Adoption of such legal approaches requires consideration of definitions constructed by adults who typically assume children are passive. Such definitions predetermine when a child becomes an "adult" based on *when* what I refer to as a) "state-based globalized human rights," or citizen rights, and b) associated penalties, become legally afforded or proscribed by the state (of which they are citizens or contemporarily subject). Predetermining rights include, among others, the right to vote. As examples, the voting age for Israeli and Palestinian children is eighteen. Penalties include criminal liability as a "minor" beginning from age twelve under both Israeli civilian and military law. Parenthetically, the age of twelve as a measure for adulthood therein may, however, be implemented along a sliding scale, based on the ethnopolitical identity of the perpetrator (Palestinian versus Israeli). Implementation at an earlier age

presumes said child is more active (sufficiently "adult" by age twelve), rather than the international legal standard of fourteen, itself also a construction. The latter means that while adults, internationally, may deem children not yet responsible enough to vote on the laws governing children and adults alike, they nevertheless consider children to already be responsible should they break those laws that are created, enacted, and enforced by adults.

Finally, the opposite end of passive on the passive to active spectrum implores scholars to determine children's active involvement in conflict, whether through non-violent or violent protest, and how said involvement shapes the lives of peers and adults on whom children are supposedly dependent. Accordingly, I also recommend scholars categorize children, or the concept of "childhood," through uses of an anthropology-, and/or communication-, sociology-, and history-oriented *social constructivist approach*. In these approaches, adults portray children and childhood as binary opposites to the concept of adulthood in an effort to empower themselves (e.g., Cairns 1996). Adults conceptualize children as lacking everything they possess—for example, agency, competency, strength, knowledge, rationality, and courage. Yet, these approaches argue, precisely because childhood is a concept, not necessarily a series of developmental stages, children indeed are capable human beings. They can and do actively shape their and others' lives. Where protest is concerned, they have been actively involved. With respect to violent protest roles they play and based on Jewish Israeli and Palestinian constructions of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, Palestinian children are, for example, critiqued as "terrorists" in the "situation" or lauded as "freedom fighters" against "occupation."

Contextualized multidimensional—and therefore ethical—portraits of children,

I conclude, may only emerge through the transdisciplinary merger of a range of theories and methodologies. In my own fieldwork, my merger of such theories and methodologies allowed me to disaggregate so-called 'cognition' from culture. It allowed me to critically interpret children's voices as a product of developmental confusion about violence surrounding them, and/or conversely, as active ideological expressions in *protest of it* (Warshel 2009). Such simultaneously sensitive and critical attention to intentions and meanings behind children's experiences produces representative portraits of their resultant mundane conflict zone lives.

The need to paint portraits of children's very real experiences, I conclude, implores scholars to adopt transdisciplinary theoretical and methodological approaches. The result is constitutive of ethical approaches to analyses of children and childhood in conflict zones as essential for making sense of the lives of these children. In the absence of such analyses, we risk seeing children as only victims or perpetrators of violence. Born into circumstances not of their own making, they choose their destinies from out of whatever options are available to them. *How* they experience those circumstances and *why* they ultimately make the choices they do are considerations those seeking to shed light on children should best approach with nuance.

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Urban Conflict Violence and the Health of Young People in Northern Ireland: A Call for Perspectives in Cooperative Dialogue

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In our quickly changing world, a policy paper outlining trauma, violence, and displacement of young people in urban environments circulated in 2012 might now be considered out-of-date (Pavanello et al. 2012). However, what authors Pavanello et al. emphasize is that the traumas and violences in urban settings are the drivers of vulnerability for young people in such societies. High levels of urban conflict violence are a destabilizing factor that undermine societal recovery from war. Equally, the consequences of such violence are not well understood across disciplines which influence policy, humanitarianism, or health. I echo these sentiments, exploring how violence has continued and has become repurposed in what could be termed a "coming from conflict" society, with the aim of increasing our awareness of the blurred lines of violent interplay that still exist for young people in urban Northern Ireland. Here, I reflect on over 20 years of ethnographic work in urban areas of Belfast and Derry/Londonderry and touch upon continuing contemporary traumas and violences faced by young people in this historically and contemporaneously divided society.

Plagued for over four decades by modern conflict violence, and now fueled by political divisions of a post-Brexit United Kingdom, the unique position of young people in this ongoing conflict presents a diverse array of possible political re-imaginings and new opportunities for

violence against and with youth. In this article, I consider as an anthropologist and physician the long-lasting violent interplay and violent trauma toward and among Northern Irish youth, discuss how this research has impacted my perspective on such interconnectedness, and describe the need that I see for further combined research between medicine, psychology, and anthropology.

It is well known that early adverse experiences can precede long-term negative effects on health and those experiencing conflict are at enhanced risk (Calam 2017). As Boyden and deBerry (2004) discuss in their insightful introduction to their edited volume *Children and Youth on the Front Line*, young people are actively recruited in such personalized situations of conflict, and their many uses in their roles in conflict—victim, perpetrator, instigator, illegal messenger or mule, to name a few—make children and young people even more vulnerable. Importantly, however, the authors point out that research on young people in war has left us with an impression that children and youth can be often frozen in a single representation that can be void of context or time (Boyden and de Berry 2004). Medically, while psychiatric and clinical psychological research has focused in the main on the mental health and psychological impacts of trauma on young people, this type of investigation often leaves young people seen as passive vessels of trauma. Equally, the utilization of post-traumatic stress syndrome in places of conflict where violence may be perceived to have ended, including Northern Ireland (Bolton 2017), may miss the nuances of continued intracomunal bullying, threat, and remastered politicized violence that young people both receive and create.

For over 20 years I have conducted research with young people aged 13 to 21 who lived within residentially, educationally, and politically divided



Peace line and security cameras overlooking the Creggan “Bogside” area of Derry/Londonderry, Northern Ireland. August 2018. (Rosellen Roche)



Young rioters prepare with cannisters of gasoline and petrol bombs in the “Bogside” area of Derry/Londonderry August 15, 2018. Here, a flag on the left of the photograph, while similar to the EU flag, depicts the “Starry Plough” (An Camchéachta). This flag is often used to represent the Irish Republican Socialist Party, its armed wing the Irish National Liberation Army (INLA), and other Irish Republican socialist groups. (Rosellen Roche)

ethnonationalist Protestant/Loyalist or Catholic/Nationalist enclaves. For twelve of those years, from 1997–2009, I also lived in these urban areas. Throughout my research, I discuss acts of inter-community and intra-community violence that lead to a habitualization and expectation of violence as social, ritualistic, often political, and necessary in both ethnonationalist enclaves (Roche 2003, 2005, 2007). Although the Good Friday Agreement in April of 1998 heralded a multi-party agreement for Northern Ireland and an unprecedented international covenant between Irish and British governments, encouraged positive changes for Northern Irish policing, and fostered the dismantling of military checkpoints on the Northern Irish/Republic of Ireland border due to the European status both countries shared, it is important to remember these positive changes have stalled in the immediate. With the collapse of the Northern Ireland Executive in January 2017, a political vacuum has arisen. Community aspects of interpersonal and intercommunal violence have continued to simmer in both Catholic and Protestant ethnonationalist communities. Enduring levels of violent interplay have continued despite such positive changes, and are emerging again, including continued exposure to “paramilitary-style” punishment violence and ethnopolitically-motivated rioting.

Paramilitary-related “punishment beatings” or “punishment attacks”—acts of violence perpetrated against young people in their own communities where paramilitaries or other community members act in lieu of policing—were a thing well-known but little talked about in Northern Ireland before the Executive government following the Good Friday Agreement (see Knox 2001a, 2001b and Roche 2007). Classed often as “political” because they are perpetrated by paramilitary or ex-paramilitary members, these politicized acts take on a hue from the ongoing conflict in that they represent



The blaze alight near midnight. “Bogside,” Derry/Londonderry, 15 August 2018. Firefighters work with three vehicles and fire vehicle lifts to control the blaze while hundreds of onlookers remain. (Rosellen Roche)



An IRSP sign board in the Creggan/“Bogside” area of Derry/Londonderry, Northern Ireland, August 2018. (Rosellen Roche)

community control of areas, but can also represent personal vendetta or community isolation. From the beginning of 1990 to the end of October 2014, 4,336 punishment-style attacks were reported to the police in Northern Ireland. There were 2,476 assaults and 1,860 shootings. These were relatively split between

ethnonationalist communities and most often conducted within the “perpetrator’s” own ethnonationalist community (Torney 2016). Generally, acts of punishment are committed against what can commonly be called “hoods” or young people who are often involved in antisocial activities that the paramilitaries and

legitimate local law enforcement hope to curtail. Oftentimes, however, youth antisocial behavior (paint bombs, graffiti, stealing, breaking widows, etc.) can also be seen to “taunt” local paramilitary personalities and control (also see Roche 2003). In 2017, these types of attacks were reported to have almost doubled within that year and rose by 100% since 2015 (Northern Ireland Commissioner for Children and Young People 2017). Although the Police Service of Northern Ireland (PSNI) vigorously condemn such attacks, they find vigilante and politicized justice hard to control due to the support and/or fear of reprisal within communities. Methods of punishment that have long been associated with the “Troubles” and the Northern Irish conflict as modes of intra- and inter-communal violent expression (beatings, kneecappings with bats, tarring, shootings) are passed down within communities through those associated with paramilitaries and vigilante justice, and various forms of threat and intimidation have been shown to precede and follow attacks (Mallon 2016).

Equally, rioting and violence by and toward young people has not seen significant decline in the past decade. Recent riots in 2018 alone speak to continuing undercurrents. Elsewhere, I have discussed at length the unique experiences of young people while they participate in riots and activities connected to ethnonationalist violence (Roche 2003, 2012). While rioting incidents like these can be easily classed as “antisocial behavior,” violent activities of this nature involving young people become an ethnopolitical rite of passage, taking on the burden of the past, while adding in new, developing politicized dimensions. In Derry/Londonderry in July 2018, in the shadow of weeks of rioting preceding and following the ethnonationalist Protestant Orange Order parades, a bonfire bearing the names of four deceased police and prison officers, and bearing the symbols of the British union, was lit in the Nationalist/

Republican “Bogside” area of the city a month later. While community members noted paramilitary backing and encouragement, it was young people who built, lit, and added to the conflagration. What was significant about this event was not that aspects of a violent and political past were integrated into this violent display as has been done for decades before, but new symbols connected to relevant and contemporary topics for Northern Ireland—Brexit, the stalemate over the Irish Language Act, and a perceived lack of international support for European unity—were incorporated into this event. And while the Union Jack was burning, next to the houses were the bright blue flags of the European Union side-by-side with the Irish Tricolor; the combination demonstrating the stalemate between the majority parties Republican Sinn Féin and the Loyalist Democratic Unionist Party. On walls hung posters declaring “Stand by The Republic” and “Hard Border, Soft Border, No Border #Irishunitynow.” Currently at a political standstill, violence in old forms is making a new and renewed statement in this continuing conflict environment.

Although the Good Friday Agreement heralded the positive, popular, and most oft used expression of a “post-conflict” Northern Ireland, I continue to use an expression of a “coming from conflict” society to describe complex intracomunal and personal violences that continue in Northern Ireland. I believe this distinction is important in that it helps us as researchers to not draw a line where a conflict begins and ends. Rather, in the dawning of Brexit, the fragility of community aims and hopes of an “end” to conflict can be seen to be easily challenged. And although some violence may be seen to start, *or* to start again, the novel, contemporary nuances on top of old violent forms should not be dismissed as the same expressions. Rather, I posit that these should be seen for the continuing trauma and struggle that they are, illus-

trating new forms of violence in what is a continually divided society. Beyond some psychological and anthropological research in Northern Ireland, few researchers have attempted to qualitatively grapple with the complexity of youth violence, youth trauma from violence, and wellness. While newer peer-reviewed journals such as the journal *Conflict and Health* are reaching out to many scholars in both qualitative and quantitative camps and across medical disciplines, we have much room for growth in shared impact. Equally, those working in humanitarian and youth circles continue to note the importance of involving children and young people themselves in the solutions. Zwi and Grove (2006) rightly note that children play significant roles in their own well-being, as well as that of others. Children and young people should be involved in efforts to improve their own health and have the potential to lead more effective interventions. My hope is that ethnographers working directly with children and young people can add greater influence into medical and humanitarian literature, and begin to link—draw *interconnected* research lines—between trauma affecting children and young people in areas of urban warfare and conflict.

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Practicing Storytelling With and Learning From Migrant Youth

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As practitioners and researchers who live and work in the United States (U.S.), we understand the importance of addressing the interlocking oppressions migrants face; they are our colleagues, students, and part of our communities. This piece is a call to action: to consider the voices and stories of migrant youth as one way

to bring attention to their experiences of deportation, racism, and unattainable expectations placed upon immigrants in the U.S. Within this piece, we make use of the narratives of migrant youth in *Green Card Youth Voices: Immigration Stories from an Atlanta High School* to consider the violent realities of migration by directing attention to larger oppressive systems and structures in the American South.

Green Card Youth Voices is a text honoring diverse stories and experiences of migration in Atlanta, Georgia, which has a troubling history and present regarding anti-Black racism and anti-immigration—despite Atlanta being a hub or safe haven for migrants and refugees. The stories of migrant children and youth address how the Trump era continues to impact them—for better or worse. For many of the migrant youth in *Green Card Youth Voices*, they are using their knowledge and skills to rewrite their stories about what it means to call the U.S. home, retelling their stories of brutality in their countries of origin, and ultimately, sharing deep experiences regarding their individual biographies.

For us, storytelling has the ability to capture attention, create an emotional connection, and compel engagement in social change. As hooks (1989, 158) notes, “the longing to tell one’s story and the process of telling is symbolically a gesture of longing to recover the past in such a way that one experiences both a sense of reunion and a sense of release.” As a compelling gesture to retell traumatic experiences and remember them simultaneously, stories offer a powerful opportunity to listen and consider new (and sometimes differing) positions on social, economic, political, and cultural issues affecting all of us. The specific stories of migrant youth reveal how the larger and expected narrative of the “American Dream” is in fact the “American Nightmare” for some. The personal, familial,

and communal sacrifices that have been made toward achieving the “American Dream” have shortchanged young people by tearing apart their families, criminalizing their migration, and vilifying their existence. Within the Trump era, many migrant families continue to be the targets of violence; hence, making the topic of contemporary immigration important to discuss—especially for youth.

Here we address stories about the ways young people endure multiple and intersecting oppressions within their own migration experience. Young migrants’ stories are rarely taken seriously by adults due to larger racist and xenophobic discourses regarding the speaking marginalized subject—their voices are rarely heard or taken seriously (Greensmith and Sheppard 2017). As such, we share two stories of migrant youth who are retelling their experiences of migration from *Green Card Youth Voices*. We seek to honor young people, reveal the complex ways adults can engage youth through storytelling, and address how migration stories can challenge existing structures by bringing light to policies and practices that do not serve migrant youth well. These youth migrated to Atlanta, Georgia, to escape current economic and political conditions, gain access to sustainable education, (re)connect with existing family, and escape violence.

For example, Sean Cordovez, age 17 from the Philippines, discussed his experience adjusting to the American South:

Getting used to America was pretty hard. I felt like an outsider, and I didn’t feel welcomed initially. It was a long ... road to actually fitting in. I got to learn English as a second language, but I lost part of my Tagalog because there weren’t other Filipinos in the area except for my family (Rozman-Clark, Rodriguez, and Smith-Sitton 2018, 48).

In light of migration stories youth share, experiencing a new culture holds rewards and shortcomings. As Greensmith and Sheppard (2017) note, a sense of belonging for migrant children and youth is of vital importance, as they often will work to erase their cultural differences in an effort to fit in. For Sean, this experience of fitting in had the effect of losing some of his mother tongue. In effect, the assimilation into U.S. normativity has a cost for migrant youth as they often lose their language, culture, customs, and history.

Not only does migration require learning new cultural norms but it can also negatively impact the larger family unit. America, age 18 from Mexico, highlighted the way the “American Dream” can be harmful for her family:

My parents were the original “Dreamers” because they came to this country in search of the American Dream. They left everything behind because in their minds this country was everything for them. It was new jobs and more opportunities. ... It was escaping poverty in our home country, and it was giving their children the opportunity that they couldn’t have. My parents weren’t even able to reach high school, for them to see me being a senior and graduating in a few months is showing them that all of their sacrifices were worth something (Rozman-Clark et al. 2018, 81).

For America, the realities of migration had intergenerational effects; while she may have gained social and cultural capital for receiving her high school diploma, her parents had to sacrifice to provide her a livable future.

The goal of highlighting young people’s stories is to offer complexities to a taboo topic and highlight the need to consider the humanity of migrants (Rodriguez,

2010) especially within the current political climate where specific safety nets like the Deferred Action for Childhood Actors (DACA) have been defunded, resulting in the deportation of immigrants across the U.S. who have only ever called it home. Within the particular context of migration, storytelling can challenge narratives of the U.S. being a melting pot, by naming the persistent inequalities experienced. More generally, we believe that storytelling can offer migrant youth an opportunity to share their stories, connect surrounding their similar experiences, and become resilient in the face of inequality. Without a migration story or a counter narrative, we perceive that the current regimes negatively impacting immigrants and refugees will continually go unnoticed, and moreover, become unaddressed.

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Trauma and Other Health Determinants among Recent Central American Immigrants: Implications for Youth and Young Adults

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Regardless of current politics, continued efforts will remain necessary to address the public health consequences of migration to the U.S., especially for youth. In keeping with an increased focus on determinants of health, these efforts would benefit significantly by framing the migration experience and its impacts on health as a continuum that includes at least three domains—home country circumstances, migration through geographic space, and adjusting to/coping with relocation in the U.S. setting. All three of these domains tend to interact as one integrated phenomenon affecting health (Edberg et al. 2011; Castañeda et al. 2015). Key issues in this continuum for recent Central American as well as other migrants are trauma related to violence in their home country, victimization or witnessing trauma during migration, and new traumas subsequent to U.S. relocation. The latter include poverty, family reunification difficulties, a hostile immigration climate, uncertainty, and limited economic opportunities.

As one effort to pursue this approach, we will highlight just a few findings in these three domains from a pilot qualitative research study that is part of ongoing work with a primarily Latino immigrant community in the Washington, D.C. metropolitan area. The study team conducted 75 life history interviews, transcripts

of which are under continued analysis. Respondents were recent migrants from El Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras. Fifty-nine percent of the sample was female, while 41% was male. Most respondents were between 18–40 years old; we were thus able to gain insight into the migration experience for youth and young adults to complement what we have already seen among youth in the Adelante and other programs conducted by the Avance Center for the Advancement of Immigrant/Refugee Health at George Washington University (www.avancegw.org).

Two key themes from the analysis are important for understanding health determinants for these migrants. First, the primary reasons that respondents left their home countries were to escape imminent violence, victimization and poverty—with little available opportunity. Those escaping violence were fleeing from gang violence, domestic violence, or—in the case of a few respondents—from LGBTQ discriminatory violence. Second, more than two thirds of the respondents whose interviews have been analyzed so far experienced migration stress, including experiencing or witnessing violence or sexual assault, imprisonment for ransom, temporary incarceration, and difficulties crossing the desert. Almost half of these respondents experienced health problems during migration, and more than half also reported stressors in the U.S. that included fear, sadness, economic pressures, and difficult living conditions. Migration is also expensive—respondents paid smugglers (coyotes) from \$5,000 to \$20,000 to make the journey.

A few examples from the coded text illustrate what many of these respondents faced at home. One 24-year-old female from El Salvador described the gang violence she saw before leaving:

They are killing. There they go to

students at the college, they are even killing...Look, the reason they are killing there is because, maybe you go and turn and look at them, because you see them... There they (take) rent and if you don't pay the rent they open the house and kill (the person). Well, I wanted to come (to the U.S.) more because I saw when they killed a family. A massacre.

An 18-year-old young woman left her home town of San Pedro Sula, Honduras, because

there are parts (of Honduras) that are dangerous, many neighborhoods you can't enter...the gang members, the gangs, they don't give permission to enter there, and if you don't know somebody they don't let you enter. In my neighborhood it got ugly, in the night they killed many people my age, sometimes in front of the house.

During migration, many respondents were subjected to multiple and serious adversities. A 23-year-old male from Guatemala described his first attempt as follows:

Yes, the first time I suffered enough, three days passed without eating. I went to stop in a place where they treated everyone badly, they left us locked up for three months... they treated us bad enough, it was a very bad trip, but the second time we came [to the U.S.]. On the first trip I got sick, I had bone pain, it was very cold, I think that my bones grabbed ice, I don't know, or that's to say I nearly could not walk, it was hard.

A 24-year-old female, also from Guatemala, talked about forced confinement in Mexico, at the border right next to the river.

They wouldn't let us leave and the most stressful moment of the journey was there; that's where I was the most scared because they didn't want to give us food. They held us for about 5 days. There were lots of us in a house that was shuttered.

Health problems reported during migration included depression, knee problems, bone aches, frostbite, stomach, kidney problems, and fever. One birth was also reported.

Once in the U.S., respondents reported both positive and negative experiences. Positives included relative safety, opportunities for school, opportunities for work (in many, but not all cases), public transportation and the ability to send money home to help. However, more than half of the respondents analyzed to date reported additional stressors in the U.S. Many miss family and social connections back home. The cost of living is high, and there are language barriers and a lack of doctors near the community. Many experience difficulties regarding the political climate. Talking about the daily impact of this climate, a Guatemalan male participant (age 32) said:

Well, I worry about the rumors about laws. They say they're going to deport everyone. What worries me is being deported to a bad situation with all the gangs, and it's hard to think about that. If God wills it, so be it, but you live with the pressure that someone is going to report you.

These results parallel data from a small survey (n=104) conducted with immigrant youth in one of our community interventions (the Adelante program) that showed the following: 60% reported traumatic experiences in their home country, 22% during the immigration process, and 21% after arriving in the U.S. Overall, 64% of the youth showed

clinical signs of depression based on the PHQ-9 scale (from the Patient Health Questionnaire), with 16% scoring in the moderate-to-severe categories (Cleary et al. 2017).

The results of the research described here clearly highlight health consequences of the migration environment in its totality. More specifically, the prevalence of adverse events and trauma throughout the migration journey among Central American youth and young adults portends further health consequences if efforts are not made to provide access to supportive services.

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HIV and the Threat of Child Separation in Saskatchewan, Canada

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(U of Saskatchewan)

Mark was waiting impatiently for his grandmother in the drop-in center of AIDS Saskatoon, the primary organization providing HIV and Hepatitis-C (HCV) services to the central and northern regions of the Canadian province of Saskatchewan. I was in the midst of a five-year ethnographic project on motherhood and HIV/AIDS when I first met Mark, a precocious and light-hearted seven-year-old. It was unusual to see him so impatient and agitated. "Everything ok?" I asked. "*Kokum* [grandmother/Cree] needs her medicine. She forgot to take it this morning and I need her to take it now," he responded, holding up the bottle of antiretroviral pills. With an uncharacteristically solemn expression, he added: "I don't want nobody to take me away ... I want to take care of *Kokum* so we can stay together ... She has to take her pill."

The anthropology of motherhood is a site for research that focuses overwhelmingly on the care that mothers (among others) provide to children. There is relatively little attention within this burgeoning subfield on the care that children provide to adults. One notable exception is Jean Hunleth's (2017) ethnography, *Children as Caregivers: The Global Fight Against Tuberculosis and HIV in Zambia*. Hunleth, an anthropologist and global health specialist who works with children in challenging circumstances, argues that in George, a poor urban settlement in Zambia, children care for adults suffering from HIV and tuberculosis in order to keep the family intact. Children love their family members and want them to

be well. They also fear separation from their kin, and they know that serious illness is often a cause of separation. Children consequently seek to stay close and provide care to ill family members. They do so not only to avoid the emotional distress associated with a guardian's death, but also to avoid the social devastation and vulnerability associated with "orphan status."

Hunleth's work provides an excellent framework for understanding the role that many Indigenous children in Saskatchewan, Canada, take in caring for their family members who are living with, or at risk for, HIV and HCV. Saskatchewan has the highest HIV and HCV rates in Canada (almost triple the national average). The epidemic disproportionately affects Indigenous peoples. In 2014, Indigenous people accounted for 71% of newly diagnosed cases of HIV, and Indigenous communities have among the highest rates of both HIV and HCV in the world (PHAC 2015). HIV and HCV are mired in a colonial history characterized by community displacement and state-enforced family separation. The apprehension and removal of Indigenous children from homes and families was, and is, a strategy used by the Canadian state to weaken First Nations communities. In my work at AIDS Saskatoon, I found that children identify "keeping families together" and "staying with my mom and *kokum*" as a central reason that they take up a caregiving role. Children are well aware that they are at risk of apprehension by the state. They share an intergenerational fear of separation, and they work collectively with community members to minimize that risk.

Mark and the ten other young Indigenous children who I came to know through the course of this study took it upon themselves to learn about the anti-retroviral medications that their parents, particularly their mothers and grand-

mothers, have to take. The children are not HIV-positive, but they live in an environment where HIV figures into and structures their daily lives. This means that they are familiar with the signs of addiction and chronic drug use. The transmission of HIV and HCV in Saskatchewan is primarily related to injection drug use, and opioid addiction is a significant burden in Indigenous communities. Poverty, racism, stigma, and systemic barriers to addiction treatment prevent many from seeking help or accessing methadone programs. For mothers, this is compounded by the fear that their children will be taken away. The children who were involved in this research shared that fear. Twelve-year old Marta explained:

Mom's HIV is why them social workers came and took me away. It took a long time before I could go home 'cause they thought she was using [drugs] again, but she wasn't! I know she wasn't. I was taking care of her, making sure she got her methadone, and was taking all her meds. The social workers wouldn't listen to me, I felt so lost without my mom. My foster mom didn't know how to make lunches that were ok for me to eat ... I have diabetes. Only my mom knows. I'm real scared that they'll take me from her again.

In this short passage, Marta emphasized not only how much she needs her mother but how much her mother needs her. Hunleth (2017, 75) explains that "neither dependence nor independence fits what it means to be a cared-for child in George. Instead, children and adults were dependent upon one another; they were interdependent." What children do for themselves and for their family is intertwined with what they receive. The care that the Indigenous children in my research give to their mothers and

grandmothers is similarly and inextricably tied to the care they receive. As Hunleth (2017, 75) goes on to note, "Putting these two together—what children do and what they receive—can help us understand children's strategies and fears."

Indigenous children in Saskatchewan live in the shadow of state apprehension and family separation. Understanding and supporting the cultural system of interdependent care, in which children play a central role, would likely go a long way towards alleviating fear of family separation and ultimately lessening the provincial HIV epidemic. Jean Hunleth (2017, 150) argues that "to view children as health agents is to honor children's everyday efforts to maintain dignity and sustain lives within exceptionally difficult circumstances." In Saskatchewan, honoring children's everyday efforts may well entail honoring the cohesion and importance of family unity.

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Childhood and Maternal Separation Narratives in Immigrant Families

Gabrielle Oliveira (Boston College)

Sitting on a concrete bench in the plaza of a small town in Puebla, Mexico, Camilia sketched her family. This activity represented one of the pillars in my research design where children who lived

separated from their parents would draw their families, their homes, and what they thought the United States looked like. Camilia pointed to the drawing and explained to me that the baby that her mother was holding in the drawing was herself. Camilia's pictorial representation showed us how families stay "frozen," suspended in time when there is an "everyday rupture" like migration (Coe et al. 2011). Her last physical memory of her mother was when she was very young. Camilia was now nine years old—her mother had left Mexico when she was not yet two years old. Camilia is older than all the siblings pictured in the drawing, but she described herself as her mother's baby. She told me, "I still dream about my mother holding me and singing to put me to sleep...I wonder if she still sings for my brothers."

In the 32 months I conducted transnational ethnographic research between Mexico and New York, I interviewed, observed, and collected drawings from over 80 children. Thus, my reporting is derived from a multi-sited ethnographic study that seeks to "follow the people" and their stories (Marcus 1995, 106). As Abu-Lughod wrote, "by focusing closely on particular individuals and their changing relationships, one would necessarily subvert the most problematic connotations of culture: homogeneity, coherence, and timelessness" (1991, 476). I used multi-sited methods to be able to more fully explain the social phenomenon of transnational motherhood and childhood between Mexico and the U.S. Camilia's thoughts about the other side were not uncommon among children who had been living away from parents. What became clear in their narratives of separation was the central role attributed to their mothers. Children often longed for information about the other side and in the process developed narratives of migration.

Children are both social actors and subjects of social forces; as they experi-

ence migration in their families, they have their own responses and opinions. Their experiences are central when understanding the consequences of maternal migration and family separation. In today's context, an increasing number of Mexican female migrants emigrate to the United States without their families, leaving their children behind in the care of relatives or friends (Fernandez-Kelly 2008). The number of years mothers stay separated from their children has increased due to longer periods of settlement stemming from the need to reduce the risks of exit and re-entry to the United States. As Coe et al. (2011) remind us, the idea of childhood is culturally specific, and it shifts over time in response to political and social changes.

Camilia, Andrés, Raul, Bryan

In this particular workshop in which Camilia drew her family, other children joined our conversation (translated from Spanish to English):

Andrés: This one here is you... (he asked, pointing at the baby)

Camilia: Yes, but be careful with your fingers! It's me because that was me when my *mamá* went away...I am...I was...I am the baby she is holding.

Andrés: But you are not a baby now.

Camilia: I know!

Raul: And these are your little brothers and sisters. My *abuela* says that they all go to *El Norte* and *mamás* always have more babies.

Bryan: And this is your brother! A dog! (he points to the dog also portrayed in the picture)

Camilia: Yes, this is Mimi. But my *mamá* lives in New York now and maybe she has another baby.

Bryan: My *mamá* has three other babies there!

Raul: My *mamá* has...I don't know! A car!

Camilia: This is not what we are talking about, Raul. *Maestra*, why do you think all of our *mamás* are there?

Andrés: I know! I know! Can I say it? It's because they will help.

Camilia: I don't like it...

Researcher: What don't you like?

Camilia: That they leave to help. You can help here with me, *mamás* don't leave. The papas yes...not the *mamás*.

The other three boys became distracted and went on to grab more paint for their drawings. Camilia held on to her drawing and asked me if she could keep it. I told her, "of course," and asked if I could take a picture of it. She then changed her mind and told me: "Maybe you keep it and give it to my *mamá* in *El Norte*... Maybe she will remember me here and come back to get me."

Reflection

At another interview, Camilia continued, "one can't get angry because she is not here [referring to the mother] but one can't become happy because the *mamá* is not here...I am waiting." Camilia, as many other children in this research, expressed the duality of being the child of migrant mothers: to honor the sacrifice of a migrant mother or to resent the rupture? Children's narratives fall somewhere in the middle. Children in Mexico clung tightly to the notion of family and longed for maternal presence. Kinship, which some have argued has lost its importance in modern societies, proved to be vital and something the participants in this study craved. In a social, political, and legal environment that promotes and necessitates prolonged periods of separation, the emotional aspects of separation are extremely difficult for children, who question the reasons of their mothers'

departures. Children's narratives of immigration and separation are at the nexus of migration research and are especially needed in the current political context.

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FEATURE ARTICLES

Childhood and Empathy "Training": After-School Programs' Contribution

Scarlett Eisenhauer (UCLA)

I was recently struck by two lines of commentary regarding child/youth development and empathy that resonated with my own research at Green Door Theatre's (pseudonym) after-school program. First, I spontaneously overheard a radio comment: "If you want to teach your kids empathy, start by looking them in the face and saying 'I'm sorry' and mean it" (paraphrased). Having caught just the end of the commentary, the sentiment stuck; with the rise of formal education taking on "skills" such as empathy, phrases like "empathy training" have become buzzwords. But when did empathy become a formally taught skill?

Secondly, Marjorie Orellana (2017)—whose extensive research with bilingual youth acting as translators for parents—discusses the powerful impact on what she terms "transculturality" and "solidarity" that translating has for children and youth. In having to translate someone else's words, youth become capable of understanding others' perspectives and even develop empathy for their positionality—just by doing everyday activities.

Ecocultural theory states that development occurs in precisely this way: It is through participation in the everyday activities of a community—saying sorry, translating for parents—that culture acquisition and development takes place

(Weisner 2002). If that is the case, special moments of "empathy training" are not going to do the job. Rather, children need to be immersed in environments in which participation actively engages empathy.

This is where after-school programs can play a role as part of weekly routines and offering unique learning environments, thereby contributing to developmental pathways. Orellana's research at the "B-club" highlights the opportunities to practice transculturality and solidarity by bringing together the children's and staff's world views. The practices required by transculturality and solidarity reflect components of empathy when defined as an intersubjective "process in which one person imagines the particular perspective of another person" (Halpern and Weinstein 2004, 568). In this case the focus is on the positive connectedness that empathy can foster (Zembylas 2013), rather than potential harmful aspects (Hollan and Throop 2008).

This brings me back to my own work. Addie, Green Door Theatre's co-founder and teaching artist for teenaged youth, discusses the powerful tool theater provides her for working with youth:

We use theater to help you express yourself in what you can already do so brilliantly which is talking and listening. Those are the skills you have and that's what theater is. And so that foundation gives us the opportunity to really dig deep and start teasing out other things.

And the real power is that, when they engage in acting, they are asked to engage skills necessary to become empathetically inclined teenagers. Addie continued:

You have to really understand and feel somebody else's view. You know, and that's theatre ... acting is where the real skill is

for the children in after school programming. And it's empathy. Having them understand how does it feel to be the homeless guy in the neighborhood?

By "feel," Addie emphasizes something beyond recognition alone. The golden acting moments from the youth are those when they are actually able to transport themselves into others' states. After a scene in which Sadie was portraying a mother who feared losing her children, she ended with real tears. "I actually felt scared," Sadie commented, showing a certain amount of happiness and pride in her demonstration of acting mastery, even while echoes of fear and sadness clung to her.

During my interviews and conversations with youth, enjoying being able to "be someone else" while they were at the theater was a common sentiment: Doing scenes allowed them to be transported into someone else. The essence of empathy was articulated during a few of my interviews with them:

Acting basically...you have to put yourself into somebody else's shoes and you have to know that person—like what they are going to say, how are they going to say it, what are the movements that they're usually gonna do... (Sophia)

You have to put a lot of feeling into it. And—it's fun. I mean when you act, you can't be smiling. I mean, you might be happy, but that's not the character. You have to be sad... You also have to think about your feelings. And think "Oh yeah. I can feel like that." (Crystal)

Does it happen every week? Of course not. But on some days I watched youth seriously delve into scenes about abuse, death, emotional triggers, intense joy,

etc. as Addie guided them through participation in the day's activities, prompting them with "What does it feel like...?"

Conclusions

When "empathy training" becomes formally taught, we need to look to the small ecocultural niches provided by after-school programs that immerse youth in environments that value and reflect these skills and are rich in opportunities to partake in them. Empathy does not come from a book, it comes from engaged *practice*. Even those programs encompassing only a few hours of children's time per week become part of meaningful communities in childhood routines.

Validating after-school settings as cultural and acknowledging the tasks youth are asked to perform in them can help us understand how youth develop in pluralistic cultures, and how to harness after-school communities for the development of successful youth in their broader environment. In this case, such programs are sites where empathy can be a valued outcome.

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Taking Sides: Reflections on Activist Research with Brazilian Rural Youth

Melinda Gurr (Syracuse U)

Founded in 1984, Brazil's Landless Rural Workers' Movement (MST) struggles for land reform and social transformation in one of the world's most unequal societies. Its significant accomplishments have attracted substantial attention from scholars and activists, but less is known about the subjectivities, aspirations, and experiences of rural youth affiliated with the movement. Attending to this gap, my youth-centered study examined the forces that strengthened and weakened young people's involvement in the MST as farmers and activists. In this essay, I reflect upon my own experience, as it may be useful for other scholars who study rural youth and activism in conservative cultural contexts.

When I set out in 2012, I was inspired by the accounts and methods of activist scholars. Charles Hale defines activist research as a dialogical methodology whereby political movements are involved in "each phase of the research process, from the conception of the research topic to

data collection, verification, and the dissemination of results” (Hale 2006, 97). Others have argued that activist research opens doors, increases analytical rigor, and produces epistemologically superior results (Schensul et al. 2008). Such scholarship, however, leaves a number of ethical and methodological questions unaddressed. What, for example, should the novice ethnographer do in the wake of interpersonal conflicts within a social movement? Where should her loyalties remain—with established leadership or research participants? What is the role of the researcher’s body and positionality? Retrospectively, I have been perplexed that relatively little has been said about gendered and generational politics within activist research encounters (for an exception, see Berry et al. 2017). Fieldwork placed me in an almost impossible situation, as MST leaders thought I should conduct research under their supervision, parents hoped I’d be a good influence, and young people saw me as a potential friend and ally.

Conducting research with the MST was not easy. Its communities are geographically dispersed and outsider access to them is controlled. Foreigners often visit model settlements under supervision and take them to be emblematic of the broader movement. Indeed, MST leaders understandably work hard to curate a specific image so as to align with official narratives, platforms, and politics (Wolford 2010, 31). As a result, conducting ethnographic research with the MST was somewhat awkward, as their objectives were sometimes at odds with my own goals of seeking out and portraying complexity.

Living in rural households involved another set of complications. As an outsider, I could not comfortably inhabit a socially recognizable role, as a wife, mother, girlfriend, sister, or daughter. I was 28 years old, unattached, and childless. I traveled alone, asked questions, and have visible tattoos. For some elders,



Fourteen-year-old, queer runaway. He cleaned and cooked in exchange for a safe place to sleep at night in a Brazilian land reform settlement (Pernambuco, Brazil). In the photo, he is butchering a chicken for use in a love magic ceremony. (Melinda Gurr)

my body represented real and imagined threats to traditional lifeways centered on heteronormative families and the sexual division of labor. Reflecting broader generational anxieties within farm families, elders often commented on the increasing visibility of *travestis*, gays, and lesbians in the countryside, and lamented the decline in traditional patterns of authority and marriage. Although they implicitly recognized barriers that impeded smooth transitions into socially recognized adulthood, many referred to youth in pejorative terms—as rebellious, *sem futuros*, or in need of moral rescue—and hoped that someone might intervene.

Finally, young people were sometimes bewildered by my research project and role. Was I an activist? A teacher? Whose side was I on? With time and care, eventually I developed trusting relationships with rural youth. By listening to them and participating in their daily activities, I came to understand them as pluralistic, complex beings. Racially diverse, unmarried, and more educated than their parents’ generation, many were loyal to their families, farming, and the MST.

That being said, they wanted to exercise agency in their lives, and pointed to gaps between organizational principles and practices. For example, although the MST discursively supports gender equality, Brazilian farm families tend to be intensely patriarchal. As household dependents, I discovered that young women resented the multifarious constraints they experienced while living at home. Mobility constraints were especially revealing, as my female informants and I were actively discouraged from leaving the house unless accompanied by trusted men. While at home, we often discussed their elusive quests for *liberdade*—aspirations for social and physical mobility; the freedom to make choices about clothing, appearance, employment, and education; and the ability to love whom-ever they wished, regardless of gender. In some cases, the MST dovetailed nicely with these desires as it provided them with socially acceptable reasons to leave their homes, to participate in courses or political demonstrations. However, certain organizational practices discouraged female participation in (sometimes) unexpected ways.

In short, my eighteen months in rural Brazil was a rather complex experience. I learned that researching the cultural politics of rural youth in conservative places requires reflexivity, patience, and the willingness to withstand social discomfort. Valorizing the voices and perspectives of young people came at the expense of attending to their elders in the countryside and in the MST. There is considerable value, however, in documenting the lives of rural youth, considering their importance to the future of food security and farming. Such attention is even more urgent considering the increasingly regressive, authoritarian, and exclusionary national policies that are currently deepening inequalities and unraveling social protections in Brazil. In such a context, analysis of how political alternatives are generated and sustained, especially by youth, is crucial to understanding and supporting inclusionary political projects.

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PHOTO SUBMISSIONS

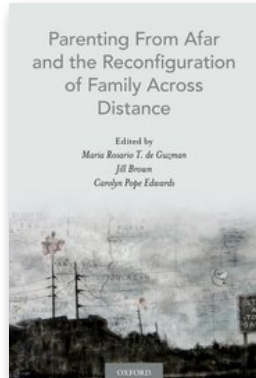


Shekinah, age 15, sings about youth recovery from the 2016 Fort McMurray wildfire disaster: www.thedistrictstudio.ca/youthvoiceswb.html. She wrote "Recovery" as part of the Youth Voices Rising project facilitated by the ResiliencebyDesign Lab: www.resiliencebydesign.com/yvr. (Tamara Plush)



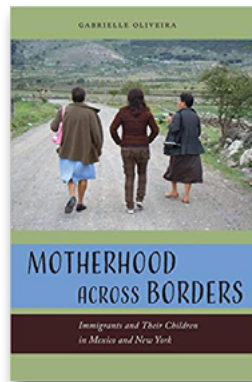
A young Dinka boy and his cattle in Yirol, South Sudan, September 2018. Traditionally carried out by male youth, cattle raiding is a common cultural practice among the peoples of the "Cattle Complex in East Africa," as categorized by Melville Herskovit (1926). In South Sudan, the conflict-related proliferation of small arms has led to cattle raiding becoming a chief contributor to the generalized violence and forced displacement that has once again plagued the country since the resurgence of war in 2013. (Marisa O. Ensor)

NEW BOOK ANNOUNCEMENTS



Parenting From Afar and the Reconfiguration of Family Across Distance
 Maria Rosario T. de Guzman, Jill Brown,
 and Carolyn Pope Edwards (eds.)
 Oxford University Press
 May 2018
 £46.49 (hardback)
 eBook also available

Parenting From Afar features an impressively wide range of configurations and circumstances of long distance family life. This collection highlights how distance impacts all family members. Authors come from a variety of disciplines to tackle the issue of family life and separation. The published result offers important data from various countries, including: Thailand, the Philippines, Korea, the U.S., Namibia, Ecuador, Mexico, Canada, Norway, Poland, and Uganda.



Motherhood Across Borders: Immigrants and Their Children in Mexico and New York
 Gabrielle Oliveira
 New York University Press
 July 2018
 \$30 (paperback)
 \$89 (cloth)
 eBook also available

What are the everyday experiences of families with members on both sides of the border? Focusing on Mexican women who migrate to New York City and leave children behind, *Motherhood Across Borders* examines parenting from afar, as well as the ways in which separated siblings cope with different experiences across borders. Drawing on more than three years of ethnographic research, Gabrielle Oliveira offers a unique focus on the many consequences of maternal migration. Oliveira illuminates the life trajectories of separated siblings, including their divergent educational paths, and the everyday struggles that undocumented mothers go through in order to parent all of their children, no matter where they live.

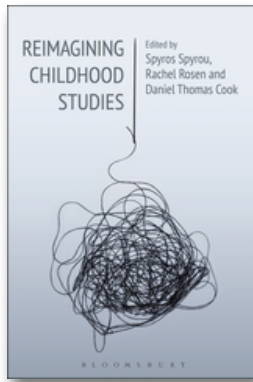
The book uncovers the far-reaching effects of maternal migration. With more mothers migrating without their children in search of jobs, opportunities, and the hope of creating a better life for their families, *Motherhood Across Borders* is an invaluable resource for scholars, educators, and anyone with an interest in the current dynamics of U.S. immigration.



Feminism and the Politics of Childhood
 Rachel Rosen and Katherine Twamley
 (eds.)
 University College London Press
 February 2018
 £40.00 (hardback)
 £22.99 (paperback)
 Open Access PDF

Feminism and the Politics of Childhood offers an innovative and critical exploration of perceived commonalities and conflicts between women and children and, more broadly, between various forms of feminism and the politics of childhood. This unique collection of 18 chapters brings into dialogue authors from a range of geographical contexts, social science disciplines, activist organizations, and theoretical perspectives. The wide variety of subjects includes refugee camps, care labor, domestic violence, childcare, and education.

The chapters' authors focus on local contexts as well as their global interconnections, and draw on diverse theoretical traditions such as poststructuralism, psychoanalysis, posthumanism, postcolonialism, political economy, and the ethics of care. Together the contributions offer new ways to conceptualize relations between women and children, and to address injustices faced by both groups.



Reimagining Childhood Studies
 Spyros Spyrou, Rachel Rosen, and Daniel
 Thomas Cook (eds.)
 Bloomsbury Publishing
 December 2018
 \$144 (hardcover)
 \$58.49 (paperback, eBook, and PDF
 also available)

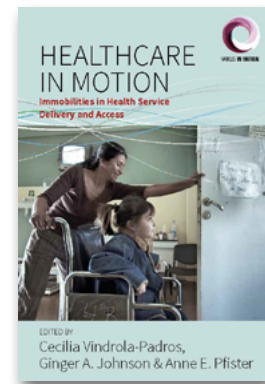
Reimagining Childhood Studies incites, and provides a forum for, dialogue and debate about the direction and impetus for critical and global approaches to social-cultural studies of children and their childhoods. Set against the backdrop of a quarter century of research and theorizing from the “new” social studies of childhood, each of the 13 original contributions extends the conceptual reach and relevance of the work in the dynamic and expanding field of childhood studies in the 21st century.

Internationally renowned contributors engage with contemporary scholarship from both the global north and south to address questions of power, inequity, reflexivity, subjectivities, and representation from poststructuralist, posthumanist, postcolonial, feminist, queer studies, and political economy perspectives. It moves the insights of childhood studies beyond the field’s boundaries, helping to maintain insights about children’s everyday lives from this burgeoning area of study and avoid its marginalization.



*Pregnant During Ebola: Women and their
 Children in the 2013–15 West African
 Pandemic*
 David A. Schwartz, Julienne Ngoundoung
 Anoko, and Sharon A. Abramowitz (eds.)
 Springer
 December 2018
 \$159.99 (hardcover)
 \$119 (eBook)

This comprehensive account of the deadliest Ebola outbreak in history examines its devastating effects on West Africa’s most vulnerable populations: pregnant women and children. Noted experts across disciplines assess health care systems’ responses to the epidemic in Liberia, Guinea, and Sierra Leone, emphasizing key areas such as pregnancy, prenatal services, childbirth, neonatal care, and survivor health among pregnant and non-pregnant women. The 30 chapters hone in on gender-based social issues exacerbated during the outbreak, from violence against women and girls to barriers to female education. At the same time, chapters pinpoint numerous areas for service delivery and policy improvements for more coordinated, effective, and humane actions during future pandemics.



*Healthcare in Motion: Immobilities in
 Health Service Delivery and Access*
 Cecilia Vindrola-Padros, Ginger A.
 Johnson, and Anne E. Pfister (eds.)
 Berghahn Books
 August 2018
 \$120 (hardcover)
 eBook also available

How does the need to obtain and deliver health services engender particular (im)mobility forms? And how is mobility experienced and imagined when it is required for healthcare access or delivery? Guided by these questions, *Healthcare in Motion* explores the dynamic interrelationship between mobility and healthcare, drawing on case studies from across the world and shedding light on the day-to-day practices of patients and professionals. Chapters on practices of caregiving among families of deaf children in Mexico City and Czech egg donors would be of particular interest to researchers focused on children and families. Please use discount code VIN530.

MEMBER NEWS

MEMBER ACHIEVEMENTS

RECENT APPOINTMENTS

Krista Billingsley, Member News Editor, received her PhD in Anthropology from the University of Tennessee in May and is currently a Postdoctoral Research Scholar in the Department of Anthropology at the University of South Florida. Her book project examines children and transitional justice in Nepal.

OTHER ACHIEVEMENTS

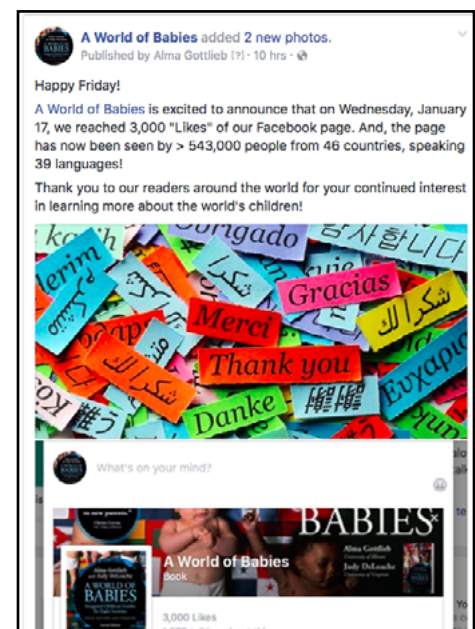
Courtney L. Everson, PhD, led a team of interdisciplinary researchers in publishing the largest study to-date on outcomes of doula care for a U.S. national sample of pregnant adolescents and their children. The study, entitled "Outcomes of Care for 1,892 Doula-Supported Adolescent Births in the United States: The DONA International Data Project, 2000 to 2013" was published in the *Journal of Perinatal Education* in August 2018. This study highlights doula care as a perinatal care strategy for improving maternal-infant health outcomes and decreasing inequities among childbearing adolescents. Questions can be directed to Dr. Everson at Courtney.Everson@midwifery.edu. The article can be accessed here—<http://connect.springerpub.com/content/sgrjpe/27/3/135>—and the full citation is:

Everson, C., M. Cheyney, and M. Bovbjerg. 2018. "Outcomes of Care for 1,892 Doula-Supported Adolescent Women: The DONA International Data Project, 2000 to 2013." *Journal of Perinatal Education* 27, no. 3: 135–147. doi: 10.1891/1058-1243.27.3.135.

OTHER ANNOUNCEMENTS

Interested in promoting your wonderful book to a global audience? I recommend setting up a Facebook page for the book. I was surprised when my publisher suggested this for the new edition of *A World of Babies: Imagined Childcare Guides for Eight Societies* (edited by Alma Gottlieb and Judy DeLoache; published by Cambridge University Press in 2017). I worked with a student assistant to set up the page, and she's helped me maintain it. Since we started the project soon after I retired from full-time teaching, I've come to see the page as another kind of classroom—and a far more international one, with a far more enormous reach to students around the world, than my previous classrooms. To date, nearly 700,000 people, from 50 countries, who speak 38 languages have visited the Facebook page! Making use of my training in anthropology, I now view the page as a space to share important but under-

reported information and under-shared perspectives about issues concerning the world's children, parents, and families. I'm finding it a surprisingly enjoyable way to engage in "public anthropology." I'd be happy to share this set of guidelines with anyone who's interested (Alma_Gottlieb@brown.edu). <https://www.facebook.com/WOBBook/>



CALLS FOR SUBMISSIONS

OTHER CALLS FOR SUBMISSIONS

Playing with Risk: ACYIG Blog Module
By Scarlett Eisenhauer (UCLA)

“Risky Play” has been finding its way back into the mainstream discussion—some arguing in favor of pushing back against overly safe environments that lack experiential learning opportunities for risk management. As anthropologists (and those in other disciplines and professions as well!) that work with children and youth, we should be quick to raise a red flag: This is a topic ripe for empirical inquiry, not just idealized beliefs. We would like to invite you, dear ACYIG community, to weigh in on the subject in our first blog module with a series of blog posts on the subject of “Risky Play.” An introductory blog post poses some possible lines of investigation—questions that anthropology and other social sciences are well-suited to answer—and some preliminary thoughts on the subject by Scarlett Eisenhauer and Dori Beeler. Additionally, Julia Fleming reviews a documentary film, “The Land,” to weigh in on the issue. We invite our readers to engage in this module and look forward to a continuing discussion on the subject with both formal and informal responses, comments, thoughts, and data interpretations. Please contact Sara Thiam (sara.thiam@case.edu), ACYIG Content Coordinator for Blog and Social Media, for more information.

SOLICITATIONS

VOLUNTEER POSITIONS FOR ACYIG AND NEOS

1. Reviewers for *Neos*

We are always looking for volunteers to review submissions! *Neos* is a bi-annual publication consisting of peer-reviewed short articles as well as editor-reviewed feature pieces. *Neos* relies on the work of many volunteers, including the editor, assistant editors (copy editor, layout editor, and more), reviewers, the ACYIG communication team, and a multitude of advisory board members for both *Neos* and ACYIG.

For 2019/2020, we are soliciting two further positions:

2. *Neos* Assistant Editor for Member News (Term: 1-Jan-2019 to 31-Dec 2020)

The *Neos* Assistant Editor for Member News will compile the Member News segment for the bi-annual *Neos* publication. *Neos* has a tight turnaround timeline and requires attention to detail and prompt responses during Aug/Sep and Dec/Jan of the year.

This position reports to the *Neos* Editor. Duties will begin early 2019 in cooperation with the *Neos* Editor and other Assistant Editors.

3. ACYIG Membership Coordinator (Term: 1-Jan-2019 to 31-Dec 2020)

The ACYIG Membership Coordinator participates as a full Board member with the specific duties of communicating with the AAA to keep membership data up to date, reporting on this data to the Board and ACYIG membership, managing the ACYIG listserv, and supervising the Collaborate Research Networks

(CRNs) proposed by ACYIG members.

This position reports to the ACYIG Convener. Duties will begin early 2019 in cooperation with the existing ACYIG Membership Coordinator and the ACYIG Convener Helen Vallianatos at vallianatos@ualberta.ca.

For any of these volunteer positions through ACYIG and *Neos*, please fill out this form if you are interested in getting involved: bit.ly/acyigvolunteers.

THANK YOU

Thank you to all our peer reviewers for their constructive comments on articles.

Thank you to Amy Paugh and Krista Billingsley, whose terms with *Neos*/ACYIG have concluded. We valued your work very much and wish you the best for your future endeavors.

SOLICITATIONS FOR FEBRUARY 2019 ISSUE

We are soliciting the following articles and features from ACYIG members for the next issue of *Neos*, where we return to our standard format.

ARTICLES (1000 WORDS OR LESS, EXCLUDING REFERENCES)

Methods and Ethics in the Anthropology of Childhood, in which members explore the methods and ethics of doing research with children or youth.

Childhood and _____ (you fill in the blank!), in which members discuss a topic of interest to their research.

My Experiences/Intersections with Interdisciplinary Research on Children and Youth, in which members investigate the value, pitfalls, and lessons associated with combining anthropological research with that of other disciplines to study children and youth.

An Ethnography of Children or Youth that has Impacted My Work, in which members discuss their favorite classic or contemporary ethnography of children or youth. Note that this should NOT be written as a book review, but rather as an account of how a particular ethnography has impacted your theoretical or methodological approach, or how it might be used in your teaching.

Children and Youth in Our Lives and Our Work, in which members discuss the challenges and triumphs of balancing their own lives with their research, focusing particularly on the fieldwork stage.

FEATURES

Letters to the Editor (250 words or less), in which members comment on *Neos* and/or its contents.

Obituaries (250 words or less), in which members share memories of an anthropologist of children and youth. Please notify the Editor of your intent to submit an obituary.

Photos from the Field, which should be accompanied by a caption of 30 words or less explaining the context of the photo.

Unsung Heroes of ACYIG (1000 words or less), in which members interview an important contributor to ACYIG. Please notify the Editor of your intent to submit an interview. See the [February 2016 issue](#) for an example.

New Book Announcements (250 words or less), which must include the title, author, publisher (and the book series, if applicable), date of publication, and listing price of the book, in addition to a description of the contents. If possible, please send—as a separate attachment—a digital image of the book cover.

Member News (200 words or less), in which members may submit job announcements and research opportunities; grants/prizes available; calls for papers and conference announcements; recent appointments; grants received and/or prizes awarded; publication announcements; and other professional achievements.

Correction Notices may be submitted to the editor if *Neos* has printed an error in a previous issue.

Please refer to the General Submission Guidelines and Author Agreement for Publication on our website for more detailed information. **All material should be submitted via the new submission form.** For any questions or concerns, please email ACYIG.Editor@gmail.com.

NEOS CONTRIBUTORS

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(Rongo Media)

Copy Editor: Nicole Gallicchio
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Assistant Editor for Member News: Krista Billingsley
(U of South Florida)

Assistant Editor for Updates: Matilda Stubbs
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(U of Nebraska Omaha)
- Jen Tilton (U of Redlands)

STAY IN TOUCH

Website and Blog

<http://acyig.americananthro.org>

Facebook

<https://www.facebook.com/ACYIG>

Twitter

https://twitter.com/acyig_aaa

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