

PAPER ABSTRACTS

"Here it's just for school": Boredom, Temporariness and Multiple Temporalities Among Transnational Ghanaian Teenagers in Ghana

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This paper examines the transnational lives of Ghanaian children born and/or raised in Europe and North America who have been moved to Ghana temporarily for education. Parental concerns over quality education as well as the cultural and moral development of their children contributed to the parents' decisions to raise their children in Ghana for a few years at a time. For the transnational Ghanaian teenagers involved in this practice, life in boarding school in Ghana requires having to get used to environments, people, and cultures that are both familiar and strange. Their experiences are characterized by feeling "out of place," yet simultaneously having to deal with boredom and the paradoxical condition of uncertainty regarding their situation, which they know is temporary. This paper explores the themes of routineness, boredom, and nostalgia using ethnographic data on the children's everyday experiences of living in a state of temporariness. Considering that boredom appears to be a common feature of growing up which at the same time is often portrayed as a forward-looking process, this paper asks, how does migration complicate the teenagers' experiences of boredom? The paper also attempts to show how the teenagers' perceptions of time influences their sense of belonging, as well as how their sense of personhood shapes their experiences of time passing in Ghana. By drawing attention to young people's experiences of time, boredom, and engagement with multiple temporalities in Ghana, this paper aims to contribute to broader discussions on transnational youth and the process of being and becoming across different localities and negotiating multiple identities.

Conceptualizing Latino Experiences and Outcomes in Post-Secondary Institutions: Deficiencies, Assets, and a Post-Racial Contract

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Decades of educational research literature has perpetuated deficit perspectives that emphasize failure and academic underachievement among communities of color without recognition of the structural forces and conditions that shape their post-secondary access and success.

Contemporary researchers have challenged such perspectives, insisting that an overemphasis on individual factors, at the expense of attention to structural forces that shape educational inequities, is counterproductive to promoting equitable educational outcomes in post-secondary education. Indeed, there is a current emphasis on frameworks that both challenge inequitable structural and environmental factors and elucidate ways in which cultural practices, identities, and backgrounds can be valued, respected, and integrated into post-secondary education (PSE) settings. Within our zeitgeist, characterized by presumptions and narratives of post-raciality, we seem to have (at least minimally) accepted and attempted to adopt popular asset-based frameworks such as, "Funds of Knowledge" and Community Cultural Wealth or Harper's Anti-Deficit Framework and Rendon's Model of Cultural Validation. Collectively, these asset-based frameworks are gaining traction in research within post-secondary education. In this paper, we explore the applicability of these asset-based frameworks for diverse Latino populations and

their potential utility for disrupting institutional contexts that inherently value dominant forms of social and cultural capital. We identify the theoretical strengths and limitations of these frameworks, paying specific attention to the ways in which they are applied to “asset-based” diversity initiatives/efforts and individual student experiences. Moreover, we interrogate the ways in which such frameworks may be superficially enacted within such contexts, often setting historically underrepresented minority students up for failure. For example, approaches to program diversification champion racial and ethnic diversity—professing that Latino/a students’ culture is understood and supported in their predominantly white spaces—only to marginalize and chastise Latino/as for their inability to conform to preexisting standards within academia (i.e. dominant forms of capital). Limited opportunities for critical self-reflection, consideration of conflicting beliefs or meaning perspectives contribute to a cultural mismatch and lead to the perpetuation and reinforcement of un-interrogated and residual deficit perspectives existing within institutional structures. Ultimately, we consider the utility of asset-based frameworks in the context of what Mills (1999) calls the Racial Contract, a system of global White supremacy that prescribes differential duties, rights, and responsibilities to Whites and non-Whites. We argue for the consideration of race as implicit, omnipresent, and powerful force that shapes not only one’s educational experiences and opportunities but also one’s interpretations of his/her identity and legitimacy within educational and societal contexts. Finally, we advance the concept of a post-racial contract, defined as a social condition in which individuals must decidedly espouse a colorblind politic and seemingly advance and embrace a non-deficit perspective. It is critical to attend to the significant contradiction between the espoused and the enacted use of asset-based frameworks in PSE contexts as this disconnect poses a significant threat to equity and access for Latinos and other communities of color.

The Socio-spatial Experiences of Displaced Syrian Children and Families Living in Lebanon: A Study of Mobility and Well-being

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As of June 2016, approximately 12.5 Syrians have been displaced from their homes, with almost one million seeking refuge in neighboring Lebanon (Pew Research Center, 2016). Due to the sudden arrival of large families, different forms of “temporary” shelter have developed rapidly, without attention to the implications for well-being. Everyday mobilities—such as access to home, school, play spaces, and social networks—may be disrupted and compromised. Children may have decreased access to education (Akesson, 2014; Davies, 2004), health services, and extended peer and social networks, compromising their well-being as they find themselves trapped in their homes (Akesson, 2014). Nevertheless, few studies have examined how the everyday mobilities of children and families are affected by displacement. A comprehensive understanding of families’ everyday mobilities in the context of displacement requires the use of multiple methods of data collection and analysis. This study uses a combination of ethnographic methods including collaborative family interviews, mapmaking, GPS-tracked neighborhood walks, and activity logging to better understand the everyday experiences of displaced families. The use of mixed methods not only increases the reliability of the data and allows for flexibility, but also creates a rich source of data from multiple perspectives. Findings provide examples of safe and unsafe places for children and families, and underscore how children’s access to certain places and engagement with the environment relates to their health and well-being. Results from

this study will inform appropriate socio-spatial design, effective child-centered practice, and meaningful psychosocial programs to enhance well-being of children and families in contexts of displacement.

Development Across Contexts: Mayan Children's Views and Experiences in Family and Community Work

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Children and childhood are socially and culturally constructed concepts that relate to what children are expected to do and what contexts and activities are available to them vary significantly by culture. Previous research with middle-class families show that children in these communities spend more time in child-specialized activities than children from other non-middle-class communities who have more access to mature activities (Alcalá et al, 2014; Morelli, Rogoff, & Angelillo, 2003; Rogoff, 2003; Rogoff et al, 2014). However, less is known about what children think about participating in work at home and in their community. This study examined children's everyday activities in a Mayan community in México and explored their views and perceptions on children's rights to participate in work and other community activities, and how children move across these spaces that are key to their development as competent members of their community. We interviewed thirty 8 to 11-year-old children in two Mayan communities in Quintana Roo and Campeche about their participation in family work and community events. Preliminary results suggest that all our participants helped with family household work and during community celebrations. At home, they helped mostly on their own initiative in a variety of tasks including washing dishes, cooking, tending younger siblings, helping extended family with chores, and collecting firewood. When we asked children why they helped, they seemed to be surprised by the question. After thinking about the question for a few seconds, one participant responded, "I help because I live there," another participant mentioned, "Helping is everybody's responsibility." In addition to helping at home, children reported helping with multiple community events including celebrations and religious ceremonies. They recognized that their presence and participation in community events will help preserve these cultural practices, even if they do not help directly or substantially to the ongoing activity yet. Children also explained that it was their right to be part of these events that bring the community together and that are done for the enjoyment of all community members, not just for adults. They move across spaces (private and public) fluidly with no restriction or segregation. The idea of having events or activities just for children or just for adults was foreign and puzzling to them. These results suggest that Mayan children in this study generally viewed work, at home and in the community, as something they are proud to do, as a valuable and crucial activity for their development. Their sense of belonging and contributing to their family and community seems to be the underlying driving force that guide children to eagerly participate in this mutually shared work. In this context, work is not harmful to children's development but instead, work is what makes development possible (Cardoso, 2015). This view contradicts current notions of children's participation in work and highlights the need to take into account the sociocultural context of

children's lives when generating policies related to work, taking the community's conceptualization of work its value and function, as the starting point.

Maya Children's Medicinal Plant Knowledge: Contributing Community Members and Active Agents in their Own Development

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The use of medicinal plants constitutes a key resource in the treatment of illnesses among indigenous communities all over the world. Children in this Mayan community navigate multiple spaces, physical, cultural, and virtual. The medicinal knowledge is usually attributed to adults. However, children also experience illness and learn about medicinal treatments as active agents in their own learning process as they participate in their family and community contexts. Children are in close contact with ancient practices, they maintain those practices and language but at the same time they participate in new virtual spaces and practices (e.g. use of cell phones and internet). This paper describes how Maya children learn about the uses of medicinal plants during the treatment of common illnesses that affect their relatives. We used a semi-structured questionnaire to interview twenty Maya children aged 8 to 12 from a small Maya village in Quintana Roo, México. Results show that children begin learning about medicinal plants when they or a relative gets sick and adults gather medicinal plants, prepare them, and apply them to cure the illness. Children are present during the treatment of various illnesses. Their participation in this process is gradual, depending on their ability and experience. Sometimes they just observe and listen, then they are often asked to go fetch the medicinal plants to the home garden, and eventually they help directly in the preparation of these plants. They learn as they interact and collaborate with their parents and grandparents.

Children identified the use and preparation of thirteen medicinal plants. The medicinal plant ruda for treating the illness "evil eye" was pointed out by the majority of the children. The sour orange was identified as the plant with the most medicinal uses, with a total of eight different types of uses, including nausea, vomit, stomach ache, dizziness and as purge. Overall, results suggest that children in this community were frequently present during illness situations, helped gradually, and were interested in learning more about the uses and preparation of medicinal plants. Children also reported on the importance of preserving this knowledge and the dangers of misusing it. This type of learning by observing and pitching in is characteristic of communities where children are not segregated from adults' activities and where children's initiative and agency are important elements in the learning process (Rogoff et al 2015). Children are expected to participate and pitching-in in household activities so they become collaborators and competent participants of their cultural community. We discuss the importance of recognizing this way of learning as a way of understanding how by collaborating and contributing allows children to be competent agents in their own learning in the context of their community.

Living in the Moment? Children's Temporalities in Migrant Malaysia

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In the East Malaysian state of Sabah, decades of forced and irregular migration, combined with increasingly strict immigration regulations and restrictions on the rights of migrant workers, has led to a paradoxical situation of immobility. Impoverished migrants from the southern Philippines and eastern Indonesia find themselves “stuck” in Sabah, unable or unwilling to return to their places of origin, but also unable to plan for a future in Malaysia. Their Sabah-born children are “born migrants,” excluded as “foreigners” from Malaysian schools, but also lacking knowledge or practical experience of their parents’ homelands. In this context of precarious employment, lack of formal education and document-checking “operations,” there is an on-going temporariness to life. This paper explores the consequences of such “temporariness” in a context where children are neither “sent back” nor “left behind,” but live with their migrant parents in squatter and workers’ housing. It does so by comparing the temporal perspectives and experiences of time of two different groups of children. Firstly, it describes the children and grandchildren of Filipino migrants and refugees who have no plans to return to the conflict-ridden southern Philippines. The paper argues that the children of such Filipino migrants engage in an active process of “forgetting” the Philippines, and, in the absence of an ability to plan for the future, cultivate an approach best characterized as “living in the moment.” Secondly, the paper compares this present-oriented perspective with that found amongst the children of eastern Indonesian migrants from the Flores area. Florenese families in Sabah have been led, by necessity, to emphasize short-term care and physical proximity with children over long-term investment in education. However, Florenese parents continue to assert the significance of commitments to land and origin houses, and continue to hope for a return to their homelands. This makes “living in the moment” both imaginatively difficult and morally problematic for their children, who respond in very different ways to their Filipino-origin peers. The paper suggests that attention to temporal perspectives can shed important light on the influence of migrant conditions and aspirations on children’s experiences and well-being.

Liminal Identity: Juvenile Creation of Identity in Residential Treatment Programs

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The ritual process has long been an integral part of cultural process and understanding of societies throughout the world. While many cultural rituals have been documented and analyzed, there is one culture that has seemed to remain unstudied, yet is a vital and growing part of American society. While criminal behavior climbs in the United States, the rates of incarceration among juveniles continue to increase as well. Organizations and governments have scrambled to address the increasing number of adolescents in the criminal justice system. These groups attempt to find ways to treat or rehabilitate juveniles in detention centers and treatment facilities across the nation through various intensive programs. I argue that the liminal nature of these programs facilitates an environment in which residents alter their preconceived notions of personal identity. The attempted reformation of juveniles through these programs is akin to the transitional ritual process in which individuals undergo a process to alter their identity and reenter society. In this study, I examine the processes undergone by juvenile offenders in a residential treatment facility in Texas. An individual’s entry into the facility all the way through to their release is analyzed as a liminal ritual process. Residents and staff, all who have had differing experiences, express the changes they see in themselves and others as they move through the program. These illustrate the likeness of juvenile programs to that of ritual liminality

and the expressed changes to identity by residents. My hope is that the discussion and practices surrounding liminality and identity will be brought into modern contexts through the analysis of juvenile treatment and rehabilitation programs.

Theorizing Youth: Age, Migration, and the State in Buenos Aires

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While youth make up a substantial and growing proportion of today's global migrants, the field of migration studies has only recently begun to attend to the specificities and challenges of youth migration. Specifically, the growing literature on the "governmentality of migration"—which looks at the mechanisms of states and immigration bureaucracies, the politics of borders and boundaries, and the impacts of different "regimes of mobility" on migrants' subjective experiences—has not sufficiently accounted for the decisive role of age-related constructions in the politics of migration control. As a result, we know little about the ways in which the governmentality of migration works in relation to young migrants, whose lives and mobility are deeply shaped and regulated by states on the basis of age and whose loyalties and practices have historically generated a great deal of national anxiety and moral panic. In this paper, I analyze at the various practices, categories, and classificatory tools employed by states to manage young migrant populations. By drawing from data collected through participant observation, semi-structured interviews, and archival research in Buenos Aires, Argentina during the Fall of 2016, I attend to the role of age-based constructions in various immigration policies, programs, and discourses of the Argentine state. I specifically explore the following questions: Who counts as "youth"? How do age-based limits and categorizations exclude or protect particular groups of immigrants? How do migrant youth experience such limits and categorizations? My paper engages with scholarship that has pointed to the ways in which the lived effects of the state are filtered through categories of race, nationality, gender, sexuality, and class, and explores the ways in which age intersects with these processes in the case of migrant youth living in Buenos Aires. This paper thus seeks to contribute to a number of theoretical conversations and debates in youth studies, studies of the state, and migration studies.

"I can't do anything but wait": The Experiences of "Left Behind" Children in Lombok, Indonesia

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In contemporary Indonesia neoliberal economic forces have led to a rise in transnational labour and rural to urban migration, with an accompanying surge in family fragmentation. In this era of intensified geographical mobility, however, there have also been increased and sustained experiences of immobility. In particular, children and young people who have been "left behind" by their migrating parents are expected to wait for them to return home, sometimes for years at a time. The fact that children have to wait, often with no contact, has become an acceptable and necessary fact of life in many communities.

This paper draws on the results of child-focused research with children and young people in rural Lombok, Eastern Indonesia. The research reveals the unpredictability of the temporality of

migration, especially for parents who follow informal transnational flows. Children explained how their parents migrated with a plan for a specific time away and a scheduled return. Once gone, however, the time was often extended beyond initial expectations. Short-term seasonal migration became long term, or a regular occurrence instead of a one-time occasion, while longer term stays became indefinite or permanent. From a temporal perspective, therefore, parents are postponing their family's happiness now in preference for a better life in the future, purchased with the money they hope to earn. Drawing on qualitative data the paper focuses on the deep feelings children articulate about their parent's sustained absence for unspecified periods of time. A prominent issue that emerged was the feeling of continual waiting, where children described being in some sort of limbo, not belonging anywhere. They were waiting for something to happen, which included waiting until they were old enough to migrate themselves. By concentrating on children's own views and experiences, the paper contributes to debates about the temporal and affective implications of migration in the Southeast Asia region.

Independent Child Migration in Ghana: Decision and Challenges

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Children who live in poverty decide at times to migrate independently at a young age in search for better life conditions. In some places, children migrate because of lack of opportunities of employment and education in their hometown. They seek to gain experience, knowledge, and to provide income for themselves and their family. This presentation examines life of people in Ghana who migrated from the Northern part of the country to the capital city before the age of eighteen without the company of a parent or a legal guardian. Their life story and current conditions will be discussed along with the emotional changes and other challenges that occur due to new living conditions. The data collection took place in Accra through qualitative methodology, including participant observation, informal interviews and photography, during three separate field trips for total of thirteen months. Results show that most participants migrated because of lack of educational or employment opportunities in the hometown or because of family issues. Many interviewees come from poor families which affected their possibilities to attend school and accordingly to get a job. Therefore, the children did not see many opportunities in the hometown and decided to change locations in hope of gaining better condition of life for themselves and their families. Although participants migrated in hope for better life conditions, most of them face social and financial difficulties in the city. However, they claimed to be happy with the decision of migrating and that current life condition is better than what they had before. Nevertheless, most of the interviewees would choose to move back to their hometowns if they had the same opportunities as in the city. The statement of happiness is therefore mainly based on gratitude of what they have in their lives rather than true and honest happiness towards their choices. In most cases returning home is difficult or even impossible because the family and the society expect the children to return in better situation than before the migration. The migrants are therefore trapped in current situation and need to prove to others that they did not make a mistake by choosing to move away. The migrants have to independently deal with complex emotional experiences affecting their past life, current conditions, and future potentials along with difficult living conditions in the city.

Out in the Cold in Russia: Education and Non-Citizen Children in Precarious Times

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With the intensified flow of refugees fleeing war torn areas in recent years, destination countries are facing a political crisis about rights and obligations with regard to noncitizens, a situation that has compounded existing challenges brought about with labor migration. Europe is especially on the frontlines of these pressures as displaced persons and refugees flee from the civil war in Syria, as well as other sites of strife. In the case of Russia, there are over 431,000 people who are asylum seekers, refugees, or stateless (UNHCR 2015); the country also has over 4 million undocumented labor migrants (lenta.ru 2014). Similar to other receiving countries (Constable 2014; Bhabha 2011; Ruiz-Casares et al. 2010), in Russia, noncitizen women and children have especially evoked public anxiety around their access to education and medical care, as well as in regard to parameters of citizenship.

As in many destination countries, labor migrants, refugees, and asylum seekers in Russia lack substantive rights. In particular, as “noncitizens” (Coutin 2011; Willen 2010) the children of refugees and undocumented migrants in Russia are de facto stateless, facing significant impediments to receiving healthcare or registering in school. Along with growing public sentiment directed against noncitizens, since the 1990s policies toward migrants have become increasingly rigid, with a small percentage of asylum seekers granted asylum, and with new requirements to pass exams on Russian language, history, and culture as a prerequisite to gaining even a work permit, making it challenging for migrants to legalize their status (OTK 2014; Ianovskaia 2015). Migrant children occupy a particular place in public discourse in Russia. While Russia’s need to increase its labor force would make it seem desirable to have migrants raising families in Russia, anxiety about cultural differences and outright xenophobia is widely expressed toward migrant children (e.g., Toporov 2013). The fate of noncitizen children remains in the balance with some proponents for granting citizenship to migrant children, and others adamant that they should not access government resources, or even be permitted to stay in Russia.

Based on four months of non-consecutive ethnographic research conducted in Russia (2014-2016), this paper examines a key challenge faced by refugee families and their children, along with central Asian labor migrants and their children in Russia: education. The paper builds on scholarship focused on the “1.5 generation” – when migrants’ children are caught between their sense of belonging in a country, and their official illegal status there (Gonzalez and Chavez 2012; Willen 2005) – along with scholarship on children and statelessness (Bhabha 2012; Constable 2014). While the Russian state officially permits noncitizens to attend school, at the local level, myriad impediments, including impossible requirements for proof of residency, work to effectively prevent many refugee and migrant children from pursuing even a primary school education. This paper considers the strategies families deploy to secure a modicum of educational opportunities for their children, including via NGOs, churches, and community groups, and also, when possible, drawing on transnational family ties to maintain language and cultural knowledge.

Illegal Encounters: Immigration Control in the Lives of Young People Post-Election

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Lauren Heidbrink, California State University-Long Beach
Kristen Jackson, Public Counsel
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Susan Terrio, Georgetown University

This roundtable considers the effects of illegality, deportability, and deportation on children and youth—those who migrate and/or are affected by the migration of others. We will discuss the context of “illegality” in recent decades and under the Obama administration, but also likely policies that will be implemented by the Trump administration. Panelists will ask: What are the effects of the law and legal systems on the everyday lived experiences of young people and their families? What are the contradictions and on-the-ground consequences that stem from the criminalization of immigration? In what ways has immigration control focused on children and youth shifted post-election? How are NGOs and community-based advocates implementing humanitarian interventions in response to expanded enforcement regimes? In the United States, millions of children are undocumented migrants and/or have family members who came to this country without authorization. In this context, the unique challenges faced by children and youth—new arrivals and long-term residents with a range of immigration statuses and citizenships—demand special attention. Collectively, the panelists research children as they cross the border, suffer apprehension and detention by immigration authorities, face removal proceedings in immigration courts, lead lives in the shadows outside of legal systems, experience “deportability” and deportation, and/or witness the migration experiences of their loved ones. This roundtable discussion comes at a seminal moment. The Obama administration has been characterized by a record number of deportations, including the removal of children and youth; a shift in the control and containment mechanisms adopted by the state; restricted possibilities for asylum, permanent residency, and naturalization; and the implementation of large-scale detention regimes. Now, however, the President-Elect’s promises to “build a wall,” deport millions of immigrants, and end DACA make the already precarious status of immigrant children and youth that much more uncertain.

International Contexts and Indigeneity in Research Methods: Cultural Organizations and Yucatec-Maya Youth’s Indigenous identity in the United States and Mexico

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Indigenous immigrant populations are one of the fastest growing groups in the U.S. (Fox & Rivera-Salgado, 2004). Research with Indigenous youth must be conducted with complete awareness and respect for the agency and attitudes the actual Indigenous persons have toward their own communities, lives, and social processes (Smith, 1999). Similarly, when studying immigrant youth, transnational spaces become important for the researcher to fully understand. Immigrant communities involve themselves in global networks of social relationships with their countries of origin, increasingly pushing the restrictions of borders and boundaries (Stake & Rizvi, 2009). These porous transnational networks allow immigrant youth to foster these global networks which influence their Indigenous identity development. Many youth grow up visiting their hometowns or communicating with their families consistently and involving themselves

with cultural networks facilitated by social organizations. Involvement in these cultural organizations is an important aspect for the positive development and adaptation of immigrant origin youth, as it allows for the preservation of the home culture, while supporting the acculturation of youth into American society and may serve as a buffer to discriminatory experiences (Portes & Rumbaut, 2006).

Hence, through the presentation of a qualitative study drawing on positive youth development theory this article discusses the importance of context in conducting research with international and immigrant Indigenous youth. Through thirty (twelve girls) Yucatec-Maya adolescents' (M = 16.39, SD=1.31) semi structured interviews, the author explored the youth's experiences with discrimination, their cultural attitudes, and the role of out-of-school cultural organizations on their Indigenous identities in the U.S. and Mexico. Yucatec-Maya adolescents as they (re)create and (re)claim their indigeneity across the multiple geographical, social, psychological, and cultural spaces they find themselves by using familial knowledge, but also through involvement in Maya cultural programs. In both countries, the cultural programs instill knowledge, pride, and attachment to the Indigenous identity. The study reveals the importance of respecting and fostering the adolescents' sense of agency, autonomy, and ethnic group consciousness. Using this study, the article discusses the role of the researcher in communicating with the local government and negotiate the inclusion of any specific needs the local communities ask of their research protocols. Researchers must not only thoroughly evaluate the linguistic translation of the instruments and protocols used in their research designs, but also the cultural and social translation of their protocols as they interact with the youth. Similarly, researchers should constantly have introspection on how the perspectives that emerge from the Indigenous immigrant youth narratives are presented. The researcher must remain aware and respect the youth's agency by accurately interpreting and incorporating the Indigenous immigrant youth's lived experiences, cultural perspectives, and Indigenous languages in the research design (LaFrance and Crazy Bull, 2009; Smith, 1999). Further recommendations are made for working with Indigenous youth in the U.S. and in international contexts.

Questioning Their Sacrifice: The Role of Modernization in the Expression of Parentification in Urban India

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The urban Indian middle class is undergoing a transformation of the cultural schemas of parenthood and childhood. Rapid modernization of the cities has created a transition in family structure, in kinship and romantic relations, in education and work possibilities. The present generation of adults has increased exposure to other cultures and their child rearing practices via media and travel. With no threat to physical or economic safety, this middle class is finding breath to challenge traditions that seem aberrant when compared with more modern ways of being in a fast moving and self-focused world. Additionally, child rights and psychological well-being have entered popular discourse on parent-child relationships in India. Such factors have liberated persons to recognize and express their discontent with traditional childhoods. Education and media have created language and spaces to share one's autobiographies of sorrow, and even praise such expression. In a country like India where duty to parents is considered implicit and paramount, these adults are questioning their "sacrifice" and examining their adult lives in a light

that places their happiness as equal to or more important than their parents. This paper will examine the factors that have influenced the uprising of the recognition and expression of parentification in urban India. It will use literature and research narratives collected from adults who self-identify as parentified to understand how they have reimagined the meaning of childhood and the loss they retrospectively perceive. It will explore the ways in which the exposure that modernization brings is broadening the ways in which people allow themselves to think about past relationships with their parents and the meaning of concepts of family, childhood, and parenthood. It will also elicit the language they are adopting to express their emergent realization of parentification. It is important to note here that research evidence clearly states that the participants knew, at a very young age, that their families had an atmosphere of uncertainty and anxiety that they needed to learn to live with to survive both physically and psychologically. This paper will argue that while parentification may exist across cultures and society, it is the newly besieging globalization processes that have enabled the recognition and expression of parentification in the urban Indian middle class.

Manufacturing Detachment: How Global Orphan Tourism Influences Child Development

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Despite ample evidence that institutionalization has deleterious effects on child development – or perhaps because of it – many privileged westerners have been engaging in “orphan tourism,” visiting orphanages while on holiday and/or volunteering for short periods in orphanages in developing countries. Indeed, an entire industry has cropped up to meet the demand for experiences with “third-world orphans.” Though voluntourists’ intentions are to provide children in orphanages with the attention they are supposedly lacking as a result of institutionalization, this paper documents how such “orphan tourism” actually acts as a driver of local children – most of whom are not in fact orphans – into institutions. Further, evidence is emerging that volunteer interactions with children in institutions actually exacerbates rather than ameliorates the developmental issues faced by institutionalized children, such as challenges with attachment. Why, then, is it so difficult to get people to stop visiting and supporting orphanages? This paper will explore the moral and political economies of the rise in global orphan tourism, its impetus and functioning, its influence on local notions of child care, and its impact on child development in local contexts where there is a demand for tourist interactions with “orphans.” I argue that orphan tourism, while often well meaning, ultimately introduces perverse incentives to institutionalize children, jeopardizing advances in child development and child protection – both within and outside of institutions.

Indigenous Immigrant Youth Understanding of Asymmetrical Relationship of Power and Construction of Indigeneity

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Whereas there has been important work documenting Latina/o youth school experiences (e.g., Gibson, Gándara, & Koyama, 2004; Portes & Rumbaut, 2006; Suárez-Orozco, C., & Suárez-Orozco, 2001; Suárez-Orozco, C., Suárez-Orozco, M., & Todorova, 2008), there is nominal work attending to how indigeneity matters in how Latin American youth make sense of

themselves and of each other. The few studies that have focused explicitly on indigenous youth limit their scope to the experiences of immigration from Southern Mexico (Barillas Chón, 2012; Ruiz & Barajas, 2012). This qualitative study aimed to build on previous research by investigating immigrant indigenous Latin American youth's own understanding of their indigeneity across two colonial contexts: Mexico and the U.S. Primary data gathered for this study consisted of semi-structured interviews (each 30-60 minutes) in Spanish with eight self-identifying indigenous youth from Mexico and Guatemala. Other data consisted of classroom, lunchroom, and school observations during the 2015-2016 academic school year. The conceptual frame utilized to interpret and explain immigrant indigenous youth's understanding is informed by the literature on coloniality (e.g. Dussel, 1995; Lugones, 2010; Maldonado-Torres, 2007; Mignolo, 1995, 2000), specifically Anibal Quijano's (2000) coloniality of power. Analysis of the indigenous youth's interviews yields two important findings. The first relates to asymmetries of power based on language (Cervantes-Rodriguez & Lutz, 2003). Youth discussed asymmetrical relationships of power through the social and cultural importance that is attributed to colonial languages—Spanish and English—over indigenous languages. The second finding relates to the youths' constructions of their indigeneity in Mexico and the U.S. in the face of a coloniality of power that endeavors in subjugating them. While coloniality of power is present in Latin American countries, as indigenous peoples are relegated to the political, social, and economic margins, the youth demonstrated pride and commitment to maintaining their indigeneity. The youth showed flexibility in their sense of personhood, adapting to different linguistic and social settings by learning Spanish and English in order to navigate a coloniality of power. This study contributes to the literature on immigration and education and has the potential for broadening the literature on Latino immigrants and education by highlighting the unique experiences of immigrant indigenous youth from Latin America as they adapt to life in the U.S.. Their experiences illustrate how youth understand layered contexts of a coloniality of power in Mexico and the U.S. as they carefully adapt to school and life in the U.S.. This study also has practical implications as it can aid educators working with Latina/o immigrants understand the complexity of Latina/o immigrant groups.

Medicalization of Sexual Education in Rural Coastal Ecuador

Adriana Cordova, Wake Forest University

Mary Good, Wake Forest University

In El Páramo, located in rural coastal Ecuador, sex education and sex talk is shaped by medical discourse, which has influenced early sexual experiences of young people. Over the past two summers, I have conducted research in El Páramo on sex education, sexuality, inter-family communication, and perceived changes in sexual practices among youth. I define youth here according to local conventions, which is the period of years between ages 12 (a typical beginning of puberty) and 16 (when it becomes acceptable for young girls to start a family). In general, my findings suggest that tension exists over who should be responsible for educating youth about sex. While a majority of adults agreed that sex education was important for youth and that some form of sex education should be available to them, parents and teachers felt that they lacked adequate knowledge regarding sex education and thus were unfit to teach it to youth. When I asked who should be in charge of teaching sexual education, doctors, counselors, volunteers and nurses were most commonly identified as experts, yet this more formal approach to sexual

education grants “experts” authority over what youth might otherwise learn more informally from their parents and teachers.

In this paper, I will be focusing on how the medicalization of sex affects sexual education and communication about sex among youth in rural coastal Ecuador. The medicalization of sex refers to “the process of growing medical authority over sexual experiences” (Štulhofer 2015). Medicalizing sex imposes an ideology through hegemonic institutions, functioning as a form of social control over youth. This power structure organizes youth into particular “slots” in the social hierarchy and subsequently discourages and downplays sexual curiosity, desire, and experimentation. Parents and teachers in El Páramo received consistent messages from the medical establishment and its authorities that the most important information to give youth regarding sex was pregnancy and STD prevention as well as information about the medical side of puberty (eg. menstruation), reinforcing the authority of the “experts” and the “scientific facts” of sex. The medical discourses surrounding sex also reconfigure the way youth think about themselves and their bodies. In conversations and observations, I found that youth, particularly girls, are not told that sex is pleasurable or that it is normal to have sexual desire, but rather they are instructed to avoid it in order to avoid pregnancy and STDs at a young age. This influences the relationships between adults (teachers and parents) and youth by preventing informal conversation about sex and sexuality and attempts to limit sexual curiosity among youth. By conforming to this medical discourse, parents and teachers are constrained by authority and ultimately deprive youth from receiving more comprehensive and casual communications about sexual experiences. This project will shed light on how granting authority to health centers and the larger institutions is limiting distribution of knowledge and rendering adults and youth powerless in the project of teaching and learning about sex.

The Digital Practices of Mobility, Safety, and Surveillance Amongst Queer Street Youth Cindy Cruz, University of California-Santa Barbara

Much of digital and new media literacy research takes place in predominantly privileged educational spaces and middle class contexts where elite youth are able to leverage their knowledge and participation with digital technologies, make culture communities, and networked social media sites into academic achievement, career possibilities, and even civic engagement (Ito, M., Gutierrez, K., Livingstone, S., et al, 2013; Zimmerman, 2012). Yet despite a growing educational and technological disparity between in-school and out-of-school learning for non-dominant youth, I have found not only that queer homeless youth are developing practices of digital improvisation to leverage their own basic needs of food, shelter, and basic health care needs (Cruz, 2016), but are also using mobile technologies to assess the risks of “exchange and barter” under new conditions of increased police surveillance both online and offline in newly gentrified spaces. This ethnographic study of forty LGBTQ homeless youth aged 14-23 investigated how homeless queer youth bend/hack digital technologies in ways where the issues of “safety” and “mobility” have become central. In a series of focus groups, participant observations, select interviews and “hanging out” at a LGBTQ youth drop-in center with youth aged 14-23, I have found that homeless queer youth learn to bend digital technologies to circumvent the surveillance of police in newly gentrified environments. Thinking with Kris Gutierrez (2008) in her work with literacy in the third space, I find that gentrification forces a

certain kind of mobility or migration across familiar and always changing practices in youth mobility, creating cognitive and sometimes even digital maps to help themselves and others follow and access resources across the city. To access resources requires tools to facilitate accurately the sense-making practices necessary for survival. These practices of movement, safety, and surveillance highlight the survival practices that are very much a part of homeless youth worlds and technologies. But I want to begin to suggest that as the changing and gentrifying landscape directly affects youth practices of access and survival, it is tempered by the surveillance of police that I suggest make an already underground practice even more invisible, and potentially more dangerous for the youth involved.

A Silver Bullet: The Problematic Politics of Emotional Skill Cultivation in American Childhood

Elsa Davidson, Montclair State University

A decade ago, Nobel Laureate and economist James Heckman framed investment in the “non-cognitive” -- social-communicative and emotional skills -- of poor children as the answer to a future workforce gap, to “social pathologies,” and as a means to redress social inequality (Heckman 2007). Today the link that Heckman established between social and emotional competence and children’s academic success and life trajectories is widely assumed by policymakers, educators, and a range of experts in diverse fields, and early intervention programs aimed at augmenting children’s “emotional intelligence” and social communication skills -- “social and emotional learning” (SEL) programs, in education parlance -- have been implemented in thousands of underserved and high-performing public school districts across the United States (Kahn 2013, Zernike 2016). This paper explores the politics around a proliferation and circulation of data about the emotional and social skills of different populations of children by educators and clinicians as well as policymakers and economists in the contemporary United States. Drawing on policy memos and research-based arguments about the emotional skill deficits of children in the United States and Sara Ahmed’s notion of emotional and affective states in circulation, I consider what models of citizenship are reinforced and what forms of inequality are left unrecognized and reproduced by associating particular emotional skills and perceived deficits with different kinds of children and youth. At the same time, I explore the emancipatory possibilities of a different kind of politics of emotional skill and difference -- one that might engender critical awareness of how educational institutions and social policies produce emotional suspects.

Observing Infant Care and Feeding in Kampala: the "Developmental Nich" and Local Knowledges of Child Development

Paula Davis-Olwell, University of Georgia

On this fiftieth anniversary of the publication of Ainsworth’s *Infancy in Uganda* (1967), and in the context of recent initiatives towards conceptualizing an African child development field (Marfo, 2011; Pence and Nsamenang, 2008), this paper examines methodological and theoretical issues with research in a rapidly-urbanizing multi-ethnic city, Kampala. Reflecting on mixed-methods research that I conducted in 1993-94 with mothers who worked in and around the open-

air markets, the paper considers observation as a research method—both the exploratory and naturalistic type, as well as more systematic approaches such as the time-use study. Turning to data from this research, I describe local knowledge or ethnotheories of child development (Super et al., 2011). Over twenty-two months of fieldwork in Kampala, I designed an observational methodology to record mothers' time allocation to breastfeeding, making it possible to compare the proportion of time mothers spent breastfeeding to that spent doing income-generating activities, infant care, household chores, and child care. Ninety-two mother-infant pairs were observed over a 9-month period, and thirty-eight of these mothers were also interviewed on a series of related topics, including: pregnancy, marriage, motherhood, infant feeding and illness, including HIV/AIDS. Using the time-use data, mothers' interactions with their infants can be quantified (% of time spent carrying infant on mother's back; % of time holding infant in mother's arms), while the interviews include descriptions of the qualities of a "good baby," and the social, physical and moral characteristics parents value in older children. Analysis of local knowledge regarding child development raises questions about the relative influence of ethnic group traditions versus other components of the "developmental niche" (Super et al. 2002), i.e. the physical and social settings of the child's daily lives, and the psychology of the caretakers. In this context of high HIV/AIDS transmission (pre-HAART therapies) and precarious economic and social support, mothers' ethnotheories of child development are transformed by the globally influenced, harsh realities of urban life in a globalizing world.

“The Wall After the Fence: Unaccompanied Minors from Central America Seeking Asylum in the United States”

Eva Diaz, Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies, Geneva (IHEID)

Over 105,000 unaccompanied minors from Central America have arrived to the United States since 2014. The number of Central American children migrating alone has increased over 15-fold in the past five years due to a combination of pull and push factors. While the reasons of their migrations are complex, multidimensional, and intertwine, a significant number of children are escaping gang-based persecution and violence. Recent and growing research analyzing the reasons behind the unprecedented increase of unaccompanied children arrivals to the United States in recent years has underscored that at least fifty percent of unaccompanied children from the so-called Northern-Triangle region have international protection needs and they may qualify as refugees under existing international and U.S. immigration law. However, less than 5% of unaccompanied minors who have arrived to the United States in the last years have been granted refugee protection or other lawful immigration status that allows them to remain authorized in the country. Meanwhile, the vast majority of unaccompanied children's cases remain unresolved and thousands of minors live in the country unauthorized. Even when children receive relief from deportation, they are not granted simultaneous lawful immigration status.

This research explores the substantive protection provided to unaccompanied minors in the United States by critically analyzing the U.S. legislation, policies, and procedures that pertain to unaccompanied immigrant youth placed in removal proceedings. The study focuses on the interpretation and application of refugee law by adjudicators in cases involving unaccompanied children with asylum claims based on gang persecution. The research shows that the current U.S. immigration system presents a number of gaps that prevent many immigrant children from

receiving substantive protection. In the first place, the “best interests of the child” principle is not binding in U.S. immigration proceedings. As the only UN State member that has not ratified the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, the United States has yet to incorporate the best interests principle in its immigration legal system in a consistent manner. Second, this paper argues that the U.S. immigration system is not child-sensitive, neither in its structure nor in its application. Unaccompanied children placed in removal proceedings interact with a puzzling web of different agencies, which often have opposite purposes. Moreover, there is a lack of child-sensitive guidelines or statutes binding on all adjudicators and at all levels of government agencies dealing with unaccompanied migrant children. Although some federal courts have adopted a child-sensitive analysis recognizing that children’s asylum claims should be treated different from adults’ asylum requests, this child-sensitive approach has not been uniformly adopted by the immigration court system. Finally, this research analyzes the Board of Immigration Appeals’ restrictive, confusing, and inconsistent analysis of membership of particular social since the departure from the Acosta approach, concluding that children fleeing gang recruitment or persecution face a very high threshold in order to meet the refugee definition requirements

Research with Colombian Children under Parental International Migration: Ethics and Methods

Maria Claudia Duque-Páramo, Pontificia Universidad Javeriana, Columbia

Related to several local and global factors such as violence and economic issues, the international migration of Colombians has largely increased since the 1990s. Although the lives of many Colombian children have been shaped by diverse types of internal and international migration, the recent increment of parents’ migration, and particularly the increased number of migrant mothers to countries such as Spain and the United States, have made visible to the public the children who experience parental migration. These are the children who stay with one parent or other relatives while the other or both parents emigrate. The visibility of these children has come along with stigmatization of children as spoiled and blame of mothers as abandoners. These negative judgements are related, among others, to traditional assumptions of child development and to ideas of children as less developed, dependent and vulnerable. In this context, some scholars have been interested in studying the realities and perspectives of children under parental migration. This presentation focuses on the methods and ethical issues of a mixed qualitative – quantitative research study conducted with children from 6 to 18 years old in three cities in Colombia with two main objectives: 1) understanding their experiences related to their parent's migration and daily lives, and 2) understanding their health problems. After this contextualization, I will focus on methodological challenges related to the survey, individual interviews, group sessions, and both quantitative and qualitative data collected. Additionally, drawing from the diversity of children’s experiences, I will address how study participants shed light on issues of child development and global change.

Global vs. Local Constructs of Physical Punishment: UNICEF Encounters with Indigenous Teleologies of Child Development

Mark Edberg, George Washington University

This paper reviews several efforts to prevent violence against children, in selected areas of Indonesia and South Africa. These UNICEF projects encounter significant differences in the way UNICEF seeks to portray physical punishment of children and the way these cultural settings construct such punishment as a positive means to develop a good child. UNICEF will face opposition to its efforts if there is not a sufficient attempt to understand cross-cultural differences in the perceived teleology of child rearing.

Children's Narrations of Household Violence in Rural Morocco

Christine El Ouardani, California State University-Long Beach

Although there has been decades of research conducted on the effects of household violence on children, very little of this research has examined the ways in which children narrate and understand this violence while living in these households, particularly in international contexts. Medical and legal interpretations of these violent practices as abusive and traumatic are often privileged in scholarly accounts of family violence. Listening to children's interpretation of these acts is important, however, in order to understand the nuanced ways in which such practices are being internalized and shaped by children. While conducting ethnographic research on disciplinary practices with children in rural Morocco, which were often violent, I had the opportunity both to interview children about their understanding of these practices and to observe their reactions and participation in disciplinary exchanges. In this paper, I will examine the multiple ways that children talked about the violence they experienced and witnessed at home. Moroccan children and their extended kin use performances of corporal punishment that would appear quite violent to most Western, liberal observers in order to both assert and contest kinship and belonging. Adult kin in the rural Moroccan context often talk about kinship as enacted when children obey and submit to the authority of adults in their extended kin networks, in exchange for care and protection. This exchange is viscerally played out through acts of painful corporal discipline. However, children often physically and verbally contest whether a particular kin member has a right to hit them as they resist specific incidents of discipline. Furthermore, this resistance is often subtly encouraged by adult kin as a way for children to cultivate strength and independence from the authority they are also supposed to obey. Thus, through seemingly violent acts of corporal punishment, children learn to take an ambivalent stance towards the imposition of authority more generally and to negotiate constantly shifting kin relationships. I will focus on the ways in which children tend to support violent disciplinary practices in theory, but also how they narrate themselves as fighting back against unjust displays of authority when talking about specific incidents. I will examine a case when the children in one family decided to vehemently protest and exclude their mother from the social life of the household after one particularly disturbing incident, and what this incident reveals about the structure of changing intergenerational relationships in such a household context. In demonstrating how negotiations of discipline produce understandings of kinship, I problematize normative medical and legal discourses that characterize corporal punishment as inherently violent and destructive. At the same time, children's narrations of themselves as fighting against unjust authority in the household serves to cultivate a local political agency that reflects a rural, marginalized subjectivity.

Middle School Youth Co-narrating Mobilities, Tactics, and Childhoods across Transnational Street Scenes

Patricia Enciso, The Ohio State University

Stories and their interpretation demand the conversion of everyday experiences into recognizable images and relationships as the everyday is displaced and new landscapes become visible, traversed, and felt (Bloommaert 2005; Hermann 2009; Hymes 1996). Youth storytelling about their transnational experiences and knowledge opens new landscapes for co-locating in one another's times and places, and has the potential to produce new transcultural perspectives about one another's belonging in globalized communities. I argue, along with Maira & Soep (2005) and other scholars of youth transcultural lives (Ek 2009; Orellana 2015; Medina 2010; Sánchez 2007), that while youth are constantly shaping new social practices in globalized spaces, educators and adults must facilitate and make visible such contributions in schooling. In particular, I am interested in the ways youth engage in the 'interactive accomplishment' (DeFina & Georgakopoulou 2011) of co-narrating and interpreting their agency in one another's transnational street scenes. In this paper, I present an illustrative case and narrative analysis (Hymes 1996; DeFina & Georgakopoulou 2011; Herman 2009) of co-narration (Ochs & Capps 2001) among immigrant and nonimmigrant middle school youth with diverse itineraries of experience in local and global spaces who improvised and expanded on one another's images and experiences of childhood in places near and far, immediate and imagined. I argue that through co-narrations of stories about everyday life, youth produce interdependent histories of place and mobility as they also produce new identities as global peers.

The storytelling event described in this paper was part of a three-year ethnography of storytelling and literary reading among immigrant and nonimmigrant youth in a Midwestern middle school where new immigrant populations of Somali, Cambodian, Mexican, Central American, and Dominican youth and families have been settling for about two decades. As a teacher-researcher (third generation Latinx) working with teachers in the school, we formed a lunchtime story club with youth who were both interested in stories and representative of the school's population. We met sixteen times from January- May 2009 during the first year of the study. The event described here took place in January, shortly after Tomás (US born/Mexican transnational) returned from a trip to Mexico where he visited relatives.

Five youth gathered for this story club event: Habiba (Kenya/Somali), Sara (Jordan/Somali), Tucker (US born/Cambodian), Tomás, and Chris (US born/African American). Tomás initiated a bid to tell a story by saying 'I was shot at by the Mexican police'; which launched questions about his location and how police could shoot at kids; followed by youth telling 'second stories' (Sacks 1974; Georgakopoulou 2006) about similar and contradictory experiences in Somalia, Kenya, and their immediate neighborhood. Across these stories, youth located themselves and one another as social actors, enacting imagined tactics of resistance within co-narrated "theatres of action" (deCerteau 1984). Youth co-narrations of tactics, resistance, and conformity depended on their capacity to envision and improvise on one another's knowledge about mobility, space, regulations, childhood, and agency (Lankshear, C. & Knobel 2006). Their storytelling represents an interactive accomplishment of youth scaping (Maira & Soep 2005) among global peers. I propose co-narration as a critical literacy practice through which youth may produce new

narratives (third stories) centering transnational youth as creators and shapers of transcultural knowledge and relationships within and beyond their school.

The Right Thing(s) To Do By/For/With Immigrant Children

Sarah Gallo, The Ohio State University

In 2012 President Obama unveiled DACA, an immigration policy that would, “lift the shadows of deportation” for many undocumented students. In this speech he linked immigration and education policies to morality, reasoning that creating a mechanism for undocumented children to live, study, work, and thrive in the United States is, “the right thing to do.” Indeed, as the 2016 presidential elections have illustrated, policy questions about immigration and education are deeply tied to morality, and debates are saturated with phrases, like, “families not felons,” “illegals,” and, “playing by the rules,” that position immigrants, policy makers, and voters in moral terms. Less visible are the ways that transnational children and the stakeholders in their lives—their peers, family members, teachers, and researchers—take up these debates across educational spaces and geopolitical borders. Here I explore our roles and responsibilities as educational researchers working with transnational students within a context of heightened deportations and increasing anti-immigrant sentiment. I posit questions regarding “the right thing to do” as we re-present children’s transnational experiences in our research, teacher education, and policy work. This philosophical paper is informed by two long-term ethnographies on the elementary school experiences of Mexican heritage students. The first was a three-year ethnography conducted in the New Latino Diaspora (Hamann, Wortham, & Murillo, 2015) and the second was a year-long ethnography in Mexico that explored the educational resources of “retornados” (children with prior schooling in the U.S). Methods for both studies included participant observation, video recording, and interviews.

I draw upon framings of humanizing research (Paris & Winn, 2013) to engage with the political, philosophical, and methodological underpinnings of this research. Humanizing research is a methodological stance founded in inquiries that “involve dialogic consciousness-raising and the building of relationships of care and dignity for both researchers and participants” (Paris, 2011, p. 140). It recognizes that no research approach or researcher is neutral (Hymes, 1980; LeCompte, 2014) and that humanizing approaches, which question relationships of power and privilege, provide a mechanism to push against inequities through both the findings and acts of conducting research (Paris, 2011).

I explore the following inquiries: How do we navigate our understandings of transnational students as vulnerable populations alongside responsibilities of understanding them as agentive social actors who negotiate their self-positionings across institutional settings and geopolitical borders (Orellana, 2009)? How do we recalibrate power imbalances with participants, including the passport and visa privileges that we often hold? What are our responsibilities of working with educators to help them better recognize the skills, knowledges, and awarenesses that transnational students bring to their classrooms, and how do we prepare educators to leverage students’ educational resources for academic goals? As we weigh in on education policy development, what are the stances, dispositions, and understandings that we espouse and how do we ethically “translate” (Kirkland, 2013; Orellana, 2009) transnational students’ experiences for

the political arena in humanizing and safe ways? Through these inquiries I aim to engage in dialogue about how we navigate, “the right thing(s) to do” as educational researchers.

Stories From the Margins: Immigrant Children and Youth’s Narratives of Difference and Belonging.

Inmaculada García-Sánchez, Temple University

Given the global nature of contemporary migrations, scholars have called for greater attention to the trajectories of immigrant children and youth from a cross-national perspective, as well as for comparative frameworks that “attend to how global politics frame the identities and everyday experiences of immigrant youth” (Gibson and Koyama 2011: 401). Heeding this call, this paper examines the narratives of personal experiences of Moroccan immigrant children in southwestern Spain and Latino youth in a US western mountain state. This paper capitalizes on immigrant children and youth’s abilities to analyze their social worlds, by highlight these children and youth’s own perspectives on their lived experience in relation to larger ideologies that have a long tradition of framing them as “problems”. The narratives analyzed were told in the course of ethnographic interviews (Briggs 1986, 2005), as part of larger studies about the social lives of these children and youth. This paper is theoretically and analytically rooted in two paradigms. On the one hand, I take advantage of linguistic anthropology and sociolinguistics’ conceptualization of narrative as a sense-making activity that people use to imbue lived experience with meaning (e.g. Ochs and Capps 2001), as well as to claim and negotiate identities and relationships (e.g. De Fina 2003; Rymes, 2003; Wortham 2001). From this perspective, I look at how immigrant children and youth linguistically mediate and configure self-and others-understanding in relation to interpretive frameworks of relevance within socially and politically-constituted environments. On the other hand, this paper also builds on the bodies of work emerging from New Childhood Studies (e.g. Christensen and James, 2000) and Critical Youth Studies (e.g. Cammarota and Fine 2008). Both lines of inquiry place particular emphasis on children and youth as reflexive social actors with the ability to analyze their own position in the sociocultural and political environments they inhabit. I examine how Moroccan immigrant children in rural Spain and Latino youth in the rural U.S. trace their own experiences of social exclusion/inclusion as relational processes of difference/belonging with teachers and peers. I also explore how these children and youth emplot their social relationships and experiences of racialization. In particular, I analyze the contested meanings of what constitutes prejudice and discrimination as articulated by the immigrant youth. I highlight the semiotic processes that these children and youth themselves identify as integral to their everyday experiences of negative social marking and racialization. There are two major aspects to children and youth’s narratives of discrimination: (1) youth’s perspectives of what is being withheld from them in interactions; (2) their awareness of the role of multimodality in conveying a lack of commonality of belonging. These narratives show how immigrant children and youth have an impressive capacity to reflect upon their lived experience in relation to the sociopolitical worlds and realities they occupy. I argue that investigating immigrant children and youth’s own understandings of their developing sense of belonging is crucial for building solid comparative frameworks for action.

Flexibility, Possibility, and the Paradoxes of the Present: Tongan Youth Moving into the Workforce

Mary Good, Wake Forest University

While many people in the Pacific Island nation of Tonga have historically been involved in informal employment of some sort, only in the past few decades has professional waged work become increasingly important as the country moves from a primarily subsistence-based economy to a more global, capitalist-based system. This has led to new opportunities and aspirations for young people as they move from their school years into the more uncertain and liminal status prior to full adulthood. New pressures have also accompanied the new possibilities. This paper investigates the movements of Tongan youth as they attempt to find work and reconcile their goals and ideals with reality. In so doing, I also examine the ways in which discourses about youth and, in particular, youth unemployment, become entangled with discourses of neoliberal modernity in Tonga. Youth in a variety of employment situations must all struggle to make sense of the disjuncture between their imagined possibilities for work, their sense of moral obligation to work, and the actual choices that work presents. The majority of youth in Tonga remain at home with their families until they get married and begin to have children of their own. However, after they have finished their schooling, youth typically begin to feel obligated to assist in supporting the household, either financially or through other contributions (such as housekeeping, farming, or weaving traditional mats). Tongan youth feel a keen sense of moral responsibility to find a job and help with mounting everyday expenses at home, but in reality, jobs are difficult to come by in the midst of high rates of unemployment, particularly for these youngest members of the workforce. While the nation boasts relatively high rates of literacy, accessibility of education, and support for tertiary education either in-country or abroad, youth struggle to find work after finishing their schooling, and those young people who left school early often have even more difficulty finding jobs. Youth are groomed from an early age to have lofty career goals, yet few job opportunities actually exist—especially those that might provide a stable and secure future. When seeking out employment, many of my research participants had to give up their hopes for particular types of work and instead accept the jobs that were available at the time. Others stated that their initial wishes to avoid relying on family connections for “help” in securing a position had to be abandoned as they realized this might be the only way they could get work. The analysis presented here derives from ethnographic research conducted in 2016 which included interviews with employed youth, informal conversations with both working and unemployed youth, and participant observation at young people’s job sites. I also draw upon my previous research in 2008-2009 and 2014, when I collected interview data regarding the daily experiences and future aspirations of high-school students as well as out-of-school youth.

Researching the Voice of Silence: Representations of Palestinian Children in the Home

Omri Grinberg, University of Toronto, Canada

Bree Akesson, Wilfrid Laurier University

Palestinian children have been described as targets of the Israeli government’s *mélange* of mechanisms used to control the Palestinian people and territories. In this role, Palestinian children are subjected to direct violence, bureaucratic constructs, interrogation, incarceration,

and other various means of marginalization and oppression. Simultaneously, Palestinian children have also been depicted as nationalized subjects and resources for the future of Palestine, upon which historical and ongoing national symbols are projected. Palestinian children, therefore, play a dual role within the conflict and in everyday life: both innocent and in need of protection while also embodying sites of resistance. Nowhere is this dual role more pronounced than within the Palestinian home. In order to explore the multiple roles that children represent within the physical structure of the home, this paper draws upon our research experience using collaborative family interviews and testimonial gathering with Palestinian children in their home environments. Our methodological engagement with children and families at the home level has found children to be a “present absence” within the home, with adult family members dominating the data-gathering discourse. In other words, children are ubiquitous within Palestinian landscapes, but they are rarely heard from. Children’s voices tend to be acknowledged for brief moments when data-gathering methods such as drawing are employed by the researcher. At the same time that children characterize this “present absence,” they are also cherished as a focus of family protection and resistance against the occupation. In many cases, families indicate that the children themselves (and perhaps even the concept of childhood more generally) have come to be synonymous with a personal, familial, and national home, and a form of sumud, or steadfast refusal to separate from land and home.

While much research has considered children affected by political violence as both victims and actors, our paper adds another layer by exploring the multiple roles and representations of children within the Palestinian home. Our focus is not on how these representations are imposed upon children by adults, but rather how representations of children are enacted and negotiated within oftentimes protective home spaces, which are located within the more violent environment of the Israeli occupation.

Ted Hamann, University of Nebraska

Tobin Hansen, University of Oregon

Development in Socialization Variations of the Self

Makenzie Haynes, Brigham Young University

Data was collected and analyzed using ethnographic research that was conducted in two fifth grade classes and two sixth grade classes in an elementary school in a lower-middle class community on the outskirts of Seoul, South Korea. Over a ten-week process, I collected data by applying methods such as: participant observations, interviews, and surveys. From the methods I used, I used a comparative analysis approach in order to analyze the differences that I observed in the fifth grade and sixth grade classrooms. Upon evaluation of the students, it was observed there are different developments of socialization that have progressed among fifth grade students and sixth grade students and has led to differing variations of the self-- specifically with regard to gender; which implies the way the student views their own gender identity and the gender identification of those whom they are surrounded with. This observation came from the informal and formal interviews I had with teachers and students and from the responses I received from

the survey I distributed to the different classrooms. The survey covered questions mostly relating to Kpop, a musical genre originating in South Korea that is characterized by a wide variety of audiovisual elements. Kpop is also depicted by stars that wear flashy clothing and tend to rule the social empire of Korea. The surveys served as a guideline to help me measure the fandom that each student had and each grade had as a whole and led me to have a better understanding of the socialization that has occurred between the different grades. By using Kpop, a musical genre originating in South Korea that is characterized by a wide variety of audiovisual elements, and different fandom levels of Kpop as a resource on evaluating the socialization levels of fifth and sixth grade students, it was determined that although age groups fall into the “Middle Childhood” category coined by Michael and Sheila Cole, there are drastic differences between the socialization of two age groups and can be concluded that these differences are the result of their own development of self.

Migration and Belonging: Narratives from a Highland Town

Lauren Heidbrink, California State University-Long Beach

This photographic installation showcases the important contributions of Guatemalan scholars in a multilingual series entitled “Migration and Belonging: Narratives from a Highland Town.” This 7-part series emerges from a community-based research study in Almolonga, a K’iche’ community in the Department of Quetzaltenango. Like many highland communities of Guatemala, Almolonga has been intensely impacted by migration and deportation over the past three decades. Known as the “breadbasket” of Central America, Almolonga is a peri-urban community that enjoys a thriving agricultural economy. Employment opportunities are abundant and include harvesting multiple seasons of crops, selling in local markets, and commerce activities to Mexico and El Salvador. In fact, Almolonga has experienced a population surge, in part due to internal migration to Almolonga by Guatemalans seeking employment. Known for a strong evangelical church, there is also notable institutional leadership. And yet in spite of these promising aspects, poverty remains significant, social inequality pronounced, alcoholism pervasive, and livable wages scarce. Heralded as an alternative to migration because of its employment opportunities, Almolonga continues to experience significant out migration to the U.S., primarily to bedroom communities of Portland, Oregon where there has been a relatively well-established Almolonguense community since the 1990s. As we learned in our research with households and community leaders in Almolonga, the impacts of migration and deportation are pervasive and enduring.

We offer a window into this complex landscape through “Migration and Belonging” which features written narratives, poems, and reflections from an interdisciplinary research team conducting a household survey in Almolonga. Each piece is immediately informative about global youth, migration, health and well-being, belonging, and the effects of deportation across geographic space. And when taken together, this collection offers a rich, multifaceted account of a community impacted by colonialism, state violence, and the profound impacts—both historic and contemporary—of migration moving between intimate, community, and transnational levels.

Youth Migration for Employment and Education in the Pacific Islands: A Solomon Islands Case Study

Rachel Emerine Hicks, University of California-San Diego

Because of limited economic and educational options in rural Pacific islands, youth must migrate to cities to find paid employment or to continue schooling. When they migrate, they leave behind their villages, families, traditional beliefs, and indigenous languages in exchange for new globalized values, languages, and identities. In many of these countries, such as the Solomon Islands, this rural-to-urban migration is causing a “youth bulge” where over half the population is under the age of 24. Although these youth migrate to the city in hopes of completing their education and finding paid labor, many fail their exams and find themselves unemployed. Recognizing the growing urban youth population, in the 2016 Solomon Islands National Population Policy, the Solomon Islands Government stated policies that would address the high unemployment rates and rural-to-urban migration by providing educational and vocational training, more jobs, and options for livelihood in rural villages. This paper will examine the history and policy measures that have led to the urban youth bulge and high unemployment rate in the Solomon Islands and argue that this rural-to-urban migration is affecting Solomon Islanders connections to their home villages and traditional values. In 2008, I conducted ethnographic research on the remote island of Santa Cruz in Temotu Province of the Solomon Islands. The goal of my research was to look at changing language use and values among the 200 speakers of the Engdewu language. During this research, I found that Solomon Islands Pijin, the lingua franca was replacing Engdewu because Pijin was the language used to communicate with speakers of the seventy-one different languages in the Solomon Islands, especially when traveling for work or attending school in a different community. Because of the remoteness of Baemawz, the village I studied, youth had to go to a new village to continue their education after the first two years of schooling. Likewise, for secondary and tertiary education and paid employment, youth often had to leave Santa Cruz and migrate to a new island. Through comparing my data to other Pacific Island nations facing similar rural-to-urban migration, in this paper, I will argue that when youth migrate to cities for schooling or work they are introduced to new economic and social values that minimize their traditional knowledge and languages. These new experiences make it hard for youth to return to their rural villages and still feel connected to the local community; as a result, many youth who migrate to the city remain there because of the economic and social capital the city brings.

Children as Caregivers: Imagined Care Outside the Home as Household Activity

Jean Hunleth, Washington University-St. Louis

In places where health care infrastructure is under-funded, the burden of disease is high, and people are poor, care for and treatment of the sick frequently occurs within household settings yet is influenced by global health treatment policies. The outpatient treatment of tuberculosis and HIV provide just two examples of how global health policies on treatment bridge clinical and domestic spaces. Children’s contributions to treatment and care, however, remain invisible to many policymakers, researchers, and practitioners. Their involvement is easy to overlook when only focused on hospitals, clinics, and other spaces of diagnosis and treatment. Rules, ideologies, and other constraints prevent children’s presence in such areas. The household, thus, remains a

key unit of analysis for exploring the care children provide to people who are ill and how this care might intersect with global health regimes. In this paper, I ask: How do children understand and respond to household care needs when a household member is ill? What might their voices contribute to our understandings of the household and family as a sphere of social reproduction within settings with high burdens of disease? I have examined these questions throughout my work on children's roles in Zambia's dual tuberculosis and HIV epidemic. I take my contributions further in this paper by engaging with children's fictitious accounts of caring for guardians outside of household settings. In my extended household research with children whose guardians were sick with tuberculosis, the children imaginatively travelled outside of the household to care for household members when they went to the clinic or were hospitalized. They held relatives' hands on the walk to the clinic, listened to doctors give medical orders, and sat by the bedsides of relatives who were hospitalized. One boy flew his baby sister home from the hospital in a balloon.

My paper builds on geographer Nadia von Benzon's (2015) suggestion that to ignore children's fantastical research contributions might be unethical. Untruths and fictions are especially revealing when carrying out research with children who have little control over where they go and what activities they are able to do. In Zambia, young children are not allowed in clinical spaces for extended periods of time and are disallowed in some sites altogether because of fears of contagion or the severity of the illness. Children also have household chores, school responsibilities, and economic constraints that limit their movements. Yet accompanying people who are ill to clinics and hospitals is an important household activity. Providing such extra-household care has become a social obligation that both demonstrates the strength of relationships and strains household economies. Kin, gender, and generational dynamics enter into such accompaniment, affecting relationships and creating or forestalling household members' life chances. By extending their household roles to clinical sites, children imaginatively positioned themselves within such social obligations, hierarchies, and structures. And they showed their fears and frustrations. In this paper, I suggest that children's imaginative travel offers a powerful reminder of the stakes involved in remaining present in care within and because of global inequalities.

Tracing Our Bodies: Democratizing Approaches to Research on and Support for Refugee Youth

Riccardo Jaramillo, Brown University

Refugee youth face extraordinary barriers to positive academic and socio-emotional development. In Providence, Rhode Island, a multitude of service agents struggle to provide comprehensive psychological and socio-emotional support to young refugees, limited by a sheer lack of professional practitioners. This study focuses on a one-on-one in-home tutoring program that employs college-student non-professional volunteers to mentor and tutor refugee youth in Providence. Particularly, the study explores how non-professional volunteers can contribute to the healthy socio-emotional development of refugee youth through arts-based emotional literacy modules. The study is guided by the following question: How can arts—based literacy modules, facilitated by non-professional volunteers, support healthy psycho-social development and healing from trauma alongside literacy acquisition?

To investigate the question at hand, this research project utilized unorthodox research methodologies aimed at centering youth voices despite language barriers. Over forty college student tutors and their youth tutees engaged in a portion of the arts-based emotional literacy curriculum, which asked students as well as tutors to reflect on the thoughts, feelings, and memories in their bodies through writing and drawing. Eleven of the physical art products from the sessions were collected coded, and analyzed as qualitative data. To provide an additional perspective, three of the tutors, college students like the researcher, who facilitated the curriculum were interviewed. Research methods in this study were further shaped by the fact that the researcher was an underclassman in college and a tutor in the program. The researcher's approach and analysis were sensitized by their relative proximity in age to the participants, coupled with their experience having an immigrant parent from a country in war. Furthermore, the practitioner-as researcher model allowed the research to ground their analysis in real experiences facilitating the curriculum and witnessing its functions and limitations.

Findings from the study indicate that the arts-based curriculum allowed youth space to reflect on and make meaning of the following topics: chronic fear associated with socio-economic instability and a lack of cultural fluency, longing for permanence in a life characterized by impermanence/abandonment, goals and hopes for the future, and love/affirmation for themselves and others. Tutors noted the curriculum's ability to provide a space for reflection regardless of literacy level and despite the stigmatization of emotional vulnerability in adolescents. The mutual vulnerability aspect of the exercise—both the tutors and tutees engaged in the curriculum simultaneously and with each other—was seen as a key aspect of the curriculum's ability to provide safe and healthy spaces of reflection. The study illuminates the ways in which creative curriculum and the arts can address the lack of professional mental health services for immigrant and refugee youth. Non-professional volunteers and community members should work alongside professional practitioners to provide holistic and sensitive care to youth. Academic programs should include socio-emotional support as part of their agenda.

Enabling and Disabling Emotional Diversity

Anna Jaysane-Darr, Tufts University

Autism Spectrum Disorders (ASD) today are imagined in at least two contradictory ways: ASD is conceptualized as a disability that both needs and demands correction within the politics of the Americans with Disabilities Act, and as neurodiversity reflecting the creative potential of a differently enabled engagement with the world. For therapists working in both clinical and educational contexts, these two frameworks for understanding ASD youth are in tension as they seek to interact with autistic kids in communicative modes that are, “on their level,” but in doing so, attempt to reconfigure kids' emotional responses, sensorial experience, and use of their bodies in space. This tension reflects the other awkward boundary autism interventions straddle: between pedagogy and treatment. Are such interventions a kind of education, or are they a kind of healing or care? And if they are both, what does this mean for how - especially - the educational system has absorbed a (neuro)medicalized model for understanding child development and emotional behavior? This paper explores these issues by drawing on recent interview data from behavioral health and autism specialists in both educational and clinical

settings in Massachusetts. I suggest that while ASD youth are often quickly identified as “emotional suspects” in the classroom and in the home, therapists’ efforts to recalibrate their behavior are fraught with contradictions.

Youth Making Media and Learning Across School-Community Spaces

Korina Jocson, University of Massachusetts-Amherst

In recent years, researchers have placed an emphasis on examining contextual factors of learning in diverse communities to confront educational disparities in schools and neighborhoods. A view of learning as ubiquitous is important to comprehensive education, a kind of education that conceives spaces of possibility for developing learning opportunities (Dixon-Román & Gordon 2012; Varenne et al. 2009). Particularly in human learning and development, researchers have called for a fuller understanding of learning from an ecological perspective (Gutiérrez & Arzubiaga 2012; Lee 2010). A learning ecology framework provides ways of, “understanding learning across life spaces of home, school, community, work, and neighborhoods” (Barron 2006, p. 195). In other words, a learning ecology accounts for the set of contexts in creating opportunities for learning. The contexts are uniquely configured with activities, material resources, relationships, and interactions that emerge from them. The emphasis on person-environment relations is key in creating opportunities for learning. In keeping with cognitive and social developmental research, a learning ecology recognizes the influence of person-environment relations in human learning and considers multiple settings in the development of interests and self-sustained learning over time (Barron 2006). The movement within and across multiple settings becomes essential to the learning process and provides opportunities for individuals to participate in different discourses, often in hybrid spaces where robust forms of engagement take place and cultural repertoires ground the learning process (Gutiérrez & Arzubiaga 2012; Gutiérrez & Rogoff 2003; Lee et al. 2003; Nasir & Saxe 2003). In my research, a learning ecology model from an ecological perspective has been helpful to address concerns about creating learning opportunities for students who have historically not been served well by learning models derived from psychological domains.

In this paper with video and visual representation, I draw on a year-long ethnography conducted in the northeast to share insights into youth media making and learning in the context of career and technical education (CTE). Students as members of a multimedia class moved across various school-community spaces to support the design and production of inquiry-based multimedia projects throughout the year. Implications for practice and research are also discussed.

Challenging Global Geographies of Power and Cultivating Disciplined Subjects: Sending Children Back to Nigeria from the U.K. for Education

Pamela Kea, University of Sussex, United Kingdom

West Africans have a long history of investing in their children’s education by sending them to Britain. Yet, some young British-Nigerians, most of whom were born in the U.K., are being sent to Nigeria for secondary education, going against a long historical grain. The movement of children from London to Nigeria is about the making of disciplined subjects who possess particular dispositions and behave in such a manner as to ensure educational success and the

(re)production of middle class subjectivities within neo-liberal globalization. We maintain that this movement highlights the way in which global geographies of power are being challenged and reconfigured, serving to provincialize the U.K., through the educational choices that Nigerian parents make for their children. Such small acts disrupt imagined geographies and particular spatial and temporal configurations of progress and modernity, in which former colonial subjects have travelled to the metropole for education, whilst generating counter narratives about Nigerian education, society and economy. Yet, the methods to instill new dispositions and habits in the contemporary Nigerian educational context are partly informed by the British educational colonial legacy of discipline through corporal punishment. Physical punishment was central to the civilizing mission of British colonial educational policy. Consequently, the choice to send children to school in Nigeria as well as challenging global geographies of power, sheds light on the continued relevance of the colonial educational legacy, its disciplinary strategies and epistemological hierarchies which are, in turn, part of the broader project of modernity itself.

Space, School, and the State: The Production of the "Problem Child" in the Foundation of Ontario Public Schools

Hunter Knight, University of Toronto

What makes a problem child? In this paper, I search for the conditions of possibility for the “problem child,” or a student who is constructed as someone who does not belong to the classroom. Rather than a result of inherent deficiencies on the part of the student, I argue that the construction of the “problem child” is a result of a public school system historically defined as a mechanism to produce the modern state. The production of the school system and the co-constitutive roles of “problem children” and normative students are carried out through spatial arrangements, which define who belongs to the school system and thus the nation. Public schooling, which was developed in many settler colonial states across North America in the mid-nineteenth century, depended on ideas derived from liberal philosophy: a belief in the universal ability to access a higher consciousness, the narrative of human development, and the possibility of a national progression towards modernity. These beliefs, however, were founded within and dependent upon ongoing violences of colonialism, imperialism, and slavery (Lowe, 2015). The very ability of white European philosophers to define their own freedom was conditioned upon the denial of that freedom to others (Mohanram, 1999).

What were the implications of using this philosophy as the foundation of a system of public education? In this paper, I use Ontario, Canada, as a case study, focusing on the works of Egerton Ryerson, Chief Superintendent at the genesis of Ontario public schooling. Ryerson, like many of his contemporaries, positioned public education as the pathway towards a modern nation. This more civilized state would be produced through the progressive molding of children, in which “savage” or “uncivilized” elements (such as those constructed onto people of color, Indigenous people, disabled people, and/or lower-class people) would be contained, reformed, or eliminated. Ryerson’s reliance on this philosophy, then, produced a school system that proclaimed universality while requiring exclusion. He proposed supposedly universal “common” schools as well as residential schools for Indigenous children, segregated local schools for Black children, reformatory schools for lower-class children, and institutions for disabled children.

Rather than a contradiction, Ryerson's proposals for separate schools were inherent to his liberal philosophy, working in tandem with – rather than as exceptions to – his “common” schools in order to support a future “civilized” state. Tracing how Ryerson constructed a “problem child” illustrates how his school system that promised universal education depended on the exclusion of many from that promise. I argue that liberal philosophy continues to influence public education today, visible both in mission statements that tout their production of citizens and in the ongoing production of spaces to contain “problem children.” My archival analysis suggests that an interrogation of these spaces – and the rationales for their existence – can illuminate how and why public education continues to produce violence against children of color, Indigenous children, disabled children, and/or lower-class children, as well as possibilities for how mobility within and across these spaces have and continue to inform acts of resistance.

The Strategic Movement of Children in History and Culture

David Lancy, Utah State University

This paper will review a variety of enduring cultural practices that lead or led to the wholesale movement of children, starting from birth. In the process, I will identify the forces that generated the impetus for such strategies. The approach will be developmental beginning with the practice of transferring the infant quite early to non-maternal (wet nurse, for example) care. This might occur because the biological mother is fully occupied with other activities, particularly food production. Adoption of somewhat older infants is common across both cross-cultural and historical accounts and may be triggered by an imbalance in the respective families. This strategy was codified in antiquity and, later, by the Christian church. Post-weaning, the child may be transferred to the care of older siblings or its grandmother and this may involve a change in the child's domicile. In middle childhood, boys in numerous societies may be moved from their natal homes to an all-male dormitory or “Men's House.” In Western Europe, “Public Schools” served similar aims. History records many large scale child transfers triggered by particular socio-political forces. “Surplus” children in Europe were “exported” by the thousands to labor-short colonies. During the western expansion in North America, these children were transported to their new homes on “orphan trains.” On the other hand, in the British colonies, India, in particular, the offspring of, “colonials” were sent back to the UK as, “Raj Orphans” for their protection from disease and a “proper” education. This separation might last five years or longer. An attempt will be made to extract from this review insight into the nature of child development, in particular, children's resiliency and resourcefulness in the face of change.

Children of War, Children of Solidarity

James Loucky, Western Washington University

Marjorie Faulstich Orellana, University of California-Los Angeles

Marvyn Pérez, Children of War

Nancy de León, Children of War

During periods where authoritarian forces provoke search for safety and support, people are not only propelled into motion but also into relationships that strengthen a shared sense of solidarity. The circumstances and expressions of solidarity vary widely, yet they share a commonality of

mobilizing organized and spirited connectedness for challenging a real threat to life and liberties. As family and community affiliations and commitments and roles have come to be recognized as core to migration experiences, attention has extended to encompass children as well as parents. While parents are deeply involved in investing in the safety and wellbeing of their children, children and youth themselves become emergent participants and protagonists in shaping the potentialities and trajectory of solidarity as well.

In the 1980s, solidarity with and among the people of Central America emerged as the most prominent social movement marking the years after the struggle for civil rights and the Vietnam War. Having receded to being relatively unknown today, Central American solidarity nonetheless offers essential lessons for how mutual understandings and obligations are mobilized to challenge unacceptable domination and harm. With the hindsight and maturation inherent in three decades since that momentous time, it also represents opportunity to examine the impacts of a social movement on a new generation as well as on the intergenerational dynamics of political and ethnic identity.

In this round table we bring together community activists and scholars from the 1980s solidarity movement to reflect on their experiences then and the lessons they draw for the contemporary context, with its new flows of refugees and new threats of authoritarianism. This includes members of a group called “Children of War,” an activist organization formed in the 1980s to draw attention to effects of the Central American conflicts on children and youth. We will engage our audience in conversations about the meanings of solidarity and ways of learning from past youth activists, now positioned effectively as community “elders,” for youth activists today. We examine the critical role that younger and older people play in determining sane and humane social and immigration policies, particularly those that promote mutual understandings and practice of both protection and participation.

From the Village to the Street: Kinship, “Separation” and Street Children in Papua New Guinea

Christopher Little, York University, Canada

Following the well-publicized death of a boy in 2014, Papua New Guineans have become concerned about the issue of socially abandoned “street children” found in the country’s towns. Street children are portrayed as a new phenomenon, having emerged amidst a changing society characterized by changing conceptions of the person and the breakdown of family relations. In the absence of the care of their family or others, street children are seen as having to live on the streets, where they sometimes die from this neglect. Drawing upon research with young people from the Highlands town of Goroka, this paper complicates this narrative about the status of these street children. Rather than being socially abandoned, I illustrate how these young people willfully withdraw from their social relations and migrate to town in response to the failures of their fathers to adequately care for them. Similarly, rather than dying on the street from social neglect, these young people engage in processes, “self”-harm as they attempt to find agency in their relationships with their fathers. This paper illustrates how separating oneself from one’s relations and one’s kin can be socially productive means of negotiating one’s conception of the self and others.

Health, Migration, and Social Inequalities: Exploring Children's and Parent's Narratives in Relation to Childhood Obesity Management

Andrea Lutz, University of Geneva, Switzerland

In this paper, I will present the results of an ethnographic study I conducted in 2016 on the everyday lives of children undergoing a medical treatment for childhood obesity in Switzerland. I carried out semi-structured interviews with fifteen children (aged between 7 and 18 years) and their parents aimed at understanding their subjective experience of the treatment process and the changes it introduced in their everyday lives. I also observed thirty dietary consultations and five health education group sessions with children and parents. The majority of children in my sample experienced migration during their lives and belongs to families with a low socioeconomic status. These social dimensions appear prominently in their personal histories in relation to the emergence of childhood obesity and the strategies they adopted in order to act on it. Childhood obesity often overlaps with material disadvantage and social exclusion. This reflects the social gradient of obesity that appears in the statistics on the general population. Based on the life histories and narratives of children and parents, I will explore the links between health, migration and social inequalities, by taking into the account the evolution of the situation of children and the impact of the treatment on their everyday lives. On the material level, I will show how obese children and their parents deal with their health condition with the limited number of resources (economic, cultural, social) that they possess and the opportunities that their environment offers to them. On the symbolic level, I will try to explain how the cultural background of children mediates their relation to food, the body and health.

The Means to Grow Up

Carl A. Maida, University of California-Los Angeles

In Los Angeles and elsewhere, public schools are where poor and working class youth, especially children of immigrants, get a chance to grow into young adulthood. Broadening the horizons and life chances of these youth requires an expansion of critical pedagogy beyond the classroom. Project GRAD, Los Angeles (PGLA), part of a national initiative that promotes a college-going culture, initially focused on San Fernando High School, which has a high proportion of second-generation immigrant youth, and is 90% Latino. For PGLA “scholars,” writing, math and science are competencies that lead to success in college, the professions and other forms of skilled work. Based upon ethnographic fieldwork, an abridging network was developed for gifted students during their last two years of high school through the UCLA Pre-College Science Education Program, which was initially funded by the Howard Hughes Medical Institute. Bringing together graduate students and their lab directors in the sciences with high school juniors and seniors on behalf of project-based learning, the two-year high school apprenticeship program includes a six-week intensive residential summer program for ten predominantly Latino and African American students, with a few students whose families emigrated from Africa, the Philippines and East Asia; half of each cohort are PGLA scholars. Students engage in hands-on projects in faculty labs (35-40 hours weekly), and in hour-long dialogues on social-emotional issues, emphasizing skills and dispositions for college and career success. Ongoing reflection sessions inspire students to consider lessons learned in campus labs and residence halls, providing opportunities for self-understanding. At summer’s end, youth

present their research, including the design, results and implications, to family members and mentors. The intent is that the youth will carry with them the tools and experiences gained through the program as they enter college and beyond. Linked is the goal of instilling a different perspective on their lives and life chances by creating the conditions for a transformed identity associated with academic interests and success.

In *The Means to Grow Up: Reinventing Apprenticeship as a Developmental Support in Adolescence*, Robert Halpern advocates for the high school apprenticeship as the style of learning that may provide the best chances for today's youth; the approach requires buy-in outside of the school, from universities, industry, unions, practice communities, and then within these worlds from adults willing to "go the distance" to provide youth with authentic experiences, while dealing with steep learning curves, challenging home and community lives, false starts and setbacks in their education. An effective way of integrating traditional and modern views of education, work and career, and gaining parental buy-in, is to connect cutting edge contemporary pedagogical and work practices to familiar aspects of older generations' culture and community. Many success stories in developing areas here and abroad have some connection to the folk tradition, broadly understood, to meet the challenge of cultivating in parents, and often in grandparents, an acceptance of the need to "let go" of their children, for a time, as they enter demanding, and somewhat heartless, university and work settings.

Reflections on Research Methods and Considerations for Participatory Follow Up Research with Refugee Origin Youth in Sweden

Margary Martin, University of Hawaii-Hilo

The refugee experience is by definition a marginalizing experience. Dislocation leaves refugees with very little control over their life circumstances, and dependent upon the policies and practices of receiving countries. Education, where the central discourses of opportunity and belonging are encountered in their new country, plays a central role for the socialization and citizenship of immigrants (Abu El-Haj, 2015). While education research increasingly utilizes phenomenological approaches placing the voices of immigrant youth at the center of their work, these "academic improvement" ideologies can explicitly or implicitly result in actions and "interventions" targeted at changing the attitudes or behaviors of youth and their families to adjust integrate into increase performance and life opportunities and not the institutional contexts that defines these integration parameters. In this paper, I reflect upon how my thinking on the complexity of employing feminist and critical race methodologies has evolved since my first experiences of conducting ethnographic research with immigrant youth, drawing on research with refugee origin youth in Sweden, and the development of a follow-up study with these same youths eight years later.

The original research in Sweden, centered on the lives of refugee origin youth during six months of their lives in school. Part of a larger project that focused on how the school attended to academic needs of the youth they served, my own work examined the ways the school culture challenged or facilitated their school engagement and feelings of belonging in school and in Sweden. Research methods involved semi-structured and informal interviews, participant observations, and "hanging out" with sets of students over this small period. The youth who

became involved in the study were eager participants and generously shared their lives, and while they knew they were participating in a research study, I struggled with the tensions of adult-youth, researcher and friend, and advocate and victim as I became immersed in their lives.

I will be meeting with these youth as adults in a follow-up study that will explore how the shifting sociopolitical climate of immigration and education reform has shaped their lives in Sweden. As they reflect upon their lives and share their lives more fully, questions of ethical methodology come to the forefront. Employing collaborative, critical life history methods, the research will involve a holistic approach to examine the interplay of multiple layers of context and the immigrant educational experiences over time (Solórzano & Yosso, 2002). While adults, in some ways involvement places them in even more vulnerable position than in the original study. I reflect upon the complex nature of developing research with the youth participants of the original study, and the role of reflection—both on the part of the researcher and adult collaborators-- on the complex nature of the larger socio-political context of immigration and the socializing role of education in the acceptance or further marginalization of refugee origin children and families.

Not Just Ellis Island: The Historical Plight of Unaccompanied Latin American Minors

Isabel Martinez, The City University of New York

Almost one hundred years after the arrival of unaccompanied minors escaping the violence of the Mexican Revolution and then, economic insecurity preceding the Bracero Program, and sixty years after the start of civil wars in Central America, young teenagers are still leaving under these conditions, fleeing poverty and violence that has been manufactured in no small part by United States policies and officials and Mexican and Central American elites (Coutin 2016; Hart 1987; Salazar 2000). Similar to the mass migrations incited by a revolution that was in no small part in response to Mexico's increasing embrace of foreign capital investment, including American ownership of almost a quarter of Mexico's land as well as American arms and dollars, today's mass migration may also be explained by U.S. interventions (Hart 1987). The economic policies of NAFTA and CAFTA-DR, as well as the U.S. funded law enforcement programs of the Merida Initiative and CARSI, or the Central American Regional Security Initiative, have subject Mexican and Central American families to increased, not decreased, violence and poverty (Fernandez-Kelley and Massey 2007; Korthuis 2014; Paley 2014). Compounded by the United States' deportation machine that has sent U.S.-manufactured criminal organizations and agents, the neocolonial relationship between the United States and Latin America is again forcing families to seek alternative strategies for economic as well as physical survival (Gonzales 2014; Meyer and Seelke 2011; Paley 2014). Drawing from the Bracero Archive and records of unaccompanied Colombian migrant minors arriving to Ellis Island, this paper challenges dominant discussions that frame early 20th century unaccompanied minor migration to the United States as only a European phenomenon and fills in a historical timeline of unaccompanied Latin American minor migration to the United States that begins a century ago and continues today (Moreno 2005). Beginning with cases from the turn of the twentieth century and ending with contemporary unaccompanied Latin American migration, this paper seeks to disrupt the notion that Latin American youths are new arrivals and

ensures that the voices of unaccompanied Latin American minors are added to our nation's early immigration history.

Investigating Urban Spaces through Critical Youth Bike Ethnography

Allison Mattheis, California State University-Los Angeles

People in urban communities use multiple modes of transit to navigate their social, professional, and personal spaces, but the voices of marginalized members of these communities are often absent in policy conversations about transportation access, street safety for pedestrians and cyclists, and city planning. Youth in particular are typically invisible in the context of such discussions, and if included are usually positioned as vulnerable and in need of protection. Local organizations in many cities across the country, however, challenge this perspective by highlighting the leadership capacities and creative energies of young people to advocate for themselves and their communities. The value of extracurricular and community-based learning spaces as sources of empowerment for youth is reflected in a growing body of research (Ginwright & Cammarota, 2007; Pacheco, 2012; Shiller, 2013). As described by Checkoway and Gutierrez (2008), empowered youth participation “is about the real influence of young people in institutions and decisions, not about their passive presence as human subjects or service recipients” and focuses on outcomes related to community change (p. 2). Youth leadership development programs that focus on social injustices or inequitable access face the challenge of avoiding deficit-thinking perspectives that can result in disempowering attitudes on the part of adult organizers. This paper presents findings from an ongoing project that explores the following research questions: How do youth experience and perceive their communities from a transit-oriented perspective? What do they identify as assets in their communities, and what are their suggestions for improvement? Guided by Critical Youth Participatory Action Research epistemologies and ethnographic qualitative research approaches, youth researchers are engaged in data collection techniques including photovoice, interviews, and observational field notes. Youth between the ages of 16-19 from seven cities across the country were recruited at the national Youth Bike Summit in May 2016 to participate in the project. With the support of a small grant, I purchased materials for a “youth bike ethnographer tool kit” that were mailed to each of the researchers. These include GoPro video cameras with bike helmet mounts, digital audio recorders, and weatherproof notebooks. The youth researchers' work demonstrates how the physicality of bicycling offers unique insight into how they interact with and confront structural constraints such as socioeconomic vulnerability and systemic marginalization. Becoming an expert youth bike mechanic is not seen as disconnected from issues of who can safely navigate streets without being racially profiled or sexually harassed. Lobbying legislators to demand improved public transportation infrastructure and access to recreational spaces in low-income communities is seen as similarly important to developing programs to allow young people to bike to high school. The development of critical consciousness for community leadership requires expanded opportunities for youth to explore and actively participate in local change efforts. Documenting the collective efforts and processes employed by community-based bicycle advocacy organizations to engage youth can help inform efforts in other areas, including schools and other formal educational institutions.

Schools As Imperfect Sites of Welcome

Jessica Mitchell-McCollough, University of Nebraska-Lincoln

Edmund Hamann, University of Nebraska-Lincoln

The enrollment demographics of US schools are changing rapidly as a result of recent record high immigration, authorized and not, and significant refugee resettlement. The Pew Research Center projects that, by 2050, more than one-third of the nation's schoolchildren "younger than 17 will either be immigrants themselves or the children of at least one parent that is an immigrant" (Passel 2016). This makes them 'children in motion' literally and/or culturally as they negotiate childhood landscapes different from that of their parents/guardians. During this same time migration has come to the forefront of the global political landscape as a contentious issue that is increasingly used to create a "politics of fear" (Wodak 2015) often resulting in serious political consequences (e.g., Brexit, Donald Trump's election and its multiple facets like his pending threat to Build a Wall between the US and Mexico). This change in enrollment creates a pressing need for schools to become places of welcome (Gitlin, et. al, 2005) within communities to work to attenuate stereotype and stereotype threat while also supporting the development of student's individual sense of agency within both their new communities and through their attachments to their communities of origin. At the same time, a both historic and current role of schools around the world is to teach pupils loyalty to the nation-state as well as capacity to come of age within that society with requisite skills (e.g., reading, mathematics, civic understanding) to successfully negotiate their contemporary daily life. We argue this orientation can be misplaced or incomplete for those students who are present as refugees – one premise of refugee status is that a refugee can someday 'go home' once the place they have left again becomes safe – but legal immigrants and especially unauthorized newcomers also confront ambiguity about singular claims to the site and national setting of their current school. In the face of this complexity, schools are not necessarily well positioned by design or practice to develop or retain the language and other skills that would help "sojourner students" (i.e., Hamann, 2001) someday make such a return. Examining secondary data sets related to migration, examples from the second author's work on education in the New Latino Diaspora, and various declarations about the purpose of school (e.g., *Brown v. Board*, [1954], *Plyler v. Doe*, [1982], *A Nation at Risk*, National Commission on Excellence in Education, [1983], and the National Council for the Social Studies' C3 Framework (2013) for K-12 education in civics, economics, geography, and history), this paper explores how school, the primary instrument of the state encountered by the transnationally mobile child is and is not designed to serve their needs, how it can be a center for both welcome and unwelcome into the community, and how these elements interact to support or interfere with the development of students' agency within both their current communities and their communities of origin

The Linguistic Traversals of Mexican-Origin Youth in the Los Angeles Area

P. Zitlali Morales, University of Illinois-Chicago

Danny Martínez, University of California-Davis

In this paper, we will explore the linguistic movements of diverse Latinx youth in varied contexts within the Los Angeles area. In considering their movements, we explore the multiple boundaries these youth traverse within their everyday routines such as school, work, and leisure

or interest-based activities. We consider how their participation within these differing contexts allows them to draw on their various ways of speaking and their linguistic resources, but that some contexts are more constraining while others more conducive to linguistic flexibility.

Forest Hunters to Slum Dwellers: The Uncertain Futures of Indigenous Children

Camilla Morelli, University of Bristol

Children and youth typically constitute the largest demographics of indigenous populations in Amazonia and across the world, but child-centered works on young Amerindians remain limited. Drawing on ethnographic fieldwork with Matsigenka people of Amazonian Peru, this paper examines how Amerindian children and young people actively contribute to ongoing processes of socioeconomic transformation in the region, and how their ways of acting and being are opening up, or closing off, certain possibilities for the future of society. By using child-centered visual methods, including drawing and participatory photography, I explore how young Amerindians are developing a desire—or literally 'bunquieo', a hunger for—the non-indigenous world of cities, concrete, electric light, television, manufactured goods, and so forth. This will demonstrate that far from simply reproducing the works of their elders, children are actively shaping the environments wherein they dwell and setting up the ground for new forms of life, and that an attention to indigenous childhood within contemporary societies is not only essential to anthropological analysis but has clear implications for policy and development.

When They 'Swim' Too Far: Migrant Parents' Reactions towards Children's Uprootedness

Median Mutiara, Nagoya University, Japan

In Japan, migrant children are submerged to single language of instruction at public schools. In that sense, children are forced to be bilingual with dominant of the majority language. Children are also being forced to feel ashamed of their mother tongues, their parents, their origins, their group and their culture (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1988) While the first concern for most migrant parents is always either their children 'swim or sink' in the majority language, Indonesian parents are convinced of children's fast learning to 'swim' and will not 'sink', and consider this submersion as plus values for children's linguistic skills. For them, it is more essential to ask: "when they 'swim' too far, what to do?" This article presents data from a qualitative study on migrant parents' reactions on children's uprootedness in results of the submersion. The data is collected by in-depth interviews and participant observations on religious events, including teaching in the minority educational activity for one year. The participants consist of 20 Indonesian Japanese-descendants (Nikkeijin) who have been living in Japan for more than 5 years. They work as labors in fishery companies in Oarai, Japan. Moreover, the observation and conversation were also done with their children through the educational activities. Findings The findings highlight that for these parents', their first-hand experience in their work life influence their worldview on Japanese culture and society. This experience is used as a projection on values Japanese education produce through schools where their children are educated. At the same time, at home, they see their children's behavior is not as what they expect. For parents, children assimilate and speak Japanese too dominant forgetting their roots (swim too far). However, although parents believe that their children's uprootedness is because of the Japanese

education, instead of ‘confronting’ with the public school, they react positive about some values taught to be beneficial for children future economic prospect. In that sense, their needs are only to add on and to erase some components what children receive at school. This very basic components are national language, family values, cultural identity (ideology) and religion (in a package they called as Indonesianess). In consequence, parents made initiations by establishing a minority (non-formal) school for their children to reinforce their Indonesianess. Although migrants face difficulties in comprehending the host country’s languages and cultures, Indonesian migrants show their different strategies and perceptions when living far away from their homeland. These families are transnational and their dream future of their family is never in Japan: in Indonesia for the parents, and in-between for their children. The trigger phase exists when parents realize there is Indonesianess missing from children’s behavior when they are teenagers, and when parents start thinking of return in the near future. In that sense, children are expected to balance their identity, but parents tend to rely on the school and church only, without family plays the forefront role maintaining their roots and national identity.

Children and Youth’s Perspectives of the Other Side: Ideas of Inequality and Sense of Belonging

Gabrielle Oliveira, Columbia University

Children are both social actors and subjects of social forces; as they experience 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 this paper I explore the perspectives held by children and youth on both sides of the Mexico-US border regarding migration and family separation. I argue that transnational care constellations allow children and youth to imagine the other side of the border and through that they are able to explore their thoughts and perspectives on material things and inequality, as well as sense of belonging and family. Their imaginaries are the vehicle for making sense of being part of a transnational care constellation. This paper represents the uniqueness of particular data I was able to capture of dynamics between separated siblings. Within transnational research, separated siblings’ relationships have been understudied in part because of the complexity involved in the collection of data, but also because children and youth seem to be constantly learning about where the “rest” of their families are. Through their photographs, drawings, poems, journal entries, Facebook messages, text messages, and other representations, I show how children and youth make sense of maternal migration and transnational families and how these ideas get translated into two main points: inequality and sense of belonging. The first narrative concerns the existent inequality on “the other side,” which is informed by their interactions not only with family members who are physically close to them, but also by interactions across the entire transnational care constellation. Children inherently contrast their experiences to what they understand about the experiences of the “rest” of the family. Second, I focus on the narrative in which children and youth describe their sense of belonging in the family. Considering oneself part of a family remains a latent desire of children and youth and the transnational separation heightens the craving for a family unit.

“Feeding Shame: Value, Stigma, and the Meaning of Milk for Families of Disabled Children in the Urban American South”

Krisjon Olson, Medical College of Wisconsin

Since the early 1990s, lactation activists, global marketers, and medical accreditation agencies have streamed into American hospitals to promote “breast is best” and take advantage of the breastfeeding consumer public. Alongside the flows of government capital, health consultants, milk extraction technologies, and tit commodities, breastfeeding networks have also brought with them strategies that seek to shape mothers into consumers (Appadurai 2013, Ong 2006, Rabinow 2011) by working on their emotions (Levinas 1991, Wittgenstein 1953). As Norbert Elias (1976) has argued, civilizing processes are often not rational, but emotional – and the formation of a developed consumer capitalism in American motherhood relies on a type of work that uses affective resources such as shame and hope to alter political and economic realities. Nutrition interventions increasingly emphasize health (Yates-Doerr 2015) as breastfeeding for babies – but much as these ideas move from think tanks and clinics into everyday life they are taking on new meaning. This paper offers milk as it is lived and experienced by mothers of disabled children who find their life – and their bodies – feeding shame. Based on a year of fieldwork inside a parent network in the urban American South – a large school for children with disabilities, local agencies, the state’s largest children’s hospital, and multiple parent support groups – this paper explores how lactivist strategies for infant feeding mobilize affect in order to create shame. Emphasis on self-sufficiency in feeding routines establishes habits of personal reliance, rather than social support, that conditions parents to discrimination. In the first weeks of children’s lives health visitors, specialists, and physicians establish a different relationship to the needs of families with disabled children by mobilizing strong emotions such as social embarrassment, hope, and self-confidence through early intervention (feeding, therapies, medical treatment) at the hospital. At the same time, this kind of work on the emotions suggests that affect has become a global commercial resource, like any other, to be leveraged and utilized (Mamut 2006). By focusing on the shifting concept of value and stigma as parents and their children move through established feeding protocols, and negotiate diagnoses, I explore the production of difference, disability, and milk.

Beauty Salons, Banks, “Free” Stores, and Jails: Kids Imagining Social Worlds

Marjorie Faulstich Orellana, University of California-Los Angeles

Lilia Rodriguez, University of California-Los Angeles

Janelle Franco, University of California-Los Angeles

Sarah Jean Johnson, University of Southern California

Krissia Martinez, University of California-Los Angeles

This paper is grounded in ethnographic research at a Fifth Dimension-inspired (Cole et al, 2005; Vásquez, 2003) after-school learning club in which Teacher Education students and the research team engaged with K-5 children from diverse national, social, racial/ethnic, and linguistic backgrounds, learning through play and playing with learning, and reflecting together on our experiences. In the after-school club, children were encouraged to share their visions for new games and activities. Teacher Education (TE) students who attended the class as part of a service learning course were encouraged to support these visions while stepping away of adult-

ideological perspectives, (Speier, 1978) and authoritarian models of teacher-directed instruction, into a community of learners model (Rogoff, 2003). They were encouraged to follow children's leads while also intentionally and thoughtfully mediating children's learning. The after-school program became a space for trying new ways of interacting with children: listening to them, learning from them, and building on their perspectives and ideas, while also opening up zones of possibility that allowed all participants to stretch in new ways.

This paper looks at the ways children move through different spaces of their own creation in the afterschool club, as they create imaginative worlds and take on new identities, "acting a head taller" (Vygotsky, 1978) in their play activities. Specifically, we analyze a three-week period in which the children set up a beauty/nail salon, bank, beauty pageant, stores, and a jail, and directed the adult participants within these spaces. These activities were documented on videotape, in researcher fieldnotes, and in reflective notes written by the TE students. Our analyses of the transcribed tapes focus on how the children played within these spaces, taking up voices of authority (e.g. as the beauty salon owner, bank manager, beauty pageant judges, and jailors), negotiating their roles as they moved across the space, and revealing their understandings of equity and social justice. We consider how this imaginative play both reveals children's understanding of the adult world, their own local context, and the larger globalized world that led their families to this community. We also consider how play destabilizes normative relations of power between adults and children in this setting. We analyze videotapes and fieldnotes to see how we, as directors of the program and the professor and teaching assistants of the service learning course, TE students and children, supported, challenged or stretched each other's worldviews, and/or thwarted, diverted, or impeded them through their forms of participation in these imagined worlds. For example, we consider how different participants responded to children's assertions of power: sometimes acquiescing, sometimes resisting, and sometimes challenging the ideas about adult power that were enacted in children's play. We also consider how their (and our own) perspectives on teaching, learning, and social justice were also sometimes stretched or changed in the process. We conclude with a discussion about the space that play offers to children for making sense of, reproducing, resisting, and sometimes transforming normative social processes and relations of power in the worlds they are moving within and the ones they imagine themselves moving into. We argue for the importance of creating more spaces where children and adults can play together in order to imagine and construct a new social world.

Socializing a "Moderate" Self: Children's Food, Discipline, and Self-Management in an Urban Middle Class

Jennifer Patico, Georgia State University

In my 2012-2015 ethnography in an urban Atlanta charter school, I observed a parallel in the ways middle-class adults talked about food socialization and emotional or behavioral socialization. In both realms, self-management was the ultimate goal; children needed to be given choices in order to learn moderation and self-governance over time. In the realm of food, there was conflict across and within individuals concerning how much to limit children to "good" choices versus exposing them to "bad" ones (such as honey buns in a middle school vending machine) to encourage self-management. Parents who met to discuss techniques of

“Conscious Discipline” learned about ways to scaffold children’s emotional management by “loaning” them skills of awareness and constraint they could not yet exercise on their own. Parents eschewed (or at least, self-consciously disavowed) both authoritarian and “helicopter” approaches, espousing seemingly counter-mainstream food and disciplinary practices that also enacted neoliberal ideologies of selfhood inasmuch as they sought to produce self-containing, self-disciplining, socially responsive individuals. However, this kind of practical self-mastery sometimes was felt to run against the grain of childhood and its pleasures; and as a group of middle schoolers who spoke with me recognized, love of “junk” food was, in a sense, normative and expected for children in a way they sensed it was not for adults. In this way, “self-regulation” and adults’ efforts to optimize children’s bodily health and emotional/behavioral expressions were instantiated as goals always already felt to be mired in conflict – in the process defining adulthood and childhood themselves.

Transborder Students in U.S. and Mexican Schools: Moving from Marginalization to Integration

William Perez, Claremont Graduate University

Tatyana Kleyn, The City College of New York

Recently, the number of individuals who arrive to the U.S. from Mexico is about equal to those leaving the U.S. to return to Mexico. This two-way migration pattern has resulted in students being educated across these two bordering nations in ways that are isolating and sometimes contradictory, rather than integrated. This “fractured schooling” (Zúñiga & Vivas-Romer, 2014) can have detrimental effects on students who find themselves living and learning in both nations. Drawing on both authors’ years of experience interviewing, observing, and even creating a documentary film about binationally mobile students in the US and Mexico, this paper outlines the educational contexts for transborder students in both nations. In U.S. schools, we focus on special programming and services as well policies that promote or outlaw education that is bilingual. We also consider the education students receive when they are (back) in Mexico, where they are often overlooked for their unique upbringing and educational, socio-emotional and language learning needs. On both sides of the border these students are often marginalized in school despite their multilingual practices, cross-cultural understanding and political insights beyond many their age. We provide several policy recommendations for Mexican and U.S. schools to better integrate them and nurture their academic, linguistic, and cultural talents. In short, we offer our perspective on what equal schooling should entail for these transborder youth.

Undocumented Child Migrants to the US: A Qualitative Research Discussion the Consequences of Not Belonging

Ramona Pérez, San Diego State University

The surge of unaccompanied minors from Mexico and Central America that rocked the US national headlines from 2012 to 2014 remains a steady and what appears to be a continuous phenomenon. Many of these children are sent by family members to find relatives already in the US as a strategy of economic survival for them and their families. The children’s and youth’s struggles to find security, prosperity, and hope in a country that is hostile to their presence marks

their childhood and for many, results in a youth rocked by new definitions of adulthood and what it means to succeed within their community groups. In this research I discuss two groups of male children and youth: 1) those whose journeys ended in apprehension and were either placed in a shelter for unaccompanied minors in the US or who were deported to Mexico and found themselves on the street, and 2) youth whose childhoods are marked by relocation to the US, constant discrimination and fear of apprehension followed by deportation as teens as a result of their turn to street crime and violence. In both scenarios, the issues of rejection and discrimination by the US result in a lack of literacy in any language and culture, disenfranchisement from notions of national identity, familial and community rejection, and an inability to define themselves within existing frames of belonging. The research focuses on children and youth at the US/Mexico border and in the southern state of Oaxaca, Mexico. The implications of their strategies for survival and formation of belonging have global implications for research on the children of migrants and refugees whose presence equates to ideas of invasion and thus are rejected by their potential hosts.

In Motion, Near and Far: Contrasting Ways of Seeing Mobile Students

Aprille Phillips, University of Nebraska-Lincoln

The frequent movement of children and youth among schools and sometimes multiple times within an academic year, has become a growing area of research in the United States, particularly as many of these mobile and highly mobile students are concentrated in schools labeled as failing or persistently low-achieving (Daunter & Fuller, 2016). In Nebraska, three out of every four schools identified as Needs Improvement, report higher than average student mobility within the academic year (Nebraska Department of Education, 2015). This mobility and the sense of dislocation and repeated academic interruptions it causes is often viewed as a deficit in students and a challenge for educators assessing and attempting to address this student-population's needs (Bruno & Isken, 1996; Daunter & Fuller, 2016; Demie, 2002; Han, 2014; Hanushek et al., 2004; Heinlein & Shinn, 2000). In the globalized society in which we live, a contrasting research on mobility has increasingly addressed the transnational coming of age experiences of children and youth who also experience the phenomena of dislocation due to school transitions (Calendario, 2007; Smith & Guarnizo, 1998; Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco 2001; Vandeyar 2011). Zuñiga & Hamann (2009) assert that this transnational mobility influences how students see themselves and are seen, which “powerfully shape how they act, are responded to, and are understood” (p. 330). Hamann (2001) introduced the term “sojourner” to describe transnational students who, like those characterized as highly-mobile in the U.S., appear in and out of schools often during the school year. This paper considers 1.) how a broader notion of mobility among transnational youth moving across larger geographic spaces might be reconciled with a more local Nebraska narrative where mobile and highly mobile students most frequently attend schools identified as Needs Improvement (Nebraska Department of Education, 2016) and 2.) the ways in which educators see, understand, and respond to students whose schooling is filled with transitions through transnational and more local lenses for the purpose of challenging the and informing our understanding of how students experience schooling across multiple transitions so that we might identify implications for future school policy and practice.

Sexual Violence: The Cannibalization of Our Children in the 21st Century

Katrina Pimentel, California State University-Sacramento

Porfirio Loeza, California State University-Sacramento

Male aggression is a pervasive problem in the United States (Burnett, et al., 2009), with research indicating that between “25- 57% of adult men had perpetrated sexually aggressive behaviors against a woman since the age of 14” (Abbey, Jacques-Tiura, & LeBreton, 2011; Abbey, McAuslan, & Ross, 1998; Davis, Kiekel et al., 2012; Koss, Gidycz, & Wisniewski, 1987; White & Smith, 2004, as cited in Wegner et al., 2015). Hence, a propensity towards violence is largely socialized, which begins young. At the root of this violent behavior, is societal sexism. Sexism invalidates girl’s thoughts, opinions, beliefs, values, feelings, preferences, and choices in favor of boys—as girls internalize this in negation of their experiences, they learn to silence their voices, mistrust their own judgments, and yield their thinking to that of boys and other girls” (Brown & Gilligan, 1993; Jack, 1991; Jack & Jill, 1992, as cited in David, 2014, p. 212). As a result of deep-seated sexism, violence has become so normalized that society encourages and even legitimizes male aggression, while minimizing and blaming girls for their experiences (Burt, 1980). Children and teens are exposed to sexually violent content in “marketing ads, television, movies, and music videos” and video games, resulting in society accepting the objectification of females and violence against them as an acceptable standard (Pearson, 2000, p. 12). Exposure to sexually explicit and violent media has shown to increase negative attitudes toward women (Beck, Boys, Rose, & Beck, 2012), and increases incidents of sexual harassment, and violent behaviors for male children and teens (Fox & Potocki, 2016, p. 1915). For female children and teens’ such exposure can negatively impact cognitive and emotional development, and is strongly linked to with eating disorders, low self-esteem and depression (APA, 2011). Moreover, when these socializing exposures are compounded with childhood trauma and family dysfunction it can increase the risk factors towards violent and aggressive behaviors and reduce their ability to reach normative developmental milestones (Sandhu, 2001, p. 46; Flannery, 1997). Hence, this presentation seeks to illuminate the prevalence of sexually violent exposure that has infiltrated our daily lives in the 21st century.

The Nexus of School and Military Pride

Heather Rae-Espinoza, California State University-Long Beach

With extended operations and the looming possibility of new battlefronts, military families face considerable pressures. Military families experience high-rates of geographic mobility, transitions in care, and the emotional and physical injuries of service. Studying deployment practices can inform developmental theories on parental separation and anthropological theories on wellbeing.

Existing research addresses the behavioral outcomes of parental deployment on children. Children’s reactions to deployment vary based on the type (i.e. routine, peacekeeping, or combat), frequency, regularity, duration, and media coverage of deployments. Ethnographic attention to these variables can clarify mixed results on the effects of deployment. Those who work with clinical samples confirm LaGrone’s (1978) “military family syndrome,” arguing that military families experience more psychological difficulties, whereas others argue military families are no more at risk (Cozza 2005), or even evince “surprising resilience” (Wadsworth

2010). Preliminary work including literature reviews, interviews with adolescents on career and family planning, and surveys on distinctions between ideal and actual scripts on military family trajectories informed the current ethnographic efforts. Further, community involvement surveys evaluated the influence of military culture and social service programs on family functioning. Parental engagement in military culture can encourage community connections, which may mitigate the transmittal of stress to children. Our methods investigate the availability, accessibility, utilization, and efficacy of programs using Skinner's process model of family functioning.

For children, schools offer formative community support. For this reason, I am conducting ethnographic fieldwork of military families in an elementary school. Selecting an appropriate school for observation involved considering both the presence of military families and the likelihood of practices leading to resilience. Thus, I have been conducting fieldwork in a district that includes a joint forces training base, the only military airfield in two counties, a naval weapons station, and extensive military housing. This district represents home to several branches of the military. In addition, as resiliency research, I selected a successful school district. This district has appeared on College Board's Honor Roll for five years with only a handful of U.S. districts. They closed the gender gap with 100% of students at grade level in second grade. Representative of California's military, school enrollment has minorities in the majority (58%).

The preliminary results and literature point to school as the site for military families, and especially children, to find cultural meaning and social support in the face of frustrations. The selected school acknowledges military connections in everyday life, linking military pride and school pride. Children pledge allegiance and sing a patriotic song each flag ceremony before the school pledge and song. In School Spirit Week and Peace Week, one day children wear camo. In addition to large Veteran's and Memorial Day events, the school participates in many military activities. Of note is the "Paws and Patriots" fundraiser helping puppies given to service members when they return "from keeping us safe." Consistently in weekly programming, the school integrates military service as part of daily life, furthering meaningful community support for children at a time when they seek recognition outside the family.

Transnational African American Muslim Youth Living and Learning in Senegal

Samaha Rahman, University of Pennsylvania

Many people immigrate to the United States in hopes of improved sociopolitical and educational possibilities, but hundreds of working-class African American Muslim families have challenged the notion of the United States as the land of opportunity by emigrating elsewhere. Since the 1970's, these families have relocated their children from urban centers in the United States to Medina Baye, Senegal, identifying in this West African Islamic Sufi hub the promise of what they believe to be a better education and life for their next generation. These parents' awareness of structural racism and the failures of the US public education system to adequately serve low-income students of color in urban areas propel their interest in transnational migration to the Global South and their decision to enroll their children in a traditional Islamic school in Medina Baye. Though parents make the decision to relocate their children, the majority of young people come to term with their parents' decision and become invested in living and learning in Medina

Baye. Ultimately, the youth prefer to stay there and grow reluctant to return to the United States given what they perceive to be the country's hostility towards Black people and Muslims. Drawing upon ethnographic research with the African American Muslim youth who live and learn in Medina Baye, this paper focuses on the emergent process of self-making amongst the transnational youth. By exploring young people's everyday experiences in Medina Baye, I show how the unique religious education and cross-cultural exchange in the town impacts their moral development, racial consciousness, and global sensibilities. I also investigate how idealized parental aspirations intersect with young people's on-the-ground engagements with transnational migration to demonstrate how the youth come to experience Medina Baye as a place of greater opportunity and prosperity. In so doing, I argue that transnational migration offers young people from racially and religiously marginalized communities in the United States the opportunity to attain resources inaccessible to them in their country of citizenship. The experiences of these migrant youth illustrate the fraught possibilities for prosperity in the United States and elucidate the alternative geographies, networks, and institutions that young people draw upon to actualize their dreams and aspirations.

Vulnerable Ethnography: Some Methodological Reflections on “Doing” Research with Authentic Cariño with and for Immigrant youth in Spain and Costa Rica

Anne Ríos-Rojas, Colgate University

We know from the work of decolonial/feminist scholars that the methods, rhetorical devices, and epistemological currents coursing through and molding our ethnographies are informed by and susceptible to power (Rosaldo, 1989; Smith, 1999). Although we have frameworks for thinking against the grain of power and method, what these entanglements look like in relation to our work with youth, particularly with immigrant youth and in contexts of increased precarity and conflict, remains a site of needed attention and care.

Ethnographic work in particular, with its modality of intimate inquiry, remains a mode of encounter that brings up particular concerns related to enfleshment and the politics of vulnerability. How do we as “ethnographers” navigate these webs of power in our attempts at theorizing young lives vulnerably, *con respeto* (Valdés, 1996) and with authentic *cariño* (Bartolomé, 1998)? This essay is a methodological reflection of this and other questions and on the inherently political nature of social research, particularly with immigrant youth whose bodies and lives often serve as the receptacles of desires (i.e. desirable bodies for the state and the ethnographic gaze, amongst others) and moral panics (i.e. dangerous bodies that pose “risks” for their inherent out-of-placeness and potential for “radicalization”). Reflecting on ethnographic work with im/migrant youth in Spain and Costa Rica, I explore the complexities and contradictions of “doing” ethnography at the fragile intersections of this desirable/dangerous divide. It seeks to articulate a methodology and politics for how we choose to travel into the lives of young people. As Maria Lugones (1994) has observed, this “world traveling” entails a deep and loving engagement with our participants. We can choose to travel to those worlds as cultural voyeurs—as arrogant and “dis-stanced” observers (Fine, 1994)—or we can travel to them vulnerably, moving forth with a revolutionary love or *cariño* for the subjects of our study (Duncan-Andrade, 2006). This essay thus might also be read as a kind of mapping of the ethics of ethnographic praxis, a cartography of what I am attempting to name as vulnerable

ethnography. What does vulnerable ethnography demand of us as researchers and ethnographers of education? And how might this approach open up productive spaces for more humanizing methodologies that (re)center love as a political force for social transformation (Freire, 1998) and move us towards decolonizing our research practices?

Moving Pregnant Girls, Moving Ideas: Understanding the Prevention of Child Pregnancy in Guatemala

Camille Roussel, University of Chicago

Beginning in the early 2010s, the Guatemalan state and international organizations came together to launch a public health campaign targeting child pregnancies (i.e., the pregnancy of girls under the age of 14). This campaign attempts to both reduce maternal mortality by preventing such pregnancies, but also to advertise and enforce a new law which reclassified sexual relations with children under 14 as statutory rape. One important effect of the campaign is that, once a pregnant girl under the age of 14 is identified, she is brought to a hospital – which can be hours away from her home – and to the court for children to evaluate if she can return to her family. During this process, some girls end up spending months in homes for children, while other are relocated across state boundaries to live with their extended families. In this paper, I argue that attending to the ways girls are moved in and out of their familial homes is crucial to understanding the kinds of ideas that the public health campaign mobilizes. I then propose that looking at alternative movements where young girls voluntarily leave their families can open up new ways of thinking about the local context in which the campaign, and its effects on families, take place.

Nigerian Response to Global Change and Child Development

Frank Salamone, University of Phoenix

The impact of colonialism (and the globalization which continued the process of dependency) has initiated numerous changes in the world. None has been of greater social and cultural significance than changes in child-rearing. Using Nigeria as a case study, focusing mainly on the Yoruba of the southwest and the Hausa of the north, the authors seek to draw conclusions on the changes wrought through globalization which can be further tested in other developing countries. By globalization the authors follow James L. Watson's definition, "Cultural globalization, a phenomenon by which the experience of everyday life, as influenced by the diffusion of commodities and ideas, reflects a standardization of cultural expressions around the world." This definition includes social, cultural, economic, political and technological forces on the everyday life of peoples, in our case peoples not in the cultural tradition of the Western World and at a power disadvantage in interactions. Specifically, the author concentrates on how these factors have an impact on all that surrounds child rearing, from feeding to schooling to social construction of reality.

'When I used to Love Dubai': Identity, Belonging, and Aspirations among Highly Mobile Indian School Students in Dubai

David Sancho, University of Sussex, United Kingdom

This paper seeks to widen our understanding of how globally mobile children negotiate and maintain a sense of identity in relation to both schooling and their wider worlds. Current work on internationally mobile school-age students concentrates on North to South flows, focusing primarily on the experiences of elite expatriate children and institutions from the English-speaking world providing offshore services. Research on South to South educational flows (of students, educational institutions, and curricula) across national borders remains almost entirely neglected. This paper will address these gaps by examining the experiences of Indian students attending international schools in Dubai established by Indian entrepreneurs, where the majority of students (and teachers) belong to a growing diaspora of middle-class Indian expatriates. The paper draws from work on how globally mobile young people negotiate and maintain a sense of identity (see, e.g., Grimshaw and Sears, 2008), as well as on recent studies on how youth experience everyday multiculturalism and contribute to social cohesion/fragmentation in culturally diverse places (Butcher & Harris, 2010). The paper concurs with the former in highlighting the importance of narrative and personal history to how mobile young people integrate their fragmented and constantly shifting lives into a unified narrative of the self. Thus, I focus primarily on students' narrated experiences of their everyday lives, and their aspirations and plans for the future as they approach the end of their schooling lives. Simultaneously, I seek to understand the manner in which the practices, discourses and ethos of schools shape the dispositions and 'ways of being' for young people (Stahl and Habib, 2016). In a highly culturally diverse city, where migrants are denied the right to citizenship, these schools foster orientations and complex modes of belonging that have not been explored until now. My paper shows how Indian majority international schools foster identities and aspirations that sustain wider processes of social and spatial mobility among a growing class of transnational Indians, while promoting forms of diasporic belonging that contribute to social cohesion in the highly fragmented and unequal society of Dubai.

**Coming of Age in the 21st Century: The Case of Contemporary Parenting Practices
Among Indigenous Maasai of Kenya**
Serah Shani, Westmont College

Based on ethnographic research, this paper examines Maasai parenting practices in the wake of heightened globalization and impacts at local levels. Within a globalized economy, contemporary parenting includes inculcating a habitus in children, preparing them for certain specific desired character development and capabilities as mechanisms to secure their future economic autonomy. Child-linked habitus are meant to influence their decisions, views and attitudes in negotiating their space in society.

Parents tap into cultural repertoires to construct a consciousness meant to influence their children futures. This inner sense of right and wrong which may be partly "innate" and mostly based on upbringing, parents expect, should be ingrained road maps to a society's desired future. Within these understandings, reproductions of parental and societal expectations become almost inevitable. However, within contemporary globalized high tech world, cultures get challenged as new forms of religions, education, and ways of living and knowing are introduced, affecting even the most isolated and geographically marginalized groups and cultures. Current market

economies challenge parenting strategies especially among indigenous and geographically isolated groups who are constantly bombarded with a plethora of ways and reasons to fit into modernity. This paper demonstrates the complex and dynamic ways Maasai parents, caught between global standards and local expectations, negotiate matters of values and character development in attempting to influence their children's future economic autonomy. The Maasai parents, considered to be an indigenous geographically isolated group, illustrate how human beings continue expressing capacities in adjusting their lives and ideas of socialization within an increasingly dynamic and evolving world.

The Role of Religious Institutions, Community, and Country of Origin Resources as Mechanisms for Education Success: Ghanaian Transnational Migrants

Serah Shani, Westmont College

It is now commonly accepted that immigrant parents bring with them cultural folk ways of education success to the United States. It's also known that some immigrants' meanings and definition of academic success differ considerably concluding in relegating their cultures as either additive or subtractive to their children's academic achievement. I argue that the link between school and the greater community should continually be explored. In addition, the transnational community, transcending the host and sending countries that continues to influence educational attainment needs a closer attention. While Ghanaian immigrants can have an additive approach, and their culture playing a big role, the religious intuitions, extended community and country of origin resources facilitates parent's daily constructions of multivariate mechanisms and intersections geared towards academic success. Hence, raising continuous need for recognition of education out-of-school and efforts such as facilitated by religious institutions, community and a country of origin resources. While immigrants leave their countries for better lives, the sending countries continue to serve as reservoirs of resources where parents tap into home country institutions like extended families, schools, and culture to succeed in their host country.

Role of Child Rights in the Development of a Country with Reference to Pakistan

Rameez Ahmed Sheikh, Quaid-i-Azam University, Pakistan

Socialization of children is the basic element to bring the country at the top of the list and its development as well. For that purpose, positive Socialization of the Children is the most important phenomena. Today's child will be the future builder of a country. Higher investment on our children's education, nutrition, safe-environment, health-care and protection is a sacred duty, which will bring multiple developments in returns to the society. This study has facilitated to identify how to provide a better environment for a balanced development of our children; which can bring the best out of them and make them valuable assets of country. The main objective of this paper is to find out the role of children's rights laws in current era and in development. This paper is exploratory in nature and intends to sketch up some recommendations in the light of identified main hurdles. Finally, it also suggests the solutions to meet these hurdles.

Child Vending as Household Work: "Helping" in Support of Personal and Familial Goals Aviva Sinervo, San Francisco State University

How do household expectations and aspirations influence children's motivations for undertaking wage-earning practices outside the home? Classic economic theory tends to view the household as a discrete, isolated, and coherent decision-making unit in terms of shared responsibilities for livelihood. Adults are seen as the de facto drivers of, and participants in, income generation activities. Yet implicit in considerations of both the effects of poverty on household economic choices and views of the household as the sphere of social reproduction is the idea that much of the labor of the family sphere is done in service of providing comfortable—or at least tolerable—environments for children's socialization, emotional development, and physical growth. Even as children are left out of the wage-earning framework in these discussions, they are highlighted as the benefactors of household economic prosperity or the victims of household economic precarity. These assumptions about how the household works as an economic entity and children's roles within it are problematized when we evaluate so-called dysfunctional households where parents are impaired or absent. This has been addressed in studies of poverty that emphasize the incapacity of families to survive on the wages of adults alone. In contrast, this paper focuses on what happens in broader public contexts in which children can be more successful wage-earners than their parents. This is the case in the tourism industry in Cusco, Peru where both children and adults work as informal, mobile street vendors peddling souvenirs and handicrafts to visiting foreigners. While children spend less hours working than adults, they often earn more because tourists respond positively to the affective quality of children's naturalized positionality and tailored strategies for approach and engagement. Centering the voices of children as they narrate how they came to be involved in this industry, I illustrate that children believe their work is important to both their household viability and their own individual development. I introduce Andean frameworks of household "work" and "helping" to discuss how children justify their wage-earning activities vis-à-vis global discourses on child labor and its relationship to poverty that tend to condemn children's economic practices. By considering accounts of work, motivations for it, and the intertwined dependencies between children and parents, I argue that intimacies within households are coupled with diverse typologies of personhood and value to allow for flexible portrayals of need and morality based on how one—no matter your age—contributes to the household.

"Rat Kids" and the Territorialization of the Global: Race and Class in the Digital Gaming of Southern Peruvian Boys

Benjamin Smith, Sonoma State University

When boys play digital games in Southern Peru, they put themselves at risk of being insulted as a "niño rata" or "rat kid," a term that gamers have "poached" (Jenkins 2013) from a Spanish language episode of the Simpsons. A "rat kid" is understood as a boy who plays loudly, selfishly, and obnoxiously, with little commitment to one's teammates, and in blissful ignorance of the finer details of strategic game play - a gamer version of Bart Simpson, in other words. Drawing on interviews with Southern Peruvian gamers, observations of game play, and the analysis of online gaming commentary on Facebook and YouTube, I offer an account of how this social

persona becomes part of a local, Peruvian project of racialization centered on the risks of being identified as “indio” or “Indian” (a contemporary version of “de-Indianization,” in de la Cadena’s sense [2000]), a project that is also deployed to make sense of the intersection of race and class in the global gaming community. To do so, I trace the circulation of this persona with respect to forms of sociability imagined as being increasingly encompassing (i.e., from the relatively more local towards the relatively more global): its salience in the context of gaming lounges in Southern Peru, its salience within the national or Peruvian gaming community, and its salience for a more international or global gaming arena. The theoretical goal of this analysis is to show how the scale of the global (i.e., in the form of international gaming tournaments, multinational gaming companies, etc.) gets assimilated to – or, if you will, territorialized with respect to – a Peruvian project of racialization, albeit one thoroughly infused by one of the ideologies of an earlier (yet still ongoing) global encounter (i.e., the modernist logic of development). In a larger sense, the analysis shows how youth do not only encounter a globalizing world in and through the temporal and spatial envelope of dispersion across national boundaries, from periphery to center (i.e., through processes of immigration or transnational adoption); they also work to re-center the global from the center to the periphery, subjecting it thereby to their own projects of race and class.

Adults Deserve High Quality Education Too: Postnationalism as Means to Effective Practices in Family Literacy

Jennifer Stacy, California State University-Dominguez Hills

Edmund Hamann, University of Nebraska-Lincoln

Internationally originating adult newcomers are one of the most marginalized groups within American education. While they actively contribute to economic and social life in the U.S., unlike their school-eligible children, they are not guaranteed support in adjusting culturally and linguistically. Even as they make key social, cultural, and language decisions for their families (Velázquez, 2012), older Spanish speakers are more likely to be newcomers and less likely to speak English well (American Community Survey, 2012) than other US Spanish-speakers. While learning the dominant language permits access to and navigation of the dominant culture (Bourdieu, 1991) and characterizes living in contact zones (Garcia, 1998), adults have less access to formal learning opportunities. In partial response, public schools have turned to less formal learning initiatives, such as a family literacy with an Adult Basic Education (ABE) component, as one way to address marginalized adults’ needs. This paper, derived from dissertation research, looks at Latina mothers’ who participated in one such program and examines how they described their and their children’s language learning and other learning needs as they negotiated transnational social realities. The mothers indicated that they attended the ABE/family literacy program to learn English, to ease their children’s transition from home to school, and, most strikingly, to engage in intentional impression management to create a reputation in their child’s school as an ‘engaged parent’ and thus to impact how their children were understood. The parents characterized several postnational attributes (Soysal, 1994) as reasons to participate in the program: a strong sense of community, shared experiences of in-betweenness, and the opportunity to discuss their experiences in a new country. School personnel expressed different goals: parents would learn about and adapt to the norms of American schools and support their children academically. This second perspective guided the content in all program dimensions.

Nonetheless, at times, mothers resisted paternalistic instruction about English, parenting practices, and academic involvement (Villenas, 2002). In the face of this, mothers considered the additional information (beyond language instruction) as “buena información”, but almost never used it to redirect their own lives and practices. Consistent with studies by others (e.g., Baquedano-Lopez, Alexander, & Hernandez, 2013; Galindo & Medina, 2009; Johnson, 2009), we posit that there was a disconnect between the assimilationist assumptions of the ABE/family literacy program and what Latina mothers were actually gaining from it and suggest that this cooptation illuminates a central point undergirding all of the papers in this session—Those who are the recipients of various educational interventions need to be seen and heeded as co-participants in program design. Creation of education programs that involve the transnationally mobile need to be made not for them but with them. That’s the only way to account for the transnational ontologies that shape how these students/women/mothers/migrants negotiate their worlds and, in turn, shape the worlds their children negotiate.

Facing the Absurd: Young African Migrants' Perspectives on Time in Situations of Forced Immobility

Inka Stock, University of Bielefeld, Germany

This paper explores how young migrants’ relation to present, past and future can be disrupted in situations of forced immobility. Ethnographic data on Sub-Saharan African migrants in Rabat is used to describe young migrants’ difficulties in accepting being stuck in Morocco on their way to a presumably better place in Europe. Since the new millennium, migrants from sub-Saharan African states are increasingly getting stuck in Morocco for indefinite periods of time. While some of them have the intention to migrate further towards Europe, others are attempting to find a perspective for their future in Morocco. Among them are increasing numbers of children and young adults, who are either living there with or without their parents- mostly in very difficult economic and social conditions. Theories of time and temporalities are fruitful to explain these migrants’ perspective on their own identity, their relationships with others and their ideas about the future. By linking ethnographic data of young adults and children in Rabat with theoretical work on time by Adam (2012) and Hage (2009), the paper shows how their view on time disrupts their connections between past and present as well as between present and future. In some migrants’ perspective, this process of alienation also places them outside of “modern times” where time can be commoditized and controlled. As a consequence, being able to commodify and/or control their time again becomes an aspirational goal for some of the young migrants and their parents. The articles show how both parents and children employ a variety of strategies to get tuned into “modern times” again, despite the severe obstacles they are facing to do so. The paper will demonstrate how policies that effectively hinder migrants from being mobile can have lasting -and sometimes very negative- effects on migrants’ survival strategies, on their plans for the future and on the dynamics of their subsequent migration journeys.

The Crowded Couch: Youth, Emotional Suspicion, and Emerging Psychologies in Palestine's West Bank

Rachael Stryker, California State University-East Bay

Palestinian youth engage with many criminalizing and/or pathologizing narratives and images, produced by biomedical professionals, of their experiences under Israeli occupation (Nguyen-Gillham et al 2008, Marshall 2014). At the same time, western psychological narratives of Palestinian youth frame them as abnormally emotionally resilient heroes in the face of extreme hardship (Nguyen-Gillham 2008, Barber 2013). So, what might it mean to construct or conduct pediatric psychology in the occupied West Bank, where emotional suspicion is used as part of Israeli state power at the same time that western medical professionals attempt to shape a counseling culture there using -- and creating -- paradoxical emotional hyperbole? Based on newly-begun ethnographic research in Palestine, this paper reports some findings from two adolescent and young adult counseling projects in the West Bank cities of Ramallah and Nablus. Sometimes in relation to, but often outside of, Israeli and western models of trauma and resilience, Palestinian psychologists and counselors negotiate a politics of occupation and sovereignty to rethink the typing of Palestinian youth as emotional deviants in diverse ways. By highlighting some of these strategies, the paper traces some of the local and global biopolitics in which Palestinian youth – either via public anger, mourning, or even joy -- first become marked as emotionally “other” in familial, activist, institutional, and public spaces. It then documents some ways in which pediatric psychologists engage and/or reframe youth behaviors, responses, and aspirations along such axes of possibility and impossibility of life course events; mobility and immobility; and traditional economic systems and neoliberalism. The data calls into question the use of western models of trauma and resilience for diagnosing, treating, and reifying Palestinian youth as emotionally deviant in response to both the local and global cultures and systems of which they are a part.

The Circulation of Care: Documenting the Motion of Foster Care

Matilda Stubbs, Northwestern University

Recent investigations of documents in anthropology have demonstrated the importance and impact of these recording methodologies on communities and individual lives. This growing attention has revealed that these objects have functional as well as symbolic value as receptacles of meaning and vessels to communicate knowledge. In this paper, I argue that in the child welfare system, investigation into objects such as case records is crucial because of the context of their production and consumption. Focusing on the mundane and routine processes by which case files are created and circulated within the legal and local care systems enables exploration into how case documents are used and for what purposes in this institutional childrearing nexus. Most notably, case records are often iconic - that is, they semiotically resemble - the case subject, recording behaviors, bureaucratic movement, and diagnostic prescriptions. For foster youth this means there exists a case file, that administratively moves alongside them as they navigate and negotiate their time under state custody, often under the daily care of total strangers. Therefore, in order to advance understandings of documenting technologies, I explore the social life of case files by examining how they are constructed, circulated, and utilized within this kind of state care system and the potential consequences of this document for individual foster youth. This discussion draws heavily on my own recently acquired case file, while connecting this archive to a recently created family case file, tracing its conception, motion, and social implications on a single mother and her two young children. This examination of the flow of files in everyday operation draws attention to the anticipated and actual uses as well as the

significance of the legal and social decisions that are established and conveyed through the circulation and dissemination of specific case information. And ultimately, this investigation concerns the ways in which these identifying recordkeeping practices determine, influence, and shape foster youth identity in and out of the government care system.

The Gendered Politics of Child Trauma: International Aid and the Paradox of Psychiatric Care for Street Children in Cairo

Rania Kassab Sweis, University of Richmond

Transnational non-governmental organizations (NGOs) working in Egypt have recently integrated emotional care within their existing child-centered aid programs, following larger global efforts to advance mental healthcare and a “trauma discourse” (Fassin and Rechtman 2009) through global health and humanitarian interventions. Drawing on over twenty-four months (2007-2009) of ethnographic fieldwork in a French-funded homeless children’s center in Cairo, this paper explores the social effects of one pioneering psychiatry program for street children (*adfāl al shawāri*). The research suggests that gender shapes the distribution of international aid on the ground, and that this gendered distinction represents a paradox of care for boys who receive emotional care. While both homeless boys and girls were thought to suffer from childhood trauma, humanitarian workers disproportionately targeted boys for psychiatric and psycho-pharmaceutical intervention because of their perceived status as emotionally “unstable,” or potentially “dangerous” subjects, reflecting adult anxieties about poor boys “from the streets,” (*min al shāri*). Boys, however, strategically drew upon and resisted psychiatric care according to their own desires and gendered obligations, illustrating yet another paradoxical dimension of international humanitarian psychiatry for street children. As the Middle East continues to garner extraordinary amounts of humanitarian aid and psycho-social support in response to ongoing political upheaval and intensifying structural poverty, this paper sheds light on the gendered politics of international aid, as well as the local complexities, frictions, and paradoxes of biomedical interventions enacted on behalf of extremely vulnerable young populations.

Children's Movements, Knowledge Practices, and Political Legitimacy

Jessica Taft, University of California, Santa Cruz

Social scientists, children’s rights advocates, and government agencies all increasingly express interest in listening to children’s voices and bringing children into the exclusive -- and often exclusionary -- spaces of institutional politics. However, even amidst these calls for “children’s participation,” when children enter the formal arenas of political debate, their ideas and perspectives are not always treated as legitimate forms of knowledge. On the one hand, children’s knowledge may be rejected because it is seen as unsophisticated or incomplete. On the other hand, when children express more complicated and nuanced political perspectives, referencing research, data, policy details, or political theories, these positions are dismissed as the inauthentic result of adult manipulation. Children in politics are often still seen as extraordinary and ‘out of place.’

Based on ethnographic research and in-depth interviews conducted from 2012 to 2015 with the movement of working children in Lima, Peru, this paper explores how activist children navigate formal political spaces that celebrate one version of the participating child while remaining highly skeptical of the legitimacy or authenticity of children who express more developed and explicitly political analyses and critiques. Both child and adult participants in the movement of working children argue that these children's lived experiences make them experts on the topic of "child labor." They also engage in a critical and transformative educational process that encourages children to connect their individual experiences to larger patterns, policies, and social structures, reshaping and refining their perspectives. Movement participants see this political education as enhancing and building upon children's experiential knowledge, but government actors and adults outside of the movement often dismiss the critical insights expressed by organized working children as 'merely ideological' or as a passive mimicry of adult views. Children in the movement, as they move between different political contexts, have to attenuate their knowledge claims and perform particular ways of knowing in order to be heard by adult decision-makers. And, ironically, they find that adult politicians and legislators listen more carefully to their perspectives when they make less reference to specific policy proposals. By exploring how children's political voices are constrained by expectations of what constitutes appropriate or authentic knowledge for children, this presentation emphasizes the importance of engaging seriously with children as legitimate producers of social and political knowledge and problematizes the often oversimplified call for "including children's voices" in both research and policy.

Academic Language Outside of the School: Latino Second Graders Developing Decontextualization Skills in Play at Home

Greg Thompson, Brigham Young University

Bryant Jensen, Brigham Young University

In this paper, we consider the home as an out-of-school context that is able to accomplish what is normally thought to be one of the critical tasks of schooling (e.g., Scribner and Cole 1981), namely encouraging the development "academic language." Academic language is a register of talk that is frequently employed in academic settings and is characterized by such features as: decontextualization, use of authoritative voice, and an implicit metapragmatic awareness (Schleppegrell 2009). The example we present is taken from an ethnography of six Latino 2nd graders in Provo, Utah that followed these kids both in the school, after school, and for a part of the summer after the school ended for the year. The example that we present is a video recording of one of the focal 2nd graders, her friend, and 4 of her cousins (three boys, three girls, ages 6-11). In this video, her mother has just made smoothies for them and the ethnographer just set the camera on a nearby shelf and turned it on. Aware that they are being recorded, the children start playing "tea party" with the stated intention of putting the video up on Youtube. In this play with language, they enact a register of speech that is clearly intended for an audience that is removed from the immediate setting in which they find themselves, i.e., they engage in decontextualized forms of talk. Furthermore, in this example, they also illustrate additional features of talk that are associated with "academic language," namely an implicit metalinguistic awareness and use of an authoritative voice.

In addition to pointing to the crucial role that the home can play for developing academic language, we also demonstrate how these basic features of academic language are difficult to find in the place where one would expect to find them, namely, in the school. We demonstrate how the lack of production of academic language in the classroom stems from the fact that these second graders are given very few opportunities to produce rich and creative talk in the classroom. Even when students are given the opportunity to engage in freer forms of talk in the classroom, these opportunities for talk are highly structured by the teacher's felt need to keep the students "on task." In concluding, we point to two features of the after school context that are particularly important as a potential site of development for academic language, namely, the free play and the cross-age nature of this context. This research suggests the unfortunate and ironic finding that the one place that one would hope that children might learn academic language, in the schools, turns out to be a less than ideal place for learning academic language. Instead, this example suggests that the after school context of cross-aged free play may be a particularly important context for the development of certain critical features of academic language.

Escaping Exclusion: The Syrian Unaccompanied Minors and their agency as a Response to State's Confused Moralities During the EU & Turkey Deal

Eda Elif Tibet, University of Bern, Switzerland

With the start of the negotiation processes of the EU & Turkey deal on November 2015, a first batch of Syrian unaccompanied minors, residing in a child and youth support center in Istanbul under state care protection, have been transferred to the Adana Sariçam refugee camp by the Ministry of Family and Social Policies. After having to spend a few weeks and months in the refugee camp, minors have chosen to escape from state protection in which they would have otherwise been locked up till the age of 18. State's shifting treatment towards the Syrian minors and their overall relationship will be looked from a perspective of "confused moralities" practiced by of the state-the police and the social workers. In the premises of Anthropology of moralities, throughout the paper I will explore how prior to the EU & Turkey deal –the state care facility firstly agreed on providing access to education and social services to minors and on how after the deal, denied their access to education and wealth generation by keeping minors outside the sphere of social intercourses. Hence, this paper will explore how minors respond to states' temporary educational and social exclusion policies; in terms of "escaping exclusion" as part of their agency. Faced with various life threatening moments of imprisonment and of becoming child soldiers within Syria and their imprisonment into the refugee camp in Turkey, minors deploy various strategies for their inclusion to their hosting societies in Turkey; by schooling, informal laboring, gang forming, street resistance and family unification. By rejecting state protection, minors challenge and contest the current migrating children's regime and follow various pathways in life, beginning at the age of 16. Life stories will be narrated throughout the making of a participatory radio show and photography, which allows minors to have their own self-representations within the ethnography.

Race, Rage and Emotional Suspects: Ideologies of Social Mobility Confront Mass Incarceration

Jennifer Tilton, University of the Redlands

This paper explores the emotional landscapes of young people of color in California as they confront the history of racism and racial contours of mass incarceration. Guilt, shame, pride, and rage ripple through conversations about racism both within the juvenile justice system and among college students who confront the contours of a new Jim Crow as they volunteer with incarcerated youth. The racial contours of mass incarceration challenge legitimacy of core American ideologies of colorblind liberalism and the possibility of social mobility. In the face of these stark racial inequalities, America needs the social mobility of a few exceptional Black and Latino young people to keep believing that the American dream is possible for all. Bringing together the ostensibly radically different experiences of college students and incarcerated youth, this paper will explore moments when youth of color refuse to regulate their emotional states in ways that legitimize American ideologies of equal opportunity. As James Baldwin famously said, “To be a Negro in this country and to be relatively conscious is to be in rage almost all the time.” Yet when young people of color express anger, resentment or hopelessness, they are often identified as emotional suspects – as young people who are refusing to enact the forms of bodily and emotional discipline required for social mobility. I will highlight the ways cultural constructions of children and childhood are mobilized in ways that discount and regulate youth of color’s expressions of rage. This paper will use interviews, workshops in juvenile hall and national reporting about activism on college campuses to explore the kinds of emotional regulation expected of students of color as they confront racism in the contemporary United States.

Taking a “Chill Pill”: Emotions, Performance and Labor in the Family Childcare Home Dario Valles, Northwestern University

The U.S childcare system relies largely on the networks of micro-entrepreneurial women who open their homes to care for children. In California, these women are primarily immigrant women who rely on state subsidies and piecework income, particularly in caring for children from poor and low-income backgrounds. Through 27 months of ethnographic field research with providers in Los Angeles, I examine how the “family childcare” home has become a flashpoint in debates on education and race centered on immigrant children and measurable outcomes. This paper focuses on how providers come to perform and embody abstract notions of “quality” care to parents/clients, the state and the public. I draw from ethnographic observation of provider’s licensing hearing cases, including one centered on a providers’ use of candy “chill pills,” and advocacy efforts, as well as interviews with providers and state agents. Providers must manage the socially-constructed anxieties of state agents and parents, which bear strongly upon these independent contractors. Webs of early education experts and state agents shape what constitutes “appropriate” and “effective” care through regulations, subsidy and funding grants, certifications and rating scales. I consider providers’ care practices within the context of public debates among policymakers and “experts,” such as research concerned with language practices and parenting among Latina/o families and welfare dependence. As advocates for early education for U.S. racialized children, providers must frame this intimate labor as a project to create future economic producers for global competition, while austerity-stripped local governments scrutinize programs via cost-benefit calculations. Providers must also perform childcare in more intimate ways, walking a fine line between legitimizing their care work through texting, digital photos

and craft arts while not triggering working parents' emotions like jealousy and guilt. By combining both performance theory and embodiment, I look at how childcare is not only bodily achieved, but also involves high-stakes emotional labor -- inseparable from a broader web of intimate social relations and meaning-making. These practices index the complexities of commodified care, as well as new racial formations rooted in intergenerational anxieties directed at U.S. immigrant and other minority children. Reading the performance and embodiment of childcare practices reveal competing construction of childhood, the importance of new technologies, and material culture that mediate the circulation of children among providers, parents and the neoliberal state.

Another Pathway: The Alternative Childhood and Perennial Temporality in Contemporary China's Traditional Education

Yukun Zeng, University of Chicago

Given China's opening policy since 1980s, it is convincing to argue that transnational educational pathway is pursued, globalized schooling is performed, and cosmopolitan childhood is produced (Fong 2011, Kipnis 2012, Anagnost et al eds. 2013). Education in China is not a story so different from globalization and neoliberalization that are taking place in other parts of the world (e.g. Cole and Durham eds. 2008). However, how to understand another branch of education fever among China's middle class family that features traditionality, family value and nationalism (Dirlik 2011, Sun 2013, Thoraval and Billioud 2015)? How this seemingly non-cosmopolitan education gets more and more popular now? What kind of pathway, if not following the general transnational motion, is entailed for children involved in this kind of education? What kinds of childhood and temporality are presupposed by this education? This education is generally known as Guoxue Jiaoyu ("national studies' education" or "traditional Chinese knowledge education"), which has been developed in both institutional and popular setting for about twenty years. Recently, the popular side turns to be more radical, influential and controversial. In order to address abovementioned questions, this paper is going to examine Dujing Jiaoyu ("Reading Confucian Classics Education"), the most widespread form of Guoxue Jiaoyu in the popular side.

The most controversial part of Dujing Jiaoyu is its pedagogy. Rather than merely requiring students reading Confucian classics, Dujing Jiaoyu asks students to read in the way that ancient Chinese education was believed to conduct: 1) merely reading without understanding, 2) reading classics repetitively and intensively, 3) reading classics is prioritized over other learning of "practical" knowledges (e.g. Math, English). All these lead Dujing Jiaoyu from a complementary education of formal education towards an alternative and autonomic education. Consequentially, Dujing Jiaoyu envisions an alternative childhood and developmental pathway. Through focusing on Dujing Jiaoyu's pedagogical theory as well as practice, language and social ideologies, and interaction with public, this paper hopes to illustrate how Dujing Jiaoyu configures an alternative childhood that are distinct from the studenthood in China's formal, mandatory education system. Although perceived as traditional and unsuitable for modern society by many public media, parents and teachers in Dujing Jiaoyu envisions a special cosmopolitan future for their children mediated by traditional education. Predictably, instead of desiring western modern educational ideal, Dujing Jiaoyu promotes China's own traditional resources. But somewhat surprisingly,

Dujing Jiaoyu cultivates a “perennialist” (cf. Hutchins 1936) temporality that does not simply orient children’s future to the past but to timeless “wisdoms” or “Dao”, which, for parents and Dujing educators, secure children’s success in any profession at any age. Thus, ironically, as this paper concludes, a new development of Dujing Jiaoyu is to integrate Western and Indian classics. A timeless global mobility is attached to the childhood and developmental agenda envisioned by Dujing Jiaoyu.

Chronicling School Ruptures and Transitions Experienced by Migrant Children Moving from the United States to Mexico

Víctor Zúñiga, Tec de Monterrey

Juan Sánchez García, IIIEPE

While scholars and other educational stakeholders often celebrate international educational exchanges as vehicles for welcome multicultural learning, acquisition of foreign languages, and preparation for navigating a globalized world, we question how and why such advocacy/celebration is absent for working-class children moving from the United States to Mexico, and transitioning from the US schools to Mexican ones. Based on our uninterrupted thirteen years of research about the trajectories of international migrant children attending Mexican schools, this paper will chronicle the ruptures and transitions migrant children experienced and, from this, try to respond to the question: Are those children encountering equal or unequal conditions to learn and to keep, and expand the educational outcomes they achieved previously in the U.S. schools? Would the development of cosmopolitanism that is so frequently celebrated for children of upper and professional-class backgrounds, be viable and welcome as a transformation of these students’ schooling? In posing these questions, we turn to the theoretical works of Nussbaum (1994) and Appiah (2006) and their critics, as well as looking at the template “Third Culture Kids” first posited by Ruth Useem in the late 1950s (Useem & Useem, 1967).