Local Realities and Global Challenges: Approaches to Childhood and Youth Studies from the Global South

Volume 14, Issue 1
Spring 2022

NEOS is the flagship publication of the
Anthropology of Children and Youth Interest Group (ACYIG) of the
American Anthropological Association.
All articles within this bi-annual, refereed publication
are open access.

Table of Contents

Constellations: Connections Across Childhoods

Original Research Article: Standing Column on Equity and Anti-Racism

Complements

About Us

Editorial: Local Realities and Global Change

Jennifer E. Shaw, PhD (Thompson Rivers University)
jeshaw@tru.ca

Rebecca L. Sanford, PhD, RCSW (Thompson Rivers University)
rsanford@tru.ca

Chloe Bozak, BSW Candidate (Thompson Rivers University)
bozakc18@mytru.ca

This issue of *NEOS* presents commentaries and research articles that explore childhoods in and of the Global South/Majority World to specifically redress inequities in knowledge production and dissemination in anthropology. While some authors are anthropologists, many come from aligned disciplines that lend important insights into what southern childhoods illuminate in terms of being in the world according to different structural disparities and situated experiences and perspectives. In this robust issue, we have prioritized a range of scholarship from Latin American, African, East Asian, Central Asian, and Eastern European contexts in response to the ongoing imbalances in research funding, recognition, and dissemination that continue to disprivilege Global South/Majority World scholarship.

We would be remiss if we did not admit that this issue was a struggle. This was due to an overwhelming number of submissions and interest from researchers around the world. Scholars and writers responded to the call positively seeking to contribute to conversations about what southern childhood scholarship can offer to the anthropology of childhood and child and youth studies more widely. While our current issue's theme *Local Realities and Global Challenges: Approaches to Childhood and Youth Studies from the Global South* specifically speaks to the need to attend to global-local dynamics and North-South inequalities more carefully, every researcher in the Global South intersects with other themes that could be reflected in other issues of *NEOS*; in addition to studying Global South/Majority World contexts, these scholars also study health care, education, family, participation, the arts, migration, and more. To recognize this breadth, we have divided the editorial introduction of the featured pieces into two collections: 1) Child and Youth Participation and Perspectives and 2) Migration and Movement.

Child and Youth Participation and Perspectives

The first collection of papers in this issue calls our attention to perspectives of children and youth in and of the Global South and the possibilities created through their active participation in research endeavors. The research articles are framed by the question raised in the commentary from Gabrielle Oliveira, Adriana Lacombe Coiro, and Mariana Lima Becker: "Where are Venezuelan children's knowledges in anthropological research in education in Brazil?" The authors contend that centering the voices of children and youth is essential for a deeper understanding of the educational experiences of Venezuelan migrant children in Brazil, particularly in the effort to address discrimination and structural barriers that inhibit access to formal education.

While not answering the specific question posed in the commentary, the research articles in this collection offer conversation in response to the broader question about child and youth knowledge, perspective, and participation in the research process. Through a focus on participatory research and meaningful engagement with children and youth, the articles in this collection contribute perspectives and possibilities from children and youth by centering their voices in research about them and their everyday lives. The articles in this collection aim to redress epistemic violence that has delegitimized young people as knowers and offer possibilities for meaningful paths forward that uplift, honor, and center these voices.

Two participatory research projects highlight the possible transformations that can emerge when children and youth are respected and honored as active agents in their lives. Parul Malik's article contributes findings from a Participatory Action Research project around sexuality education for and by youth in India. Malik reminds us of the "transformative possibilities" of participatory research for both researchers and participants, in this case, to challenge notions of children as passive victims in need of protection and to claim agency, power, and courage in responding to sexualized violence and its reinforcing social norms. In response to the challenges presented by the COVID-19 pandemic, Tomoko Tokunaga, Joshi Ratala Dinesh Prasad, Shinya Watanabe, and Arjun Shah share insights from a virtual Participatory Action Research project with immigrant youth in Japan. The authors engaged youth as co-researchers and embraced an emergent process, which created unique possibilities for responding to questions about youth health and wellbeing in the early days of the pandemic and inspired a sense of connection and community that was often lacking due to social distancing measures.

While the first two articles challenge the notion of children as passive victims of their lives and circumstances, Shaima Amatullah and Shalini Dixit remind us that agency is bounded by practical, temporal, structural, and ideological barriers. Exploring agency of Muslim children in response to hate crimes in India, the authors expose the complexities of agency and the ways in which adults—embodied by parents, systems, and discourses—play direct and indirect roles in how children and youth exercise their agency in the face of oppression, discrimination, and marginalization. Navigating adult-centric systems is a theme further explored by Krystal Strong's research on youth leadership programs in Nigeria. Strong illustrates the complexities and unique challenges for youth-led organizations and adult-led programs designed to promote youth leadership. Strong's research brings attention to the cumulative advantage gained through formalized leadership training systems, which can obscure the natural and informal leadership of everyday life. Notably, Strong argues that this dynamic reinforces a system of training youth leaders that aligns with adult definitions and priorities. Adult-centric or bounded leadership is a type of leadership training that reinforces the status quo rather than challenging it to create space for newly imagined possibilities.

Furthering our exploration of youth leadership, Chelsea Cutright's research on youth-led organizations in Tanzania explores a new type of culture resulting from the unique challenges and benefits in such organizations. Again, the theme of possibility surfaces, as Cutright notes that youth-led organizations, while challenged by inexperience and age-based discrimination, hold potential for deconstruction of hierarchies and less boundaried communication—both in form and content—that supports connection and change at the micro and macro levels. And finally, el-Sayed el-Aswad's exploration of Egyptian children's worldviews encourages us to see

possibility (*mumkin*) through the eyes of children. In particular, the children engaged in el-Aswad's research share possibilities for the future, for recognition, and for liberation from ideological and structural constraints. El-Aswad provides an important insight that children do much weaving in and of their worlds: "The essential quality of Egyptian children's narrative lies in the involvement of interweaving the unknown, the imaginary, the mundane, and the extraordinary into the fabric of their everyday lives." Interweaving is perhaps a method that allows us to challenge binaries, hierarchies, and dualisms across a global landscape where the global and local collide, lines of knowledge traverse North-South divisions, and children challenge adult-centerisms from many regions and purviews.

Migration and Movement in Global South Contexts

The second collection of articles in this issue focus on migration and movement as these concern geography, time, and categories. We begin with two commentaries, first by Maria Claudia Duque-Páramo and second by Manya Kagan. In "The Lives of Migrant Children in Columbia: Between Recognition and Invisibility," Duque-Páramo reflects on her own experiences of migrating from Tocaima to Bogotá as a child. Having little say over her migration at the time, she reflects on the changing importance of children's perspectives in anthropological studies of transnational migration and how children might better inform migrant-related policy in Colombia and beyond. In "Redefining integration: what can we learn from the educational experiences of refugee children in the Global South?," Kagan similarly reflects on refugee children's sense of belonging in a Ugandan classroom. Kagan argues that pedagogical techniques can facilitate community-building among students across difference, leading to heightened senses community membership beyond the classroom. Both commentaries advocate for closer attention to the experiences, perspectives, and desires of migrant and refugee children who spend so much of their time navigating and socializing within school-based settings.

Nataliya Tchermalykh and Jasmine Blanks-Jones consider young people's agency in relation to their mobility in their respective research articles. In "Time and the Child," Tchermalykh provides insight to the temporal, age-based construction of refugee childhood and discusses the immediate "evaporation of rights" that refugee children experience when they transition to the category of adulthood. Turning away from the court system, Tchermalykh argues, can be a refusal of these classifications for some young refugees. For Blanks-Jones, solidarity is a route toward mobility for young theater participants in Liberia who work to imagine new possibilities for themselves and harness new material realities through their creative work. Both pieces highlight less-expected avenues for agency and mobility among Global South young people who seek new opportunities for themselves and their futures.

In "Recently Arrived Maya Migrant Youth's Racialized and Languaged Experiences", David Barillas Chón traces the movement of Maya youth from Guatemala to the U.S. and the persistent anti-Indigenous racism that shapes their journeys. Recognizing that discriminatory ideologies follow these youths transnationally, Barillas Chón calls for larger and more collaborative strategies to address these issues of inequity experienced by recently arrived Maya youth in the U.S. While Barillas Chón considers migration at the intersection of indigeneity and language, Débora Gerbaudo Suárez examines migration at the intersection of gender and sexuality in "Young Migrants and the Construction of Desire in Popular Feminism." Gerbaudo Suárez

presents the perspectives of young migrants in Argentina who participate in feminist discussions about sexual rights along with queer liberation and joy. These two articles importantly offer intersectional analyses in the complex lives, oppressions, and hopes among Latine migrant youths.

In "'The Future is Ours': Youth Activism as a Matter of Equality," Seran Demiral illuminates sites of tension when children express concern about the environment and climate change. Demiral's article speaks to how renown young climate change activists are doing important work on the world stage yet may also occupy a privileged position that drowns out the voices of young people also experiencing climate change in the Global South. In "Children's entanglements with water: the local-global interconnections," Ambika Kapoor insightfully considers how a minoritized and Indigenous group of children in Chhattisgarh region of India live intwined with important and increasingly scarce natural resources. Kapoor shows that children know important information about natural resources, understanding not only some of the science behind climate change but also embodying these changes through their everyday lives. Demiral and Kapoor both show how the global phenomenon of climate change wedges its way into the ordinary yet known experiences of these children and collapses global-local binaries.

Introduction to Constellations: Connections Across Childhoods

We are excited to introduce a new section to *NEOS* entitled "Constellations: Connections Across Childhoods." This issue of *NEOS* encourages us to think across culturally constructed divides and to challenge binaries by illuminating connections. It is with this in mind that Constellations seeks to build points of contact across our issues, past and present. Stemming from our earlier commitment to have a standing column on racial inequity and justice, that piece will be regularly featured in Constellations to keep issues of race and racism present and at the forefront of each issue.

In this issue, we highlight Stacie Hatfield's research article, "'You're already Black…': Racialized Care and Intersections of Gender for LGBTQ African American Children and Youth in Birmingham, Alabama." Hatfield illuminates the complex negotiations Black LGBTQ youth experience navigating race relations and sexual orientation alongside their parents in Birmingham. Hatfield's discussion is an important contribution to issues of racial equity and justice, and also complicates straightforward notions of Global North–Global South divides since Birmingham may be considered "a U.S. city of racialized Global Souths and Majority Worlds."

We are also introducing new supplementary pieces that connect past authors and articles to present issue themes. In this issue of *NEOS* and its Constellations section, our Digital Scholarship Intern, Chloe Bozak, collaborated with Rashmi Kumari to offer an author interview specifically focused on Global South research and knowledges, drawing from their commentary featured in the April 2020 issue of *NEOS*. Chloe also collaborated with Velicia Hawkins-Moore to generate a teaching tool on the previously-published Ubuntu Epistemologies (2021) commentary. Readers teaching childhood and youth studies may find this teaching tool useful in developing classroom activities and dialogue on diverse ways of knowing.

We hope readers find our new Constellations section illuminating, engaging, and aligned with our commitment to innovation, imagination, and justice in child and youth studies.

As new Co-Editors of *NEOS*, we (Jennifer Shaw and Rebecca Sanford) are immensely grateful for the work that was done before us by our predecessors Courtney Everson and María Barbero, including their thoughtfully crafted call for proposals for this issue. In putting together this issue as our very first one, we also recognize the need to disseminate our calls for papers through more diverse channels in the future, ensuring scholars in and of the Global South are part of every conversation and issue; the challenges we faced with this issue illuminate the need to actively encourage submissions from Global South scholars in every issue of *NEOS* and not solely in this dedicated issue. We hope that this issue — featuring 3 commentaries, 13 original research articles, and 2 complementary pieces — fosters the kind of cross-regional dialogue that is of value to our membership and readership around the world as we engage in learning in transnational, transdisciplinary spaces like *NEOS*.

Finally, if you are interested in volunteering to support ACYIG and *NEOS*, please visit our volunteer sign-up form, which reflects numerous opportunities including peer-reviewer, assistant editor, copyeditor, website roles, and more! We could not do this without our valued team of volunteers — we appreciate you all very much and recognize your generous contributions of time, labor, and expertise.

Author contact: Jennifer E. Shaw, PhD (Thompson Rivers University), jeshaw@tru.ca; Rebecca L. Sanford, PhD, RCSW (Thompson Rivers University), rsanford@tru.ca; Chloe Bozak, BSW Candidate (Thompson Rivers University), bozakc18@mytru.ca

To cite this article: Shaw, Jennifer E., Rebecca L. Sanford, and Chloe Bozak. 2022. "Editorial: Local Realities and Global Challenges." *NEOS* 14 (1).

To link to this article: https://acyig.americananthro.org/neosvol14iss1sp22/editorial/

ACYIG Advisory Board Update

Elise Berman, PhD (University of North Carolina, Past Convenor, ACYIG)
eberman@uncc.edu

This past year has been a year of many changes at ACYIG. We started a new listserv and an increasing number of scholars are using it to post publishing opportunities and promote research and work on children and youth. If you haven't joined, do so! Subscribe at https://groups.io/g/acyig! We had two great virtual talks in the past year with good attendance: Dr. Amy Brainer in April and me in October, and a very well attended business meeting. Stay tuned for more events in the future.

Many members of the board have stepped down – so we would like to say goodbye and thanks to our outgoing board members, and hello to the new ones. Many thanks to Elisha Oliver, outgoing membership coordinator; Patrick Beauchesne, Julie Pluies, and Meredith Ellis, outgoing conference coordinators; Dori Beeler, outgoing communications chair; Rashmi Kumari and Smruthi Bala Kannan, outgoing graduate board members. We also said goodbye to our *NEOS* editors, Maria Barbero and Courtney Everson. We would also like to thank several people who have worked under Dori creating content and working on communications at different times during Dori's long term of service, from 2018-2021! They are Scarlet Eisenhauer (Website Manager); Maria Barbero (Social Media Manager); Sara Thiam (Co-content Coordinator); Robin Valenzuela (Co-content Coordinator); Kim Garza (Website Manager); Tiffany Pollock (*NEOS* Assistant Editor); Delaney Glass (Digital Scholarship Intern); Veronique Gilbert (past *NEOS* editor); and Victoria Holec (past *NEOS* editor). Best wishes to all and thank you for your service!

We have many new faces to welcome to ACYIG! Julie Spray at the University of Auckland is our incoming Communications Chair. Laura Bullon-Cassis at NYU is coming in as the Graduate Student Representative for Media Content. We have two new editors of *NEOS*, Jennifer Shaw and Rebecca Sanford, both at Thompson Rivers University, who are supported by Chloe Bozak, our new Digital Scholarship Intern. Finally, I am also stepping down as Convenor. Ida Fadzillah Leggett at Middle Tennessee University will be taking over as Convenor. Welcome all and thank you for your service!

We are currently brainstorming upcoming events and activities at the AAA meetings and beyond. If anyone has any events they would like to organize, please let us know (email Ida, Ida.Leggett@mtsu.edu). Given the uncertainty around conferences, we have left the conference chair and membership chair positions open for the moment. We are still open to people joining the board, however, so please volunteer if you are interested in either of these positions. Stay tuned for upcoming news and enjoy this great volume of *NEOS*.

Sincerely,

Elise Berman
Past-Convenor, ACYIG

Fall 2022 Call for Papers

Theme: Doing and Undoing "Family" in Uncertain Times

NEOS welcomes submissions for the Fall 2022 issue: *Doing and Undoing "Family" in Uncertain Times.* Amid the COVID-19 pandemic, refugee displacement, border detention, the effects of climate change, U.S. attacks against transgender youth, and the confirmation of unmarked child graves at former Indian Residential Schools, family continues to be a site of uncertainty, struggle, and hope for children and youth. This upcoming issue will reposition classical anthropological questions focused on the formation of family and cultivation of kinship by applying contemporary, critical, and interdisciplinary lenses toward how family is done and undone in highly uncertain and unequal times. We seek pieces that explore the constructions, practices, beliefs, and values that lead to and maintain family formations and configurations and how these may be influenced by historical, cultural, political, and economic structures. We invite pieces on the following themes within family and kinship studies, and we encourage submissions that focus on the perspectives of children, youth, and those who closely engage with them:

1. **Reproductive Inequalities, Justice, and Care**
    - Reproductive issues in the work of forming families, specifically considering reproductive workers such as midwives and doulas
    - Reproductive justice and injustice according to racialized, gendered, classed, age-based, or ability-based disparities
    - The distribution of care work within and between households, including the ways the family members may differently enact care and protection

2. **Mobility, Movement, and Configurations**
    - Childhood mobility and child circulation in and between households in local or transnational contexts including fosterage and adoption
    - The formation of families through non-heteronormative and non-biocentric means including "fictive" kinship, queer kinship, non-plenary parentage, and informal fosterage
    - Siblinghood and gender

3. **Violence and Persistence**
    - Intergenerational trauma that situates contemporary familial life in historical contexts of injustice or inequity
    - Forms of and responses to family separation resulting from interaction with state systems such as immigration and child welfare services
    - Family reunification following separation

We invite short-form original research articles (1,200 words max, excluding references) that address the issue's theme. *NEOS* also welcomes short pieces (1,200 words max, excluding references) on scholarship and applied research that uplifts racial, economic, and social justice and the dismantling of systemic oppression, for a dedicated standing column on anti-racism and equity in child and youth studies.

NEOS is an open-access publication of the Anthropology of Children and Youth Interest Group (ACYIG) of the American Anthropological Association (AAA). We publish research on childhood and youth from scholars working across the four fields of anthropology, as well from those interdisciplinary fields in conversation with anthropological theories and methods. Articles published in *NEOS* undergo a double-blind peer-review process.

The deadline for submissions is **August 16, 2022** (end of the day). Rolling submissions prior to August 16 are also welcome. While not required, authors are encouraged to submit a brief message about their intent to submit to the Co-Editors by August 2, 2022. The *NEOS* Editorial Team may be reached at acyig.editor@gmail.com Visit our website for further information on *NEOS,* as well as submission guidelines and instructions.

Collection I:

Child and Youth Participation and Perspectives

Commentary: Where Are Venezuelan Children's Knowledges in Educational Research in Brazil?

Gabrielle Oliveira, PhD (Harvard Graduate School of Education)
gabrielle_oliveira@gse.harvard.edu

Adriana Lacombe Coiro, LL.M. Candidate (Harvard Law School)
alacombecoiro@llm22.law.harvard.edu

Mariana Lima Becker, MA, PhD Candidate (Boston College)
beckermr@bc.edu

An unprecedented number of Venezuelans have left behind the economic and social crisis at home to look for better prospects in Brazil. The country currently hosts around 261,000 Venezuelan migrants, among whom are asylum seekers and refugees. They represent the largest share of Brazil's 1.3 million migrant population, constituting eighteen percent of the group (Shamsuddin et. al. 2020). In Brazil, just 37,700 (or forty-five percent) of Venezuelan children were enrolled in school (UNHCR 2021). Brazilian Constitution and law ensure them the basic right to public education, forbidding discrimination on the basis of nationality or migration status (Krawczun et al. 2020). Reinforcing this right, in November 2020, the Ministry of Education enacted Resolution number 1, highlighting that all migrant children can enroll in public schools and that the enrollment can be made regardless of status and documentation proving previous schooling. This is only the beginning, however. Numerous critical factors still hinder Venezuelan im/migrant children and youth's access to formal education.

First, a despite formal guarantee of access, concrete barriers in the form of documentation requirements (such as identification cards and school transcripts) remain (Alvim 2018; Custódio and Cabral 2021; Tonetto and Gomes 2021). Many children lack the necessary documents to register properly within the school systems as they are not available or not accepted by Brazilian public schools. Additionally, children have also faced discrimination from school administrators, community members, peers, and other parents in the process of enrolling in Brazilian schools (Melchior and Lacerda 2021). These stem from not being recognized as equally capable, resulting in xenophobia and racism (Assumpção and Aguiar 2019), and oftentimes have been cast as the "foreign other" (Vasconcelos 2018).

Lastly, but importantly, Venezuelan children have been susceptible to child labor, forcing them to forego school enrollment (Custódio and Cabral 2021). Warao indigenous children and families from the Delta Amaruco region in Venezuela are particularly vulnerable, experiencing poverty and resorting to beggary in Brazil. Several Warao children lack access to basic food items and suffer from malnutrition (Pauli and Almeida 2019). An additional barrier to school enrollment for this population is present since Warao indigenous children may also experience in their new schools what Pauli and Almeida (2019) called "duplo distanciamento cultural" or double cultural distancing (129). This compounded discrimination against their Venezuelan and indigenous cultural practices, heritage, and identities impacts families' trust to enroll children in Brazilian schools. Thus, schools' perceptions of indigenous immigrant children can constitute yet another

obstacle to their inclusion in the Brazilian educational system.

The rights of refugee Venezuelan children are invisible, and their knowledges are not only unrecognized but also absent from research and practice in anthropological educational research. Understanding the hardships that these migrant children face to gain access to education is only an initial step. Krawczun and colleagues (2020) highlight that the rights conferred through the law to refugees and immigrants do not always translate into educational and pedagogical praxis in school settings centered on values such as equality, dialogue, and solidarity.

Thus, we ask: *where are Venezuelan children's knowledges in anthropological research in education in Brazil?* Anthropological educational research has produced a powerful body of work that discusses issues of inequality, belonging (Abu El-Haj 2015), articulations of self (Gallo and Link 2016), and civic participation (Bellino 2017). Our call is for research that centers the experiences of children inside classrooms and schools. Both Venezuelan and Brazilian children are learning alongside one another. In a country where the rise of xenophobia and hostility toward immigrants has been increasing (IACR 2021), the voices and experiences of children in schools and classrooms contribute to a nuanced understanding of the immigrant experience in Brazil.

References

Abu El-Haj, Thea Renda. 2015. *Unsettled belonging: Educating Palestinian American Youth After 9/11*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Alvim, Roberta Pires. 2018. "Retrospectiva do trabalho da defensoria pública da união na defesa dos direitos dos migrantes venezuelanos." In *Migrações Venezuelanas*, edited by Rosana Baeninger and João Carlos Jarochinski Silva, 87-92. UNICAMP.

Assumpção, Adriana Maria and Gabriela de Azevedo Aguiar. 2019. "'Você precisa falar português com seu filho': Desafios para o processo de inclusão de crianças imigrantes em escolas do Rio de Janeiro." *Revista Iberoamericana de Educación* 81(1): 167-188.

Bellino, Michelle J. 2017. *Youth in Postwar Guatemala: Education and Civic Identity in Transition*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Custódio, André Viana and Johana Cabral. 2021. "O trabalho infantil de migrantes e refugiados no Brasil." *Revista de Direito Internacional* 18(1): 216-242.

Gallo, Sarah and Holly Link. 2016. "Exploring the Borderlands: Elementary School Teachers' Navigation of Immigration Practices in a New Latino Diaspora Community." *Journal of Latinos and Education* 15(3): 180-196. https://doi.org/10.1080/15348431.2015.1099531

Inter-American Commission on Human Rights (IACR). 2021. "Situation of Human Rights in Brazil," OEA/Ser.L/V/II. Doc. 9, February 12, 2021. Accessed May 10, 2022. http://www.oas.org/en/iachr/reports/pdfs/Brasil2021-en.pdf

Krawczun, Natalia Branco Lopes, Claudio César Machado Moreno, and Rita de Cássia Resquetti Tarifa Espolador. 2020. "Imigrantes no espaço escolar: interfaces da cidadania intercultural com os valores cívicos." *Americana de Estudos em Educação* 15(4): 1836-1854. https://doi.org/10.21723/riaee.v15i4.13149.

Melchior, Lirian and Luiz Felipe Perucci de Lacerda, Sr. 2021. "As Novas Políticas Migratórias Brasileiras e o Impacto na Vida dos Imigrantes Venezuelanos." *Revista Continentes (UFRRJ)* 10(18): 135-161. https://doi.org/10.51308/continentes.v1i18.330

Shamsuddin, Mrittika, Pablo Ariel Acosta, Rovane Battaglin Schwengber, Jedediah Fix, and Nikolas Pirani. 2020. "Integration of Venezuelan Refugees and Migrants in Brazil." World Bank Policy Research Working Paper. Accessed May 10, 2022. https://documents1.worldbank.org/curated/en/498351617118028819/pdf/Integration-of Venezuelan-Refugees-and-Migrants-in-Brazil.pdf

Pauli, Eridiana and Luciane Pinho de Almeida. 2019. "Atendimento à população Venezuelana no Brasil: uma análise da 'reserva do possível' e do mínimo existencial." *Trayectorias Humanas Trascontinentales* 4: 123-136.

Tonetto, Maria Luiza Posser and Joséli Fiorin Gomes. 2021. "'Um filho no mundo e um mundo virado': uma análise sobre obstáculos à efetividade do acesso à educação de crianças refugiadas no Brasil." *Zero a-Seis* 23(43): 703-729.

UNCHR (2021). "Brazil's Policies Boost Inclusion of Venezuelans, but Challenges Remain." *Joint UNHCR/World Bank Press Release*. Accessed May 10, 2022. https://www.unhcr.org/en-us/news/press/2021/5/60a398db4/brazils-policies-boost-inclusion-venezuelans-challenges-remain.html

Vasconcelos, Iana dos Santos. 2018. "Receber, enviar e compartilhar comida: aspectos da migração venezuelana em Boa Vista, Brasil." *REMHU: Revista Interdisciplinar da Mobilidade Humana* 26: 135-151.

Author contact: Gabrielle Oliveira, PhD (Harvard Graduate School of Education), gabrielle_oliveira@gse.harvard.edu; Adriana Lacombe Coiro, LLM (Harvard Law School), alacombecoiro@llm22.law.harvard.edu; Mariana Lima Becker, MA, PhD Candidate (Boston College), beckermr@bc.edu

To cite this article: Oliveira, Gabrielle, Adriana Lacombe Coiro, and Mariana Lima Becker. 2022. "Where Are Venezuelan Children's Knowledges in Educational Research in Brazil?" *NEOS* 14 (1).

To link to this article: https://acyig.americananthro.org/neosvol14iss1sp22/oliveira/

"You Cannot Escape": Children Working with Children for Sexuality Education

Parul Malik, PhD (Independent Scholar)
parulmalik0@yahoo.co.in

A Usual Kind of Trauma?

A man followed seventeen-year-old Kasak[1] through an alley close to her house in New Delhi. She turned around to find him masturbating at an arm's length, targeting her. Stunned for a moment, she soon made sense of his act of perversion and ran, not immediately knowing if screaming or fighting would help. The incident left Kasak feeling traumatized.

When she decided to share it with her parents, she felt betrayed at being put under surveillance, handed instructions to dress down, and not step out alone. What was more disturbing was that she discovered her peers did not know what masturbation meant or could not distinguish between penis and anus or urethra and vagina. They watched pornography and believed real-life bodies and sexual expressions are supposed to be like that. They were sexually harassed on the streets, on public transport, even at school, and did not know to whom to report it, or did not have the language to express themselves. Her teachers, meanwhile, did not consider her requests to conduct sex education. Let down but determined, she penned a moving poem for a newspaper titled "You Cannot Escape":

> Yes, I would cover my body/…Not smile or laugh or play like boys./…My friend who followed your rules, got raped./ Hair tied or not,/ Skirt tight or not,/ You'll still want to rape./ But I'm no longer afraid…You won't be spared now./ You cannot escape

Kasak was my student in 2011-12. When I began my fieldwork at her school – a co-educational private school attended by middle-class students – in 2015 for a doctoral study about sexuality education, the sexual assault incident described above had recently happened. She confided in me how it had altered her sense of self, personal relationships, and outlook towards strangers, especially men.

Whose Voice, Whose Agency?

Drawing on Critical Pedagogy (Freire 2005), my research was guided by the Critical Sexuality Education framework (Bay-Cheng 2017; Sanjakdar et al. 2015) which seeks to make deeper socio-cultural, political and contextualized engagements with ideas pertaining to gender, bodies, violence, sexual and reproductive health. I employed participatory research (Kellett 2011; Siry 2015) and peer education methods (Ashcraft 2012; Rampal 2008) to research *with* children so that their voice and agency, experiences, questions, and curiosities were at the heart of research and knowledge co-construction. This paper demonstrates a method of peer education that draws on the critical agency of learners by building cross-age "Circles of Learning" (CoL) (Rampal

2008), wherein older children volunteer to engage and educate younger children and deepen their own understanding of sexuality in the process.

My understanding of children as participants and co-researchers emanated from anthropological and sociological work which lend children a bigger social role – as actors who exercise their agency to influence their own lives and societies (Alderson 2008; Milstein 2010). This body of work extends the discourses on childhood in studies on education in two ways. One is the manner in which contemporary childhood research recovers "childhood" as socially constructed and as warranting meaningful engagement in its own right. Children are studied as individuals, rather than adults in the making, who have a voice and inhabit distinct social relationships and cultures (James and Prout 2005). The other is by challenging the rhetoric of "giving voice to children" (James 2007). This addresses the politics of representation and power differential in the researcher-researched relationship, brings forth authentic data, highlights divergent experiences, and, significantly, prioritizes children's participation.

Building consensus to educate children about sexuality, however, was the bigger challenge, for adults often perpetuate the discourse of protection of childhood sexual innocence, where sex is the symbolic marker of the end of childhood and beginning of adulthood (Allen 2011). Children and adolescents like Kasak are systematically denied opportunities by their parents, teachers, and India's policy on sexuality education to learn about their bodies, emotions, interpersonal relationships, gender inequity, or violence. School education, then, does not represent their lived realities, or prepare them for participation in social life. Alternatively, I illustrate below through one example how the older children and I listened to the younger children at Kasak's school and worked around their priorities during this study.

Learning Together

Three girls and two boys amongst Kasak's peers from Class XII volunteered to initiate CoL sessions. We met thrice a week for one month for one-two hours in their free time to have extensive discussions about their lived experiences of sexuality, critically engage with relevant print and multimedia materials, and subsequently, plan the sessions for their juniors.

Students challenged conventionally held beliefs and patterns of conducting sexuality sessions during these meetings. The seniors, through constant reminiscing and retrospection, decided to cover "bold" topics to benefit their juniors, such as menstruation, genitals, masturbation, contraception, pornography, sexism, gender-based violence, etc., in a mixed-gender set-up. Discussion of such topics had been unheard of! They conducted and I facilitated two seventy- to eighty-minute sessions with forty-two students of one section of Class IX, most of whom were 15-years old. We used slide presentations, group discussions, video clips and activities. Though initially jittery, the students soon secured the undivided attention of their juniors, who in turn were fearlessly drawn into "candid, emotionally safe conversations" (Bay-Cheng 2017, 351). Some juniors openly made queries, and some asked on chits of paper questions such as: "Do we lose our virginity by masturbation?", "ways to prevent nightfall?", "What are tampons?", "How can I make my breasts bigger?". We also got queries about sexting, how someone's "virginity" can be "tested", and what happens if a peer they were once romantically involved with has their nude photos. As Kasak related her experience of the man in the alley, numerous others shared

detailed accounts of witnessing similar men close to their houses, on the roadsides or even outside the school. The juniors wanted to know how to deal with an abusive tutor or a neighbor who blackmails them, or how to call out harassment on public transport. Children's participation in this intervention, inspired by their lived experiences, enabled a form of education that not only prepares them for life, but is life itself (Beane and Apple 2013).

Nurturing Children's Agency

The juniors sincerely expressed their desire for the seniors to visit and conduct more sessions with them in the future. We extended the CoL so that the ninth-graders subsequently conducted a session with the eighth-graders. The senior students who conducted the sexuality education sessions not only understood sexuality better, but also felt more confident managing their relationships and bodily choices, and negotiating gender norms. They were greatly admired at school and were sought after by other students requesting them to conduct sessions with them. Interestingly, rather than depending on teachers, the children themselves felt motivated and confident to work with each other towards a "pedagogy of empathy" (Rampal and Mander 2013). Drawing on their own struggles enabled the students to develop their agency in critically engaging ways around complex issues of sexuality.

Emphasis on children's voice and agency, their ownership over the research process and active participation in the construction of knowledge present pedagogical and research alternatives (Malik 2022), which push back on the "silences created by marginalisation and underrepresentation of participants" (Siry 2015, 153). As Cornwall and Jewkes (1995) emphasize, the value of participatory research lies in creating "knowledge for action" and transformative possibilities (1667). To this effect, my fieldwork ended with a sense of heartening and dramatic conclusiveness. During this time, Kasak spotted her "flashing" tormentor and decided to report him to the police. She fearlessly filed a complaint against him, mobilized her family to support her decision, attended court dates and ensured the man received prison time. She shared with me that the experience of closely working with sexuality, including understanding the Protection of Children from Sexual Offences Act, 2012 which defines masturbation as a punishable offence, and mentoring her juniors empowered her with the sense of courage and responsibility to stand up for herself. The man could indeed not escape!
Note: Researching sexuality with children is a sensitive theme in the Indian context. However, the principal of the school where I conducted my fieldwork very encouragingly permitted me to work with the students. I followed ethical practices in terms of taking informed consent from all participants, matters of their privacy, safety and others.

Endnotes

[1] All names are pseudonyms.

References

Alderson, Priscilla. 2008. "Children as Researchers: Participation Rights and Research Methods." In *Research with Children: Perspectives and Practices*, edited by Pia Christensen and Allison James, 276-290. London: Routledge.

Allen, Louisa. 2011. *Young People and Sexuality Education: Rethinking Key Debates*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Ashcraft, Catherine. 2012. "But How Do We Talk About It?: Critical Literacy Practices for Addressing Sexuality with Youth." *Curriculum Inquiry* 42 (5): 597-628.

Bay-Cheng, Laina Y. 2017. "Critically Sex/ed: Asking Critical Questions of Neoliberal Truths in Sexuality Education." In *The Palgrave Handbook of Sexuality Education*, edited by Louisa Allen and Mary Lou Rasmussen, 343-367. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Beane, James. A., and Michael W. Apple. 2013. The Case for Democratic Schools. In *Democratic Schools: Lessons from the Chalk Face*, edited by Michael W. Apple and James A. Beane*,* 17-46. Bhopal: Eklavya.

Freire, Paulo. 2005. *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. New York: Continuum.

James, Allison, and Alan Prout. 2005. "Introduction." In *Constructing and Reconstructing Childhood: Contemporary Issues in the Sociological Study of Childhood*, edited by Allison James and Alan Prout, 1-6. London: Farmer Press.

James, Allison. 2007. "Giving Voice to Children's Voices: Practices and Problems, Pitfalls and Potentials." *American Anthropologist* 109 (2): 261-272.

Milstein, Diana. 2010. "Children as Co-Researchers in Anthropological Narratives in Education." *Ethnography and Education* 5 (1): 1-15.

Rampal, Anita. 2008. "Scaffolded Participation of Children: Perspectives from India." *The International Journal of Children's Rights* 16 (3), 313–325.

Rampal, Anita, and Harsh Mander. 2013. "Lessons on Food and Hunger: Pedagogy of Empathy for Democracy." *Economic & Political Weekly* 48 (28): 50-57.

Sanjakdar, Fida, Louisa Allen, Mary Lou Rasmussen, Kathleen Quinlivan, Annette Brömdal, and Clive Aspin. 2015. "In Search of Critical Pedagogy in Sexuality Education: Visions, Imaginations, and Paradoxes." *Review of Education, Pedagogy, and Cultural Studies* 37 (1): 53-70.

Siry, Christina. 2015. "Researching with Children: Dialogic Approaches to Participatory Research." In *Doing Educational Research*, edited by Shirley R. *Steinberg* and Kenneth *Tobin*, 151-165. Rotterdam: Sense Publishers.

Author contact: Parul Malik, PhD (Independent Scholar), parulmalik0@yahoo.co.in

To cite this article: Malik, Parul. 2022. "'You Cannot Escape': Children Working with Children for Sexuality Education." *NEOS* 14 (1).

To link to this article: https://acyig.americananthro.org/neosvol14iss1sp22/malik/

Co-researching with Immigrant Youth in Tokyo during COVID-19: Possibilities of Virtual Youth Participatory Action Research

Tomoko Tokunaga, PhD (University of Tsukuba)
tomokot@human.tsukuba.ac.jp

Joshi Ratala Dinesh Prasad, PhD Candidate (The University of Tokyo)
dratala@gmail.com

Shinya Watanabe, MA (NPO Katariba)
shinya.wb@gmail.com

Arjun Shah (Dokkyo University)
arjunwanted4@gmail.com

> I was stressed because I was unable to contact anyone. It started to affect my life and made me feel like every day was becoming harder. By participating in the YPAR project, I talked to people with similar experiences and found something I could sympathize with.

This quote reflects the virtual Youth Participatory Action Research (YPAR) project written by Arjun, who was born in India and migrated to Japan at the age of 15. He is a co-author and youth researcher of the project we conducted in Tokyo at the outset of the pandemic. This co-authored article examines innovative ways to co-research with youth[1]during a global crisis, specifically focusing on the process of the virtual YPAR project and the unique contributions of the youth researchers.

YPAR and COVID-19

The COVID-19 pandemic has affected the well-being of immigrant children and youth both locally and globally (Everson and Barbero 2020; OECD 2020). Research shows that during disasters and crises, children and youth are typically perceived as "victims" or "at risk," in need of protection and excluded from voicing their opinions and participating in research and action (Cuevas-Parra 2020). Scholars and practitioners in Japan have revealed the vulnerability of this population—many of whom have migrated from the Global South—including a lack of educational access and support, difficulties in accessing information due to language barriers, and economic challenges (Suzuki 2021).

While we are aware of ethical dilemmas such as the possibility of overburdening youth who were already impacted by the pandemic (Lieggio and Caragata 2021; Nind, Coverdale, and Meckin 2021), we believe that engaging immigrant youth in collaborative research is critical to addressing their needs during a global challenge. Therefore, we drew on YPAR, an innovative methodology that honors the local knowledge of youth participants and "places students at the

center of knowledge production" (Caraballo et al. 2017, 315). YPAR scholars problematize traditional research that often pathologizes and objectifies youth, and they argue for engaging young people in the research process and collectively acting for social change (Cammarota and Fine 2008; Irizarry and Brown 2014; Mirra, Garcia, and Morrell 2016). The COVID-19 pandemic has opened up possibilities for scholars to co-research with youth virtually such as through one-to-one interviews using virtual platforms (Cuevas-Parra 2020) and a remote photovoice project (Liegghio and Caragata 2021).

The Process of the Virtual YPAR Project during COVID-19

The YPAR project developed out of ongoing community partnerships among a high school, NPOs, and a university faculty member who worked to co-create an afterschool program at a public high school in Tokyo since 2015 (Tokunaga, Machado Da Silva, and Fu 2022). The core members of a multi-generational, multilevel, and multicultural YPAR team included Tomoko (Japanese university faculty member), Joshi (Nepalese postgraduate student), Shinya (half-Japanese and half-Korean NPO staff), and two youth researchers who were recent high school graduates. The youth researchers are Arjun (Indian first-year college student, age 20) and Paolo (Filipino first-year vocational school student, age 18). Tomoko interacted with the youth researchers previously through programs at the high school and recruited them for the project. We attempted to share power *with* youth to build trust and collaborative relationships (Irizarry and Brown 2014; Rodriguez and Brown 2009).

Youth researchers engaged in the entire research process from June 2020 to March 2021. Due to strict social distancing measures in Japan, we utilized accessible tools such as Zoom, Google Drive, and LINE to enhance digital participation and conducted research virtually. During the research period, we had weekly online meetings for about an hour on Zoom.

The research was conducted in three phases: 1) defining the issues, 2) collecting and analyzing data, and 3) taking action. In the initial phase, we held meetings where youth researchers received research training and reflected on their experiences and thoughts during the self-quarantine period. Youth researchers wrote self-reflective essays and conducted photovoice activities where they took pictures that represented their health concerns and the ways they took care of themselves. They then shared their photographs with the team to enhance collective sensemaking. Paolo shared his concerns about the changes in his daily habits due to the school closure. He said, "I would go to bed between two and four in the morning and wake up around midday, or not eat breakfast because I couldn't get up early enough." The sharing sessions encouraged the youth researchers to articulate their lived experiences, and discover themes relevant to the wider immigrant youth community. Based on the youth researchers' experiences and concerns regarding health issues, we generated research questions to explore the impact of the pandemic on mental and physical health among immigrant youth.

In the next phase, we formulated interview questions, recruited youth participants, conducted zoom interviews, and analyzed interview data. Through community partnerships and personal networks, we recruited seven immigrant high school students and four vocational school students (aged fifteen to twenty-one) most of whom reside in Tokyo. Their countries of origin included the Philippines, Nepal, India, Myanmar, and Australia. With the support of adult researchers,

youth researchers conducted interviews and later wrote interview reflections. The team wrote interview memos in a shared Excel spreadsheet using interview transcripts and deepened their analysis through discussions.

In the action phase, we collaborated with an NPO to organize an online storytelling session where current immigrant high school students in Tokyo and a former student who virtually connected from the Philippines interacted through ice-breaking games and dialogue on their pandemic experiences. To ensure that participants could be proactive with storytelling in a virtual space, we devoted around half of the session to games to encourage sharing. This virtual event provided a platform for immigrant youth to nurture a sense of community and empowerment through listening to each other as well as addressing their concerns and needs to the researchers and practitioners. We presented our findings and experiences at a symposium, in high school and university classes, through co-authored reports, and by creating a website and video to reach a wider audience.

Youth Researchers' Contribution to the Project

Youth researchers provided valuable contributions to the project. They constructed interview questions, including "cheerful" ones (e.g., "What did you do to cheer up during quarantine?" and "What are your plans after the pandemic?") that they preferred to be asked to reduce participants' stress. Arjun mentioned, "We wanted to ask cheery questions along with the typical ones to maintain that sense of casual talk with friends and not to burden the participants."

In selecting youth participants, youth researchers reached out to their high school friends or acquaintances, which facilitated recruitment and relationship building. Though our initial focus was on high school students, the youth researchers desired to include new high school graduates who attended vocational schools as they also might have similar health concerns, which broadened the scope of research. They actively listened to their peers with empathy and curiosity, unpacking their unique experiences and needs, which were less explored in academic research. Paolo stated, "It's not just saying, 'that's good,' or just responding passively, but empathizing with their emotions. Otherwise, you cannot say you understand them." During the interviews, youth researchers provided advice on high school life and college preparation, which led to informal support that was lacking during school closure. In engaging with youth who have little time to spare between their part-time jobs, schools, and caregiving within their family, creating a virtual space can ensure accessibility of participation. As Cuevas-Parra (2020) argues, virtual YPAR provided opportunities for youth researchers to develop research skills and actively contribute to issues relevant to their lives.

Following scholars who experimented with creative ways to co-research with youth virtually (Cuevas-Parra 2020; Liegghio and Caragata 2021), this project shifted the entire research process to a virtual format. This shift included using various virtual methods such as photovoice, online interviews, and an online storytelling to enhance youth participation. Even during a global crisis, scholars should reimagine and develop ways to co-research with youth, such as conducting a virtual YPAR, which, as demonstrated through this project, can strengthen research and directly respond to the emergent needs of young people.

Endnotes

[1] Following the United Nations' definition, we define youth as those between the ages of 15 and 24 years (UNDESA 2013).

Acknowledgements

This project was supported by the University of Tsukuba "Employing the University Wisdom to Fight against the COVID-19 Crisis" and Japan Society for the Promotion of Science Grant-in-Aid [18K13094].

References

Cammarota, Julio, and Michelle Fine, eds. 2008. *Revolutionizing Education: Youth Participatory Action Research in Motion*. New York: Routledge.

Caraballo, Limarys, Brian D. Lozenski, Jamila J. Lyiscott, and Ernest Morrell. 2017. "YPAR and Critical Epistemologies: Rethinking Education Research." *Review of Research in Education* 41 (1): 311-336.

Cuevas-Parra, Patricio. 2020. "Co-Researching with Children in the Time of COVID-19: Shifting the Narrative on Methodologies to Generate Knowledge." *International Journal of Qualitative Methods* 19: 1609406920982135.

Everson, Courtney L., and María V. Barbero. 2020. "Editorial: Health & Well-Being in Uncertain Times: Centering Children & Youth." *NEOS* 12 (2).

Irizarry, Jason G., and Tara M. Brown. 2014. "Humanizing Research in Dehumanizing Spaces: The Challenges and Opportunities of Conducting Participatory Action Research with Youth in Schools." In *Humanizing Research: Decolonizing Qualitative Inquiry with Youth and Communities*, edited by D. Paris and M.T. Winn, 63-80. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications.

Liegghio, Maria, and Lea Caragata. 2021. "COVID-19 and Youth Living in Poverty: The Ethical Considerations of Moving from In-Person Interviews to a Photovoice Using Remote Methods." *Affilia* 36 (2): 149-155.

Mirra, Nicole, Antero Garcia, and Ernest Morrell. 2015. *Doing Youth Participatory Action Research: Transforming Inquiry with Researchers, Educators, and Students*. London: Routledge.

Nind, Melanie, Andy Coverdale, and Robert Meckin. 2021. "Changing Social Research Practices in the Context of Covid-19: Rapid Evidence Review." Project Report. NCRM (National Center for Research Methods). Accessed February 1, 2022. https://eprints.ncrm.ac.uk/id/eprint/4458/1/NCRM%20Changing%20Research%20Practic

es_Rapid%20Evidence%20Review_FINAL%20REPORT.pdf

OECD (Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development). 2020. "What is the Impact of the COVID-19 Pandemic on Immigrants and their Children?" Accessed February 1, 2022. https://www.oecd.org/coronavirus/policy-responses/what-is-the-impact-of-the-covid-19-pandemic-on-immigrants-and-their-children-e7cbb7de/

Rodriguez, Louie F., and Tara M. Brown. 2009. "From Voice to Agency: Guiding Principles for Participatory Action Research with Youth." *New Directions for Youth Development* 2009 (123):19-34.

Suzuki, Eriko, ed. 2021. *Anda Corona no Imin tachi [Immigrants under Corona]*. Tokyo: Akashi Shoten.

Tokunaga, Tomoko, Isabel Machado Da Silva, and Mengyuan Fu. 2022. "Participatory Action Research with Immigrant Youth in Tokyo: Possibilities and Challenges of *Ibasho* Creation Project." *Annals of Anthropological Practice* 46 (1): 40-51.

UNDESA (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs). 2013. Definition of Youth. Accessed April 1, 2022. https://www.un.org/esa/socdev/documents/youth/fact-sheets/youth-definition.pdf

Author contact: Tomoko Tokunaga, PhD (University of Tsukuba), tomokot@human.tsukuba.ac.jp; Joshi Ratala Dinesh Prasad, PhD Candidate (The University of Tokyo), dratala@gmail.com; Shinya Watanabe (NPO Katariba), shinya.wb@gmail.com; Arjun Shah (Dokkyo University), arjunwanted4@gmail.com

To cite this article: Tokunaga, Tomoko, Joshi Ratala Dinesh Prasad, Shinya Watanabe, and Arjun Shah. 2022. "Co-researching with Immigrant Youth in Tokyo during COVID-19: Possibilities of Virtual Youth Participatory Action Research." *NEOS* 14 (1).

To link to this article: https://acyig.americananthro.org/neosvol14iss1sp22/tokunaga/

Muslim Children's Agency Amidst Hate Crimes and Right-wing Nationalism in India

Shaima Amatullah, MSc, PhD Student (National Institute of Advanced Studies)
shaima.amatullah@gmail.com

Shalini Dixit, PhD (National Institute of Advanced Studies)
shalinidixit3@nias.res.in

The gang rape and murder of Asifa, an 8-year-old Muslim girl, in a Hindu temple in 2018 and the death of Tabrez Ansari, a 24-year-old Muslim man who was tied to a tree and lynched while he was forced to chant Hindu religious slogans in 2019, have been two of the most well-known crimes among the series of recent anti-Muslim violence in India (Jaffrelot 2021).[1] With the rising of Hindutva's far-right nationalism which aims to build a Hindu nation, the 'othering' of Muslims has currently taken a vigorous, tangible form (Chakrabarty and Jha 2020). The nationwide protests held in opposition to these hate crimes and 'othering' in turn have led to attacks on students and riots in certain parts of the country. Similarly, in the global context, especially post 9/11, Muslim children have been subjected to micro-aggressions and Islamophobic crimes (Elkassem et al. 2018; Farooqui and Kaushik 2020) based on a similar essentialization of Muslims as more loyal to their religion than to their nations. Little has been discussed about the agency of children who grow up in such marginalizing contexts, especially in South Asia (Sen 2016) though there is a growing interest in the complexity of agency within childhood studies (Esser et al. 2016) post the work of Prout and James (1997).

Understanding the agency of such marginalized children requires a deeper engagement with how oppressive structures interact with socio-political realities rather than assuming a simplified, romanticized existence of agency (Durham 2008; Hanson et al. 2018). Children are neither completely free nor completely bound as their ability to act varies even within marginalizing social contexts (Robson, Bell, and Klocker 2007). They have shown to have tactic agency (Honwana 2005), thin or thick agency (Klocker 2007), ambiguous agency (Bordonaro and Payne 2012), or relative agency (White and Choudhury 2009).

In my ethnographic study with school-going Muslim children in Bangalore, India, I observed and interviewed students, in the age group of 13-16 years, in a faith-based Islamic school between November 2019 and February 2020. My study aimed to understand the identity negotiations of Muslim students in the face of dominant socio-political discourses in India that cast them as 'the other.' Since the majority of the students were Muslim, the school itself acted as a 'safe space' that allowed self-expression (Robson, Bell, and Klocker 2007). Additionally, my own identity as a Muslim researcher belonging to the same geographical and cultural context may have made the students think of me as an 'insider'. However, as I question being an "authentic insider" (Aguilar 1981), I move away from the insider-outsider binary and recognize my identity as multiplex (Narayan 1993), which partially resonates with those of my participants. During my fieldwork, as I sat with the students on their benches during their classes, I became familiar and established rapport with them during the breaks. I picked on the classroom observations related to current affairs during the detailed interviews as a dialectic between my field notes' reflections and

gathering more insights (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007). Also, simple questions like "Do you read the news?" brought forth discussions on hate crimes since the anti-Citizenship Amendment Act/Bill protests were ongoing at the time.[2] I transcribed and coded the data until abstract analytical themes emerged.

The students referred to the popular example of Tabrez Ansari and identified deaths due to mob lynchings as specific crimes that come under the mission of the Hindu nation. While they considered these crimes as steps towards a gradual ethnic cleansing of Muslims, they thought of the Asifa rape case as a means to instill fear. Some boys also witnessed local incidents where Muslims were unjustly targeted and punished by the police. In their conversations/interviews, children often tended to switch between examples of religiously motivated crimes globally and locally, including the deaths of Muslims in Syria, Palestine, and during Christchurch mosque shootings. As these realities formed an essential part of their socialization, children had been active participants in certain protests, usually along with their parents. Many of them voiced their emotions of fear, anger, and helplessness. They were found to be oscillating between making sense of these emotions and the "need to do something" or "speak up against injustices" just like Muslim youth, popular on TikTok, had made videos asking for justice in the Ansari case. However, they felt restricted due to parental authority. Safeer[3], a 13-year-old boy, said "We are children so our parents have given some limits, even if we want to do something they will say, no you are a child." The agency of children who grow up in distressing environments hinges upon the support of adults, situated in the same context, to be able to exercise it (White and Choudhury 2009).

Agency became "thinner" (Klocker 2007) for girls as parents posed restrictions on their mobility due to an overlap between crimes against women and crimes against Muslims. Sidrah, a 14-year-old girl, expressed extreme frustration, saying, *"*It freaks us out…after the Asifa, Nirbhaya, and Priyanka rape cases[4] it has become really difficult to get out of the house, the Government know everything but they don't take action…in the Nirbhaya case the rapists are being given so many chances for a mercy plea, even in the Asifa case nothing happened even after so many protests." Girls' vulnerability was intensified as they could be easily identified as Muslim through obviously visible markers like the *hijab* (headscarf) or *niqab* (face veil). For both boys and girls, a limited sense of agency was also extended to their future lives. Many said that they would not be able to choose a job of their choice as they expect to be discriminated against if they seek employment in India or while procuring visas if they wish to travel to western countries. At the same time, this restricted agency motivated children to take up professions to help the community. Some were already engaged in community-related social work during the weekends wherein they helped adults. Haider, a 14-year-old boy, said, *"*I want to become a lawyer because of the injustices happening so that I can help others, Muslims are not there in good positions." In this sense, children also understood agency as age-bound— they hoped their agency within a marginalizing context would expand when they become adults.

Indian Muslim childhoods are not only impacted by their local 'othering' contexts but also by the global discourses on Islamophobia and stereotypes of terrorism. On the one hand 'adultification' of children (Webster 2021) makes them vulnerable to hate crimes. On the other hand, this makes their parents more protective of them. Due to this conundrum, children's ability to exercise their agency gets limited especially in a context wherein nationalistic discourses are powerful and

exposure to hate crimes is high. Factors like gender and present or absent adults further result in spaces of greater or lesser perceived safety that impinge upon their agency. At times, this becomes juxtaposed with the perception of a 'temporal' agency which implies that their ability to act could increase as they transition into adulthood. Thus, for those researching the Global South there is a need to be mindful that agency revolves around and overlaps with several axes of social differences or inequalities that are micro (due to age, gender, class, race, religion and caste) and macro (conflict/war, political unrest, economic crises, displacement/migration, climate change). Yet, a nuanced attention to agency allows childhood researchers to capture the complexity of how children find ways to resist oppressive structures as they create their own lifeworlds and futures within diverse local contexts.

Endnotes

[1] In the Asifa case, according to the police chargesheet, the crime had a dual motive-first was personal revenge, and the second was to intimidate the Muslim community living in the area. The main accused was the temple priest and others included his son, his nephew, and four policemen. Several protests were held condemning the crime. At the same time, right-wing groups, including ministers held protests demanding the release of the accused.

[2] The Citizenship Amendment Act (former bill) passed in 2019 resulted in nationwide protests as it was regarded discriminatory based on religion—it excluded only Muslims. It also instilled fear that Indian Muslims would be required to prove their citizenship, in the absence of which they would become stateless and put into detention camps.

[3] Pseudonyms have been used throughout this paper to protect the identity of the participants

[4] Nirbhaya rape case refers to the gang rape, brutal torture and murder of a 22-year-old woman in Delhi in 2012. The incident resulted in nationwide protests demanding justice and drew international attention. Similarly, in 2019, the gang rape and murder of Priyanka Reddy, a 26-year-old doctor, near Hyderabad evoked public outrage and protests. Both these women were not Muslim.

References

Aguilar, John L. 1981. "Insider Research: An Ethnography of a Debate." In *Anthropologists at Home in North America: Methods and Issues in the Study of One's Own Society,* edited by Donald Messerschmidt, 15-26. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bordonaro, Lorenzo I., and Ruth Payne. 2012. "Ambiguous Agency: Critical Perspectives on Social Interventions with Children and Youth in Africa." *Children's Geographies* 10 (4): 365–372.

Chakrabarty, Bidyut, and Bhuwan Kumar Jha. 2020. *Hindu Nationalism in India: Ideology and Politics*. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge.

Durham, Deborah. 2008. "Apathy and Agency. The Romance of Agency and Youth in Botswana." In *Figuring the Future. Globalization and the Temporalities of Children and Youth,* edited by Jennifer Cole and Deborah Durham, 151–178. Santa Fe´: School for Advanced Research Press.

Elkassem, Siham, Rick Csiernik, Andrew Mantulak, Gina Kayssi, Yasmine Hussain, Kathryn Lambert, Pamela Bailey, and Asad Choudhary. 2018. "Growing Up Muslim: The Impact of Islamophobia on Children in a Canadian Community." *Journal of Muslim Mental Health*, 12 (1): 3-18.

Esser, Florian, Meike S. Baader, Tanja Betz, and Beatrice Hungerland. eds. 2016. *Reconceptualising Agency and Childhood: New Perspectives in Childhood Studies*. London: Routledge.

Farooqui, Jannat Fatima, and Archana Kaushik. 2020. "Situational Analysis of Muslim Children in the Face of Islamophobia: Theoretical Frameworks, Experiences, and School Social Work Interventions." In *Working with Muslim Clients in the Helping Professions*, edited by Anisah Bagasra and Mitchell Mackinem, 96-116. Hershey, PA: IGI Global.

Hammersley, Martyn and Paul Atkinson. 2007. *Ethnography: Principles in Practice*. London and New York: Routledge.

Hanson, Karl, Tatek Abebe, Stuart C. Aitken, Sarada Balagopalan, and Samantha Punch. 2018. "Global/Local' Research on Children and Childhood in a 'Global Society." *Childhood* 25 (3): 272-296.

Honwana, Alcinda. 2005. "Innocent and Guilty: Child-Soldiers as Interstitial and Tactical Agents." In *Makers and Breakers: Children and Youth in Postcolonial Africa,* edited by Alcinda Honwana and Filip de Boeck, 31– 52. Oxford: James Currey.

Jaffrelot, Christophe. 2021. *Modi's India: Hindu Nationalism and the Rise of Ethnic Democracy*. Princeton & Oxford: Princeton University Press.

Klocker, Natascha. 2007. "An Example of Thin Agency: Child Domestic Workers in Tanzania." In *Global Perspectives on Rural Childhood and Youth: Young Rural Lives,* edited by Ruth Panelli, Samantha Punch, and Elsbeth Robson, 81–148. London: Routledge.

Narayan, Kirin. 1993. "How Native Is a 'Native' Anthropologist." *American Anthropologist* 95(3): 671–86.

Prout, Alan, and Allison James.1997. "A New Paradigm for the Sociology of Childhood? Provenance, Promise and Problems." In *Constructing and Reconstructing Childhood: Contemporary Issues in the Sociological Study of Childhood*, (2nd rev. ed), edited by Allison James and Alan Prout, 7-32. London: Falmer Press.

Robson, Elsbeth, Stephen Bell, and Natascha Klocker. 2007."Conceptualizing Agency in the Lives and Actions of Rural Young People." In *Global Perspectives on Rural Childhood and Youth: Young Rural Lives,* edited by Ruth Panelli, Samantha Punch, and Elsbeth Robson, 81–148. London: Routledge.

Sen, Hia. 2016. "Do the "Mollycoddled" Act? Children, Agency and Disciplinary Entanglements in India". In *Reconceptualising Agency and Childhood: New Perspectives in Childhood Studies,* edited by Esser, Florian, Meike S. Baader, Tanja Betz, and Beatrice Hungerland, 393-419. London: Routledge.

White, Sarah C., and Shyamol. A Choudhury. 2010. "Children's Participation in Bangladesh: Issues of Agency and Structures of Violence." In *A Handbook of Children and Young People's Participation,* edited by Barry Percy-Smith and Nigel Thomas, 39–50. London: Routledge.

Webster, Crystal. "White Americans Have Weaponized the Idea of Girlhood." *The Washington Post*, January 22, 2021. Accessed February 15, 2022. https://www.washingtonpost.com/outlook/2021/01/22/white-americans-have-weaponized-idea-girlhood/

Author contact: Shaima Amatullah, MSc, PhD Student (National Institute of Advanced Studies), shaima.amatullah@gmail.com; Shalini Dixit, PhD (National Institute of Advanced Studies), shalinidixit3@nias.res.in

To cite this article: Amatullah, Shaima and Shalini Dixit. 2022. "Muslim Children's Agency Amidst Hate Crimes and Right-wing Nationalism in India." *NEOS* 14 (1).

To link to this article: https://acyig.americananthro.org/neosvol14iss1sp22/amatullahdixit/

The Transnational Youth Empowerment Paradox: African Youth Leadership and Movement Capture

Krystal Strong, PhD (University of Pennsylvania)
kstrong@upenn.edu

"To tell you the truth, I think I'm really done with the 'leadership marker' thing," Ajibola mused midway through our 2018 Skype interview.[1] I had known Ajibola for seven years at that point after meeting him when he was an undergraduate at the University of Ibadan, where I conducted ethnographic fieldwork between 2006 and 2012 for my dissertation on student politics after the "democratic" transition in Nigeria (Strong 2016). In 2018, Ajibola was completing a master's in South Africa through the Mandela Rhodes Scholarship, which funds graduate study for African youth who "have already assumed leadership and made an impact" (The Mandela Rhodes Foundation, n.d.). At least a dozen Nigerian students I had developed relationships with had similarly pursued "youth leadership" opportunities in South Africa, North America, and Europe after graduation. I was interviewing Ajibola as part of the African Youth Leadership Study, then an exploratory project to understand this seeming upsurge in leadership pursuits. Continuing his reflection, Ajibola cautioned, "This 'leadership pipeline' thing—I'm beginning to suspect how vacuous it is, you know?" Here, Ajibola articulates what I have come to question about youth leadership development in Africa, which represents one node within what we might call the Transnational Youth Empowerment Complex.

Tracking African Youth Leadership

Over the past five years, I have investigated the global proliferation and institutionalization of African youth leadership development with a team of student collaborators, using interviews, ethnographic observation and fieldwork, qualitative surveys, digital mapping, and a research website (africanyouthleadershipstudy.com). In the first completed phase of this inquiry, my research team and I mapped the leadership development landscape and examined how programs define their purpose and pedagogy. We collected and analyzed organizational data on nearly three hundred initiatives that target African youth, offer educational training, and promise to cultivate a "new generation of leaders" that will accelerate African development. In the second, ongoing phase, which seeks to understand youth experiences of organized leadership development, 240 youth leaders from twenty-four African countries have participated in the study through forty-nine individual interviews, two focus groups, and 229 survey responses. In this article, I sketch the contradictions in these emerging formations of "global youth empowerment," engaging the critical observations of Ajibola, a key interlocutor and collaborator in the larger study, which bring into relief the de-radicalizing effects of institutionalized youth leadership development.

Contradictions in Institutionalized Leadership Development

In tracking hundreds of African youth leadership initiatives, this study has identified a global ecosystem—encompassing governments; multilateral, non-governmental, corporate, and philanthropic institutions; and public and private actors—that has invested billions of dollars in

grooming a new leadership class in Africa over the past decade. These concerted efforts are part of the broader "positive youth development movement," which has shifted research, policy, and

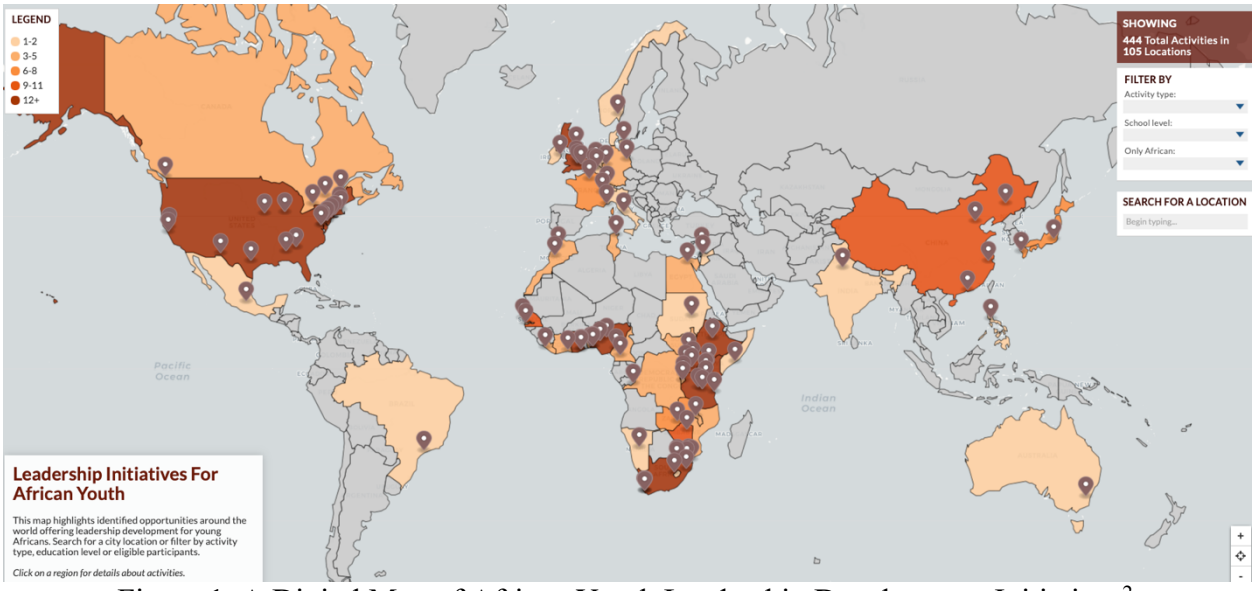


Figure 1. A Digital Map of African Youth Leadership Development Initiatives[2]

practice from pathologizing views of youth as "problems to be managed" (Roth et al. 1998) to a "strength-based vision and vocabulary" (Lerner et al. 2009). As critical scholars have noted, positive youth development tends to "take at face value" the idea that global youth interventions are "new, progressive, and empowering" for youth (Sukarieh and Tannock 2008, 302).
On the contrary, Ajibola discerned that youth leadership development seems to compound political and class divisions among African youth:

> AJIBOLA: So, a lot of these leadership programs are usually looking for, okay, what organization did you found? Where did you school, you know? That sort of thing. So basically, when you have this leadership pipeline, you find a lot of people who are versed in leadership…Then you get, on the other hand, people who really worked it, who send their own sister or siblings to school. Now, these ones don't have the chance to maybe start the right life project, you know. Fancy projects. I mean, for them it's *really* leadership, if you get what I'm saying.
>
> KRYSTAL: I think so. It sounds like you're making a distinction between people who are a part of this formal leadership pipeline. They go to these leadership programs. They have the language. They have the training. They have been recognized as these "leaders" in the making. But then it sounds like you're saying there are other people who are doing the work of leadership, who may not have the language.
>
> AJIBOLA: That's exactly what I'm saying. When I look at the people who, after one fellowship, they get another fellowship, I realize a lot of them came from the pipeline…Whereas, for example, there was a scholar who didn't [apply for a leadership]

> fellowship because he was having problems at the university because of the fact that he was a [protest] leader. So, there were consequences attached to it, whereas there were a lot of incentives to keeping to the pipeline.
>
> KRYSTAL: It sounds like you're saying that there are rewards for people who are a part of this pipeline. That you sort of go from fellowship to fellowship, but you may not be taking the kind of risks that some of the other folks who don't have this kind of formal recognition are.
>
> AJIBOLA: Exactly.

In distinguishing between youth who are *versed* in leadership and those who either lack the *right* life project or face *consequences* for activism, Ajibola outlines the ways the formalized leadership pipeline delegitimizes the political tactics of youth when they do not fit neatly into the boxes of respectability and civility. This observation aligns with preliminary findings from program, interview, and focus group data, which suggest a pattern of elite reproduction that incentivizes youth to "keep to the pipeline," as Ajibola phrases it. Most of the programs we have identified, especially the most resourced, are prohibitively selective and only accept youth with demonstrated "potential." As a result, most successful candidates, including those who participated in this study, have years of accumulated advantages in educational access and social capital over peers in terms of qualifications, documented leadership, and other accolades.

The De-radicalization of "Empowered" Youth

The current role of education in the formation of African leaders follows a historical pattern of development dating back centuries. Imperial education was vital in establishing a native educated elite, and, after World War II, the transfer of power to this "new petty bourgeoisie" largely preserved colonial power structures (Zeilig 2007). In interviews, several youth leaders noted, with a measure of frustration, how programs' connections to foreign donors reinforced global power systems, which require youth to leave Africa to receive desired training or personal development. 78% of the programs we analyzed are sponsored by institutions with headquarters outside of Africa or require travel abroad (Strong and Kallon Kelly, forthcoming). Thus, if the historical pattern applies, it is likely that current formations of youth leadership development will replace the existing ruling class with a new elite without fundamentally transforming power structures or material realities. In our contemporary moment, when youth in Africa—and around the world—are rising against the political establishment (Strong 2018), it is unclear whether privileged "leaders" perceived as being handpicked by foreign countries will have legitimacy.

Sukarieh and Tannock (2011) warn that "positive youth development—along with its associated set of concepts of youth participation, leadership, organizing and activism" is often mobilized to "present a facade of engagement with radical, oppositional, grassroots politics" (685). For instance, after the October 2020 youth-led #EndSARS protests against police brutality in Nigeria, the Ford Foundation created the "Nigeria Youth Futures Fund," promising to raise $15 million to "increase leadership capacity, enhance educational opportunities, and build relationships between youth leaders and regional governments" (Ford Foundation 2021). Though this might appear to "build on momentum in the region inspired by the youth-led #EndSARS

movement," scholars have shown that, more often, the influx of foundation dollars has the opposite effect.[3] Francis's (2019) theorization of "movement capture" in relationship to the de-radicalization of U.S. civil rights organizations illustrates "the power asymmetries embedded in the relationship between community organizations… and funding from NGO's and businesses" through which funders "exploit their elevated financial position by linking provision of funds to the pursuit of new goals or by shifting the salience of existing agenda issues" (278). Similarly, Kwon (2013) conceptualizes this non-profit "capture" of radical activism as "affirmative governmentality," which works by "empowering traditionally marginalized populations such as 'at-risk' youth of color" to "act on their own behalf, but not necessarily to oppose the relations of power that made them powerless" (11).

As an assemblage of interventions and investments that explicitly intend to shift power in Africa, African youth leadership development exists within these global power dynamics and the threat of establishment co-optation and de-radicalization. In centering the political analysis of Ajibola, a young leader who entered and then voluntarily divested from this growing leadership pipeline, this article lends a critical perspective to the celebratory discourse on the "positive" impact of youth empowerment through leadership development. My analysis urges caution: as non-profit movement capture converges with the Transnational Youth Empowerment Complex, it is imperative to keep in focus how this kind of "development" has historically functioned as an "anti-politics machine," "depoliticizing everything it touches, everywhere whisking political realities out of sight" (Ferguson 1994, xv). If institutionalized youth leadership development promises social change, we must ask: in whose interests and for whose benefit?

Endnotes

[1] At the wishes of my longtime interlocutor, Ajibola Adigun, I do not use a pseudonym in this article. Ajibola is both a member of the research population—young African leaders—and a budding researcher who joined my research team after participating in the study. In a collaborative relationship such as this, I view the use of Ajibola's real identity as a form of reciprocity, which reflects growing calls to unsettle the "false dichotomy between the field and academia" that assumes "the academic currencies of recognition […] and intellectual credit are not relevant to our interlocutors" (Weiss 2021, para. 14).

[2] This interactive map was created and is maintained by my research team. The map and its corresponding data are publicly available at the study's research website (www.africanyouthleadershipstudy.com/map).

[3] Relatedly, after the murder of George Floyd in May 2020, America's fifty biggest companies and their foundations pledged at least $50 billion to address racial inequality in one year alone (Jan et al. 2021).

References

Ferguson, James. 1994. *The Anti-Politics Machine: "Development," Depoliticization, and Bureaucratic Power in Lesotho*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

Ford Foundation. 2021. "Nigeria Youth Futures Fund will equip a new cadre of Youth Leaders in the region." *Ford Foundation website*, September 13. Accessed April 8, 2022. https://www.fordfoundation.org/news-and-stories/news-and-press/news/nigeria-youth-futures-fund-will-equip-a-new-cadre-of-youth-leaders-in-the-region/

Francis, Megan Ming. 2019. "The Price of Civil Rights: Black Lives, White Funding, and Movement Capture." *Law & Society Review* 53(1): 275-309.

Jan, Tracy, Jena McGregor, and Meghan Hoyer. "Corporate America's $50 billion promise." *The Washington Post*. August 23, 2021. Accessed May 10, 2022. https://www.washingtonpost.com/business/interactive/2021/george-floyd-corporate-america-racial-justice/.

Kwon, Soo Ah. 2013. *Uncivil Youth: Race, Activism, and Affirmative Governmentality*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Lerner, Jacqueline V., Erin Phelps, Yulika Forman, and Edmond P. Bowers. 2009. *Positive Youth Development.* Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons Inc.

Roth, Jodie, Jeanne Brooks-Gunn, Lawrence Murray, and William Foster. 1998. "Promoting Healthy Adolescents: Synthesis of Youth Development Program Evaluations." *Journal of Research on Adolescence* 8(4): 423-459.

Strong, Krystal. 2016. "Practice for the Future: The Aspirational Politics of Nigerian Students." In *Student Futures, Aspirations, and Political Participation: Comparative Anthropological Perspectives*, edited by Amy Stambach and Kathy Hall, 119-131. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Strong, Krystal. 2018. "Do African Lives Matter to Black Lives Matter? On Youth Uprisings and The Borders of Solidarity." *Urban Education* 53(2): 265-285.

Strong, Krystal and Christiana Kallon Kelly. Forthcoming. "Youth Leadership for Development:Contradictions of Africa's Growing Leadership Pipeline." *Journal of Modern African Studies*.

Sukarieh, Mayssoun and Stuart Tannock. 2008. "In the Best Interests of Youth or Neoliberalism? The World Bank and the New Global Youth Empowerment Project." *Journal of Youth Studies* 11(3): 301-312.

Sukarieh, Mayssoun and Stuart Tannock. 2011. "The Positivity Imperative: A Critical Look at the 'New' Youth Development Movement." *Journal of Youth Studies* 14(6): 675-691.

The Mandela Rhodes Foundation. n.d. "The Scholarship: Explore & Apply." *The Mandela Rhodes Foundation website*. Accessed May 10, 2022. https://www.mandelarhodes.org/scholarship/apply/

Weiss, Erica. 2021. "Pseudonyms as Anti-Citation." In "Rethinking Pseudonyms in Ethnography," edited by Carole McGranahan and Erica Weiss, *American Ethnologist* website, 13 December 2021. Accessed May 10, 2022. https://americanethnologist.org/features/collections/rethinking-pseudonyms-in-ethnography/pseudonyms-as-anti-citation.

Zeilig, Leo. 2007. *Revolt and Protest: Student Politics and Activism in Sub-Saharan Africa*. New York: Tauris Academic.

Author contact: Krystal Strong, PhD (University of Pennsylvania), kstrong@upenn.edu

To cite this article: Strong, Krystal. 2022. "The Transnational Youth Empowerment Paradox: African Youth Leadership and Movement Capture." *NEOS* 14 (1).

To link to this article: https://acyig.americananthro.org/neosvol14iss1sp22/strong/

Creating a Culture of Youth-led Organizations in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania

Chelsea Cutright, PhD (Centre College)
chelsea.cutright@centre.edu

Introduction

Discussing Tanzanian youth's practices of volunteering, an intern I interviewed from a youth-led organization expressed surprise at how these youth often found ways to make things work, even while remarkably inexperienced in global development practices. This contradiction exposes dueling traits of inexperience and creativity, characteristics I argue to be unique to youth-led indigenous non-governmental organizations (INGOs) in the contemporary, urban environment of Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. The identifier "youth-led" indicates more than an organization led by young people; with youth increasingly engaging in organizational activism, I see a new organizational culture that reflects the distinct challenges and benefits of this identity.

In 2019, during ethnographic fieldwork in Dar es Salaam, I conducted thirty-four semi-structured interviews with staff and volunteers of two youth-led INGOs— one engaged in sport for development work and the other creating animated videos for community education. These voices, combined with eight months of participant observation, reveal youth-specific organizational challenges such as inexperience and age discrimination. Stated benefits of being youth-led organizations include understanding youth, generational differences, and better working environments. I build upon the theory of youth-led spaces as "places of possibility" (Goessling and Wager 2021), arguing that these unique challenges and benefits converge to form a new type of organizational culture.

Challenges: Lack of Experience

In many interviews, youths said the biggest challenge facing their organizations was lack of experience, including issues with communication, reliability, and accessing funding. However, this lack of experience was not typically treated as significant, even though acknowledged as the main source of most organizational issues. For example, a common complaint was difficulties in intraorganizational communication, between departments, as well as between staff and volunteers. However, interviewees often embraced this characteristic as typical of youth-led organizations.

Age discrimination from non-youths and non-youth-led entities was another challenge. How others view and interact with youth-led organizations impact how these organizations conduct their work. For example, the organization creating animated videos submitted scripts discussing sexual reproductive health (SRH) topics to the appropriate government agencies for approval. Their requests would be questioned or ignored more often than more recognizable or established organizations working on the same issues. Viewing age as a social inequality is important for understanding how youth organize (Goessling 2017). Considering how a youth-led identity

might result in inequitable treatment can help to appreciate how youth-led organizations may conduct themselves differently from non-youth-led organizations.

Benefits: Knowing Youth/Unknowing Generations

One of the greatest benefits expressed about being youth-led was that as youth themselves, they better know the experiences of the youth population with which they are working. One interviewee said, "Youth-led organizations are better for working on youth issues because 'we are here now,' meaning youth understand the issues and are living the issues." Several youth leaders commented that their youth identity creates an environment of openness and comfort where youth beneficiaries can express themselves and seek advice from youth leaders due to less age-restricted hierarchies. For example, the INGO using sport for development practices relied on youth coaches to lead their youth teams and life skills programs, recognizing that having youth in these leadership roles reduces hierarchical relationships between leaders and youth participants. This cultivated an environment where youth playing soccer and netball were more comfortable discussing life skills topics, like puberty, with coaches who were closer to them in age. These micro-level experiences benefit the immediate workability of organizational practices, while at the macro-level, youth are more connected to current struggles impacting young people and are better suited to make suggestions or implement programs that will benefit the entire youth population.

Other benefits espoused of being a youth-led organization related to generational changes and differences. For example, Maria previously worked at a non-youth-led NGO where she was afraid to speak up or ask questions because of age-specific expectations associated with the roles of employees. Now, working at a youth-led organization, she says these age-related hierarchies are not present and she feels comfortable asking questions and making suggestions.

Youth having more ambition for organizing and social change than older people working in similar organizations was another generational difference noted as a benefit. Elim, a youth leader, said, "Youth have power to work anytime, like yesterday we went to the event but still today we came to the office. But the old person says this is our off day." The implication is that youth have more energy and motivation to pursue organizational work. This belief indicates an interesting ideology of difference between age groups and how they conduct organizational activities.

Generational changes are also seen in youth-led organizations' more open practices of discussing SRH, a topic common in INGO work in Tanzania. In the past, it was taboo for young men to be involved in SRH education relating directly to girls and women, but now youth-led organizations have an open environment, with both young men and women participating in SRH discussions. Baraka, a volunteer, said, "Now we need to understand even our girls, especially for men, but back then it was women issues are only left to women."

Conclusion

These unique challenges and benefits contribute to the organizational culture and practices of youth-led INGOs which encourage and prioritize the innovation of Tanzanian youth. Research

on youth-led organizations across Africa recognizes that even with youth facing extreme challenges, participation in youth-led spaces nurtures their ability to be leaders and creators of social change (Diepeveen and Phiona 2021; Grauenkaer and Tufte 2018; Mabala 2011). While inexperienced, these youth are immersed in globalized worlds of social expression through creative outlets (Perullo 2005; Suriano 2007; Thieme 2018). Combining creativity with desire for creating social change, youth innovate new practices and repackage traditional practices, paving an avenue for becoming instruments of social change (Honwana 2012; Sommers 2010; Swartz et al. 2021; Hansen 2008; Weiss 2009). The youth-led INGOs in this research are examples of these "places of possibility," defined as places which,

> …provide youth opportunities to develop skills, experiences, and expertise that translate to job and education markets. These 'places of possibility' are significant in that they center youth experiences, foster learning and identity construction, and contribute to the imagining and building of a broader social movement. (Goessling 2017, 424)

In contemporary urban Dar es Salaam, these places are nurtured within the growing youth-led organizational movement, becoming distinctive to the youth populations with which they are working and utilizing creative benefits to overcome perceived challenges.

References

Diepeveen, Stephanie, and Sanyu Phiona. 2021. "Youth-led (Digital) Innovation and Resilience during Covid-19: Experiences from the African Continent." ODI Case study. London: ODI. Accessed April 8, 2022. https://odi.org/en/publications/youth-led-digital-innovation-and-resilience-during-covid-19-experiences-from-the-african-continent.

Goessling, Kristen. 2017. "Youth Learning to Be Activists: Constructing 'Places of Possibility' Together." *Critical Questions in Education* 8 (4): 418-437.

Goessling, Kristen, and Amanda Wager. 2021. "Places of Possibility: Youth Research as Creative Liberatory Praxis." *Journal of Youth Studies* 24 (6): 746-764.

Grauenkaer, Lisa, and Thomas Tufte. 2018. "Youth-led Communication for Social Change: Empowerment, Citizen Media, and Cultures of Governance in Northern Ghana." *Development in Practice* 28 (3): 400-413.

Hansen, Karen Tranberg. 2008. *Youth and the City in the Global South.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Honwana, Alcinda. 2012. *The Time of Youth: Work, Social Change, and Politics in Africa.* Boulder, CO: Kumarian Press.

Mabala, Richard. 2011. "Youth and 'The Hood' – Livelihoods and Neighbourhoods." *Environment and Urbanization* 23 (1): 157-181.

Perullo, Alex. 2005. "Hooligans and Heroes: Youth Identity and Hip-Hop in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania." *Africa Today* 51 (4): 75-101. doi:10.1353/at.2005.0045.

Sommers, Marc. 2010. "Urban Youth in Africa." *Environment and Urbanization* 22 (2): 317-332. doi:10.1177/0956247810377964.

Suriano, Maria. 2007. "'Mimi ni msanii, kioo cha jamii': Urban Youth Culture in Tanzania as Seen Through *Bongo Fleva* and Hip-Hop." *Swahili Forum* 14: 207-223.

Swartz, Sharlene, Adam Cooper, Clarence Batan, and Laura Kropff Causa, eds. 2021. *The Oxford Handbook of Global South Youth Studies.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Thieme, Tatiana Adeline. 2018. "The Hustle Economy: Informality, Uncertainty, and the Geographies of Getting By." *Progress in Human Geography* 42 (4): 529-548. doi:10.1177/0309132517690039.

Weiss, Brad. 2009. *Street Dreams and Hip Hop Barbershops: Global Fantasy in Urban Tanzania.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Author contact: Chelsea Cutright, PhD (Centre College), chelsea.cutright@centre.edu

To cite this article: Cutright, Chelsea. 2022. "Creating a Culture of Youth-led Organizations in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania." *NEOS* 14 (1).

To link to this article: https://acyig.americananthro.org/neosvol14iss1sp22/cutright/

Viewing the World Through Egyptian Children's Eyes: The Predicament of Local and Global South

el-Sayed el-Aswad, PhD (Anthropologist)
elsayedelaswad@gmail.com

Introduction

Worldviews indicate perceptual framework and/or social imaginary through which ordinary persons view their world. Worldviews are not expressed in theoretical terms but are manifested in images, legends, and narratives (el-Aswad 2012; Hiebert 2008; Taylor 2004; Wagner 2001). This study recounts the narratives of Egyptian children belonging to low-income families living in the Miami area of the al-Muntazah District in Alexandria. The essential quality of Egyptian children's narrative lies in the involvement of interweaving the unknown, the imaginary, the mundane, and the extraordinary into the fabric of their everyday lives.

Between July and August 2021, I interviewed 12 children (pseudonyms used) whose ages ranged between twelve and sixteen years old. In a conservative community where boys are more independently active outside their homes than girls, I investigated the boys' activities/narratives. Ethnographic methodology allowed children to engage in dynamic types of narration/storytelling (el-Aswad 2010; Shaw 2022) and informal, situational conversation (Corsaro 2003; Lancy 2015; Swain and King 2022) from which the article's findings are concluded.

The children's narrations demonstrated shared worldviews clustered around the imaginary and socially-religiously certified concept of "possibility" (*mumkin*) within their worldviews that go beyond the divide of north/south. The concept of "possibility" maintains the balance between the Global North/South where children, although they are experiencing extreme poverty, show a great deal of integrity, responsibility, and independence (el-Aswad 1993, 2008, 2014a).

Local and Global South

Both the local and Global South have been depicted in terms of backwardness and otherness (Miller 2004). In Miami, ethnography was conducted along one of the major roads, *khamsa wa-arba'īn* (Street 45), which encompasses multiple worlds in which rich and poor people live within locally divided places. The northern higher-income area, with proximity to the Mediterranean Sea (*baḥr*), is called '45 *'albaḥr,'* while the southern lower-income enclave is called '45*'ibly*' (south).

In Miami, a railway separates the affluent north from the impoverished south. In the southern slums of Miami (*'shwa'iyyāt*), the monthly income per capita of the families of the children being studied range from 1,000 to 1,600 Egyptian pounds (US $64 - US $102) reflective of the overall poverty rate in Egypt. In 2019, the official poverty rate (at US $3.20 per day) was estimated in Egypt to be 29.7%, up from 18.1% in 2015 (World Bank 2021).

Nationally, Egypt is geographically divided into the north, known as *baḥarī*, and south, *ṣa'īd*

(Upper Egypt). Numerous poor Upper Egyptians (*ṣa'īdī*) migrate to the north of Egypt seeking job opportunities (el-Aswad 2004).

Globally, the hierarchical relations between West/East, addressed by Said's Orientalism (1978), are reproduced by other hierarchical relations between North/South resulting in growing socio-economic disparities between/within countries of the Global North/South (Kiely 2016; Sassen 2014). Frequently, Northern rulers practice hegemony over poor Southern people (Gramsci 1995). Several anthropologists (Foster 1965; Lewis 1961) contend that children growing up in poor environments are unable to exploit economic opportunities. Egyptian children's activities/worldviews put this contention to the test.

Viewing and Narrating the World

This section addresses three narratives. The first pertains to Samir, a 15-year-old boy who, by using a *tuktuk* (a three-wheeled motorized vehicle), provided transportation in low-income areas of Street 45. I met him in July, 2021 when I hopped in his tuktuk for a quick ride to a pastry shop. While escorting me, Samir said, "*al-ḥaraka baraka,*" meaning "mobility is a blessing." He said, "I keep moving by the tuktuk to secure my *rizg.*" By the vernacular uttering of rizg, Samir meant "*ar-rizq,*" a livelihood/source of revenue, which, according to Muslims' beliefs, belongs to the unknowable and invisible realm (*al-ghaib*) through which the occurrences of unexpected fortunes can be explained (el-Aswad 2019a, 2019b). When I asked him if he owned the tuktuk, he replied, "No, I work for an owner, but one day I will, *insha'allh* (God's willing), have my own tuktuk because everything is possible (*mumkin*). My father told me, 'strive and Allah will strive with you'."

"Possibility" here is a concept indicating that a desirable object or action, while not presently available, might be available in the near or far future. This concept, implying new potentialities, hope, and imagination, is certified by the belief in God's willing (*mashi'at allah*) that renders what is unattainable attainable.

On another occasion, I asked Samir to take me to the corniche by *tuktuk*. He politely declined since the Alexandrian governorate banned the use of *tuktuks* along the corniche as being hazardous. The fine for violating the *tuktuk* ban is 10,000 Egyptian pounds (US $636.00) (Mounir 2021). Samir recounted, "The government protects the rich, not the poor, pushing us to the poor southern zones in which we live."

The second narrative relates to Yasir, a 16-year-old boy, whose father was an Upper Egyptian gatekeeper (*bawwāb*) of a grand residential building. As a middle school student, Yasir worked as a cleaner in an internet café during the summer, and currently works as a cyber attendant. He recounted that his elder brother, who migrated to '*Amrica*' (the U.S.), was financially supporting his family, bringing "*rizg*" and "*farag,*" or new possibilities for economic relief. Yasir stressed that the "North/West" and "South/East" shared mutual benefits (*maṣāliḥ*).

The third narrative concerns Hamdy, a 14-old boy who helped his mother (Zakiya) run a small grocery store after his father's death. The mother referred to Hamdy as "the man of the house" (*ragil al-bait*) for assuming the responsibility for protecting her and his two younger sisters.

Hamdy narrated, "Patience is a key to an exultant relief (*aṣ-ṣabr muftāḥ al-farag*) and my family seeks *as-satr* (cover)," meaning whatever can be socially and economically secured, even with a minimum income. *Patience* (*aṣ-ṣabr*) and *cover* (*as-satr*) relate to a worldview that liberates the individual and society from the increasing attitude of materialism and individualism (el-Aswad 2002, 2014b).

In conclusion, this inquiry does not claim that all Egyptian children view the world identically but rather confirms certain significant underlying principles upon which their worldviews are constructed. The polarities of local-Global North and South are reconstituted through children's narratives into flexible and positive attitudes implicit in their activities/worldviews.

References

Corsaro, William A. 2003. *"We're Friends, Right?" Inside Kids' Cultures*. Washington, D.C.: Joseph Henry Press.

el-Aswad, el-Sayed. 1993. *"*al-tanshi'a al-ijmā'iyya wa takwīn ru'ā al-'ālam 'ind al-ṭifl: dirāsa muqārana bayn mujtama' khalījī wa mujtama' qarawī miṣrī" (Socialization and the Construction of Worldviews of the Child: A Comparative Study between a Gulf Society and a Rural Egyptian Society). *Dirasat* 4 (6): 7-30.

el-Aswad, el-Sayed. 2002. *Religion and Folk Cosmology: Scenarios of the Visible and Invisible in Rural Egypt*. Westport, CT: Praeger Press.

el-Aswad, el-Sayed. 2004. Viewing the World through Upper Egyptian Eyes: From Regional Crisis to Global Blessing. In *Upper Egypt: Identity and Change*, edited by Nicholas Hopkins and Reem Saad, 55-78. Cairo: AUC in Cairo press.

el-Aswad, el-Sayed. 2008. "aṭfāl al-'awlama bayn thaqāfat al-mas'ūliyya wa mas'ūliyyat al-thaqāfah" (Children of Globalization: The Culture of Responsibility and the Responsibility of Culture). *Al-Tofoola*: *Bahraini Society for Child Development* 9 (1): 66-87.

el-Aswad, el-Sayed. 2010. "Narrating the Self among Arab Americans: A Bridging Discourse Between Arab Tradition and American Culture." *Digest of Middle East Studies* 19 (2): 234-248.

el-Aswad, el-Sayed. 2012. *Muslim Worldviews and Everyday Lives*. Lanham, MD: AltaMira Press.

el-Aswad, el-Sayed. 2014a. "Children, International Variation in Attitudes Toward." In *Encyclopedia of Human Services and Diversity,* edited by Linwood H. Cousins, Vol. 1: 205-209. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

el-Aswad, el-Sayed. 2014b. "Patience in Sunni Muslim Worldviews." In *Encyclopedia of Psychology and Religion*, edited by David A. Leeming, Vol. 1: 1318-1321. Boston, MA:

Springer. DOI https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-4614-6086-2_9317

el-Aswad, el-Sayed. 2019a. "Keys to al-Ghaib: A Cross-cultural Study." *Digest of Middle East Studies* 28 (2): 277–295.

el-Aswad, el-Sayed. 2019b. "Al-Ghaib (the Invisible and Unknowable)." In *Encyclopedia of Psychology and Religion*, edited by D. A. Leeming, Vol. 2: 1-4. Berlin, Heidelberg: Springer. DOI https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-642-27771-9_200245-1

Foster, George M. 1965. Peasant Society and the Image of Limited Good. *American Anthropologist* 67 (2): 293-315.

Gramsci, Antonio. 1995. *The Southern Question*. Translated by Pacquale Verdicchio. West Lafayette, IN: Bordighera Press.

Hiebert, Paul G. 2008. *Transforming Worldviews: An Anthropological Understanding of How People Change*. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic.

Kiely, Ray. 2016. *The Rise and Fall of Emerging Powers: Globalisation, US Power and the Global North-South Divide*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.

Lancy, David F. 2015. *The Anthropology of Childhood: Cherubs, Chattel, Changelings*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press.

Lewis, Oscar. 1961. *The Children of Sánchez: Autobiography of a Mexican Family*. New York, Random House.

Miller, Catherine. 2004. "Between Myth and Reality: The Construction of a Sa'idi Identity in Cairo." In *Upper Egypt: Identity and Change*, edited by Nicholas Hopkins and Reem Saad, 25-54. Cairo: AUC in Cairo press.

Mounir, Jacqueline. 2021. "*ḥamlāt liman' sīr altuktuk fi al-maḥāwir al-ra'īsiyya wa kurnīsh al-iskandriyya*" (Campaigns for Preventing the Driving of Tukuks on the Main Roads and Corniche of Alexandria). *al-Youm al-Sabi',* October 6 Accessed [October 9, 2021]. https://www.youm7.com/story/2021/10/6/حملات-لمنع-سير-التوك-توك-والتروسيكل-بالمحاور-الرئيسية-وكورنيش-الإسكندرية/5486107

Said, Edward. 1978. *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient.* London: Pantheon Books.

Sassen, Saskia. 2014. *Expulsions: Brutality and Complexity in the Global Economy.* Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.

Shaw, Jennifer E. 2022. "Beyond Family: Separation and Reunification for Young People Negotiating Transnational Relationships." *Global Studies of Childhood* 22 (1): 83-94. https://doi.org/10.1177/20436106211058897

Swain, Jon, and Brendan King. 2022. "Using Informal Conversations in Qualitative Research." *International Journal of Qualitative Methods* 21. https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/full/10.1177/16094069221085056

Taylor, Charles. 2004. *Modern Social Imaginaries*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Wagner, Roy. 2001. *An Anthropology of the Subject: Holographic Worldview in New Guinea and Its Meaning and Significance for the World of Anthropology*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

World Bank. 2021. *Poverty & Equity Brief: Arab Republic of Egypt*. April 20. Accessed [December 19, 2021]. https://databank.worldbank.org/data/download/poverty/987B9C90-CB9F-4D93-AE8C-750588BF00QA/AM2020/Global_POVEQ_EGY.pdf

Author contact: el-Sayed el-Aswad, PhD (Anthropologist), elsayedelaswad@gmail.com

To cite this article: el-Aswad, el-Sayed. 2022. "Viewing the World Through Egyptian Children's Eyes: The Predicament of Local and Global South." *NEOS* 14 (1).

To link to this article: https://acyig.americananthro.org/neosvol14iss1sp22/elaswad/

Collection II:

Migration and Movement

Commentary: The Lives of Migrant Children in Colombia: Between Recognition and Invisibility

María Claudia Duque-Páramo, PhD (Writer, Researcher, Consultant)
mcduquep@gmail.com

I developed an interest in the anthropological study of children, particularly those who are affected by processes of migration, as a result of my own life experiences. When I was eight years old, I migrated from Tocaima, the small town where I grew up and was living with my parents and younger sister. I was to continue my primary schooling in Bogotá, where my two older sisters were already studying. It was a significant change in the life of a young girl. As in most middle-class Colombian families in that era, a child's opinions and desires were not taken into account; I was simply told that I was going to live and study in Bogotá and that was that. I have relocated several times since then, although usually on my own initiative. In any case, I continue learning about both the changes and continuities, the losses and the gains that are part of the migration process, and have endeavored as an applied anthropologist to lend voice to migrant children whose lives are so rarely considered.

My doctoral dissertation (Duque-Páramo 2004) was based on a participatory study with Colombian children who had migrated with their families to the United States. I have also studied children who remain at home in Colombia but have to deal with the long-term absence of their parents who live in other countries (Duque-Páramo 2012).

In the early 2000s, research on international migration affecting Colombians focused on issues of remittances and demographics. The transnational family was typically considered from the viewpoint of adult women as wives and mothers. Research with children was considered relatively unimportant, as children were not seen as having agency in the process of migration. Children were discounted in the formulation of public policy as well as in academic research. The only specific migrant-related policy in which children were considered dealt not with international migration but with internal displacement (Instituto Colombiano de Bienestar Familiar – ICBF 2016).

In recent years, there has been an increase in the number of vulnerable migrants from Venezuela — Colombians who had been living in Venezuela as well as Venezuelans themselves. Since 2017, the Colombian state, with the support of international organizations, has endeavored to meet the needs of the many Venezuelan migrant children and to the ones born in Colombia to Venezuelan parents. As a consequence of this recent migration, various well-meaning politics on attention to refugee, unaccompanied, and separated children and the rights of life, identity, health, and education of migrant children have been issued at the local, regional, and national levels in Colombia. Policies on emerging issues, such as statelessness and xenophobia have also been issued.

Although these policies have contributed significantly to guaranteeing some rights and promoting the integration of thousands of Venezuelan children in Colombia, they are insufficient to address the serious current realities that have overwhelmed the capacities of the Colombian

state. The growing deterioration of the social and economic situation in Venezuela, together with the effects of Covid, are determining an increase in the migratory flows of families and unaccompanied children in 2021 and 2022. They are very vulnerable people who travel in precarious conditions and are easy victims for drug traffickers, human trafficking networks, and other criminals.

At the same time, migrant children and their families, as well as unaccompanied migrant children, have captured the attention of academics from various disciplines, as well as from non-governmental and international organizations. In this context, my experience and knowledge as a researcher with Colombian children in migratory circumstances, starting in 2017, when I retired, began to have greater visibility and recognition by those in Colombia who sought to understand and care for children from Venezuela. I have been invited to talk about migrant children in various academic events and interviews in non-academic magazines and radio and television programs. In addition, from 2019 to 2021, I participated as a consultant and teacher, providing training on migration in general and migrant children in particular to police personnel, professionals working with the International Organization for Migration (IOM), family advocates, and other professionals. This work reflects the latest efforts under the auspices of the Instituto Colombiano de Bienestar Familiar (Colombian Institute of Family Welfare).

Migrants, including migrant children, have become noticeably more visible and recognized as part of the reality of Colombia today. But even so, the prevailing political ideology focused on humanitarian attention continues to relegate the emotional and developmental needs of migrant children—both Colombian and Venezuelan to the margins. Now, starting a new career as a writer, I hope to make known to audiences beyond the academy the voices, stories, sufferings, joys, dreams, and lives of the girls and boys who generously told me about their experiences related to migration.

Author's note

Thanks to Michael V. Angrosino, professor and mentor.

References

Duque-Páramo, María Claudia. 2004. Colombian Immigrant Children in the United States: Representations of Food and the Process of Creolization. Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of South Florida.

Duque-Páramo, María Claudia. 2012. "Parental Migration in Colombia: Children's Voices in National and International Perspectives." *Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Anthropology* 17(3):472-492.

Instituto Colombiano de Bienestar Familiar. 2016. "Lineamiento Técnico de Estrategia de Acompañamiento Psicosocial para el Restablecimiento de los Derechos y Contribución Integral de Niños y Adolescentes Víctimas del Conflicto Armado." ICBF website. February 28, 2019. Accessed May 10, 2022. https://www.icbf.gov.co/misionales/proteccion/restablecimiento-de-derechos

Author contact: María Claudia Duque-Páramo, PhD (Writer, Researcher, Consultant), mcduquep@gmail.com

To cite this article: Duque-Páramo, María Claudia. 2022. "The Lives of Migrant Children in Colombia: Between Recognition and Invisibility." *NEOS* 14 (1).

To link to this article: https://acyig.americananthro.org/neosvol14iss1sp22/duqueparamo/

Commentary: Redefining Integration: What Can We Learn from the Educational Experiences of Refugee Children in the Global South?

Manya Kagan, PhD Candidate (Ben Gurion University in the Negev)
manyakagan@gmail.com

The education of refugee children is of particular relevance for the theme of this special issue of *NEOS*, entitled 'Local Realities and Global Challenges: Approaches to Childhood and Youth Studies from the Global South.' As the number of refugees, half of whom are children, increases globally, understanding how refugees integrate into education systems and societies becomes critical (Meda, Sookrajh, and Maharaj 2013). At the same time, although eighty-four percent of refugees live in the Global South, our understanding of the challenges associated with the integration of refugee children is based almost entirely on studies conducted in the Global North (Pinson and Arnot 2020).

Our understanding of refugee integration is mainly based on research conducted in schools located in Global North settings with underlying cultural norms and social structures that often differ from how children are socialized in the Global South (Cheney 2010). We must develop comprehensive analytical tools to which community membership and social structures are central to understand "integration dynamics" (Spencer and Charsley 2021). This requires us to unpack local perceptions regarding children's childhood, education, and socialization towards community participation as they inevitably affect refugee children's integration (Twum-Danso Imoh, Bourdillon, and Meichsner 2019).

Integration of refugee children in schools is most often evaluated based on quantitative measurements such as their language proficiency, examination results, and employment rates alongside more qualitative processual measures such as the children's sense of well-being, belonging, and self-fulfillment (Dryden-Peterson et al. 2019). Notions of well-being are culturally dependent, and children's understanding of self-realization and belonging are directly linked to community expectations (Ager et al. 2012). How members of host societies and refugees perceive belonging, membership, and wellbeing affects how they experience and measure integration (Driel and Verkuyten 2020). Moreover, the very understanding and the importance we ascribe to indicators such as wellbeing, belonging, and self-realization are embedded in individualistic, neoliberal Western discourses (Wolffernhart, Conte, and Huddleston 2019).

My research of refugee children in primary schools in Kampala, Uganda, focused on refugee children's interactions with local children in the classroom, their experiences of everyday life in Kampala, and the influences of Uganda's open-door integration policy on their envisioned future. The research is based on condensed ethnographic fieldwork in three primary schools in Kampala and combined participatory observations of classes and other school activities and 110 semi-structured interviews, supplemented by visual data, with refugee children, parents, teachers, and workers in the public sector.

During my research, it quickly became apparent that existing integrationist discourse, primarily based on studies in the Global North, does not offer the necessary tools to analyze their experiences. The local pedagogical context and community members' expectations were critical in constructing the refugees' children's experiences and were glaringly missing in the integrationist discourse. The pedagogical styles used in the classrooms include whole-class teaching and call-in responses in which all pupils act and respond as one unit, inadvertently erasing differences between the different pupils (Wedin 2010). Additionally, children are socialized both in school and in the community differently, and as a result, they define self-realization as the ability to contribute back to their community rather than as gaining a successful career or accumulating financial capital for themselves or their children. They feel a shared sense of belonging and responsibility towards their classmates even before learning the local language because they were consistently treated and socialized as one community. This case study indicates that to understand the integration of refugee children, it is necessary to examine the local intricacies and inter-dynamics of society within localized Global South contexts.

I urge scholars to consider the local cultural-political context and the collectivist or individualistic nature of the society into which refugee children are integrated. We need to conduct more studies in the Global South to expand our definition of what integration may look and feel like and incorporate these findings into our refugee studies and education academic discourse (Bajaj and Bartlett 2017). I argue that understanding the integration of refugee children in the Global South is significant not only because of the magnitude of this phenomenon but because of the unique global insights studying refugee children can provide us regarding childhood, belonging, and community membership.

References

Ager, Alastair, Cath Zimmerman, Kathy Unlu, Richard Rinehart, Beverly Nyberg. Charles Zeanah, Jean Hunleth et al. 2012. “What Strategies Are Appropriate for Monitoring Children Outside of Family Care and Evaluating the Impact of the Programs Intended to Serve Them?” *Child Abuse & Neglect* 36: 732–42. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chiabu.2012.09.006.

Bajaj, Monisha, and Lesley Bartlett. 2017. “Critical Transnational Curriculum for Immigrant and Refugee Students.” *Curriculum Inquiry* 47 (1): 25–35. https://doi.org/10.1080/03626784.2016.1254499.

Cheney, Kristen. 2010. “Deconstructing Childhood Vulnerability: An Introduction.” *Childhood in Africa* 1(2): 4–7.

Driel, Ester, and Maykel Verkuyten. 2020. “Local Identity and the Reception of Refugees: The Example of Riace.” *Identities* 27(5): 614–32. https://doi.org/10.1080/1070289X.2019.1611075.

Dryden-Peterson, Sarah, Elizabeth Adelman, Michelle J. Bellino, and Vidur Chopra. 2019. "The Purposes of Refugee Education: Policy and Practice of Including Refugees in National Education Systems." *Sociology of Education* 92(4): 346–66. https://doi.org/10.1177/0038040719863054.

Meda, Lawrence, Reshma Sookrajh, and Brij Maharaj. 2013. "Refugee Children in South Africa: Access and Challenges to Achieving Universal Primary Education." *Africa Education Review* 9(1): S152-68.

Pinson, Halleli, and Madeleine Arnot. 2020. "Wasteland Revisited: Defining an Agenda for a Sociology of Education and Migration." *British Journal of Sociology of Education* 41(6): 830–44. https://doi.org/10.1080/01425692.2020.1755229.

Spencer, Sarah, and Katharine Charsley. 2021. "Reframing 'Integration': Acknowledging and Addressing Five Core Critiques." *Comparative Migration Studies* 9(18): 1-22. https://doi.org/10.1186/s40878-021-00226-4.

Twum-Danso Imoh, Afua, Michael Bourdillon, and Sylvia Meichsner. 2019. "Introduction: Exploring Children's Lives Beyond the Binary of the Global North and Global South." In *Global Childhoods Beyond the North-South Divide*, edited by Afua Twum-Danso Imoh, Michael Bourdillon, and Sylvia Meichsner, 1–10. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-95543-8_1.

Wedin, Asa. 2010. "Classroom Interaction: Potential or Problem? The Case of Karagwe." *International Journal of Educational Development* 30(2): 145-50. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijedudev.2009.03.007

Wolffhardt, Alexander, Carmine Conte, and Thomas Huddleston. 2019. "The European Benchmark for Refugee Integration: A Comparative Analysis of the National Integration Evaluation Mechanism in 14 EU Countries." Migration Policy Group and Institute of Public Affairs.

Author contact: Manya Kagan, PhD Candidate (Ben Gurion University in the Negev), manyakagan@gmail.com

To cite this article: Kagan, Manya. 2022. "Redefining Integration: What Can We Learn from the Educational Experiences of Refugee Children in the Global South?" *NEOS* 14 (1).

To link to this article: https://acyig.americananthro.org/neosvol14iss1sp22/kagan/

Time and the Child: On Temporal Construction of Refugee Childhood

Nataliya Tchermalykh, PhD (University of Geneva)
nataliya.tchermalykh@unige.ch

Standing in the middle of a small room of the Geneva Juvenile Court next to his lawyer, Karim was wearing a hygienic mask. Suddenly, as if he felt short of breath, he took it off. The judge stared at him and said, "Ah! Ok... You know, I think you are of legal age. So you know what ... The court must examine its jurisdiction *ex officio*, so I won't even dwell on the issues of offenses. Thank you, both. Goodbye!"

The consequences of this seemingly mundane interaction for the undocumented teenager on the move through Europe from Maghreb were immediate and heavy. The same day, the judge called Karim's curator, appointed by the Child Welfare Services, which provided him temporary housing, notifying them that as Karim was of legal age, he needed to leave the youth residence: he was now a homeless adult. His lawyer wrote a formal legal notice to the SPMI and thought about lodging an appeal to pursue the litigation. But the next day, Karim hit the road; he was already far away. His alleged childhood was discontinued by one glance of the judge, and the boy decided not to contest this decision.

I met Karim in Geneva through Eva, his lawyer, whom I was following in her everyday practice as part of a Law Clinic. Eva provided *pro bono* legal advice to young undocumented migrants in Switzerland, where I was conducting participant observation for three months in 2019. Eva confessed to me that these "sudden disappearances" were a frequent ending to her cases, even though she was striving to develop a strategy for obtaining more justice for the children on the move. Why did Karim refuse her help? Could this tendency be interpreted not as a gesture of resignation to state-imposed adulthood but rather as a gesture of resistance, liberating his youth from the legal constraints? This paper offers an anthropological reflection on the significance of time and legality in the construction of refugee childhood—an ontological condition that is co-produced by the system of child-oriented policies and laws but cannot be reduced to their effects, leaving significant space for inventive strategies of resistance.

On paper, the Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989), and other multilateral protocols aimed at granting international protection to children without immediate family support, all insist on the non-deportability of children and the unconditionally equal state support to all children, citizens and non-citizen alike, therefore allocating to them a broader spectrum of rights, than to their adult counterparts. However, as migrant children transition to adulthood—naturally or "forcefully" by means of an external evaluation— they are affected by a radical change in the legal regime: like Karim, they experience the immediate "evaporation" of rights previously accorded to them as children (Bhabha 2011).

This temporal boundary, which is also a legal paradox separating the relatively protected childhood from rightless and deportable adulthood, is configured as a space of endless anxieties, controversies, and legal battles. As in European countries, there is no such thing as *the*

presumption of minority, in the sense that the age still has to be proven and the burden of proof falls on the undocumented child (Bisson, Testemale, and Inghilterra 2014). In this polemical context, judges of juvenile courts often serve as agents of the state discretion—its "eyes"—capable of distinguishing between a "real" minor deserving state protection from a "fraudulent" one.

Even when the long and humiliating process of age determination results in official recognition of one's minor or child status, often with use of the highly contested X-Ray Greulich and Pyle method, this does not necessarily bring satisfaction and peace to the young asylum-seekers. "Ici on meurt à petit feu" (here we die a slow death) is a phrase that struck me when spoken by a young Nigerian. Indeed, the dramatic and adventurous time of migration is replaced by a long, empty, and endlessly delayed waiting for decisions by a state that suddenly seems "forgetful", "distracted", and even "dead" (Andersson 2014). Lili, a French lawyer, describes the "dragging" in legal procedures as a sort of "playing for time" and not taking any significant legal decision before the 18th birthday of the child, after which time their asylum rights as children will no longer apply. Intuiting this profound injustice, the adolescents feel more and more anxiety, resulting in mental health issues, self-mutilation, and even suicidal attempts: "[...]you are quiet here, you work at school, you play sports. And yet, at the end, when you are 18, when you are of age, you will be told: you, get out of here, you, go home", as one of the young asylum-seekers confessed in an interview.

Bourdieu famously wrote that "the all-powerful is he who does not wait but who makes others wait … Making people wait is an integral part of the exercise of domination" (Bourdieu 1997, 240). Le Courant takes this further: "the undocumented are not only those who do not have the right to be present, they are also those who are dispossessed of the mastery of time" (Le Courant 2014, 4). This observation sheds light on the role of legally-defined temporal constraints in the construction of refugee childhood and adolescence. In the eyes of the state, refugee childhood is perceived as a transient legal construct (similar to a strictly short-termed contract guaranteeing protection), rather than a dynamic social process, leading to the emergence of full citizenship rights, emancipation, and personal development. In this context, their "running away" and the very fact of being uncooperative may be perceived as the young migrants' way to disagree with this "temporal injustice" (Cohen 2018) and reclaim a "right to their time", liberating the time of childhood from the state's usurpation.

References

Andersson, Ruben. 2014. "Time and the Migrant Other: European Border Controls and the Temporal Economics of Illegality". *American Anthropologist* 116 (4): 795–809. https://doi.org/10.1111/aman.12148.

Bhabha, Jacqueline. 2011. *Children Without A State*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.

Bisson, Clémence, Manon Testemale, and Robin Medard Inghilterra. 2014. "Après un an d'application, la CNCDH fustige le dispositif de la circulaire « Taubira » relative aux mineurs isolés étrangers". *La Revue des droits de l'homme. Revue du Centre de recherches et d'études sur les droits fondamentaux*. https://doi.org/10.4000/revdh.850.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1997. *Méditations Pascaliennes*. Paris: Seuil.

Chariot, Patrick. 2010. "Quand les médecins se font juges : la détermination de l'âge des adolescents migrants". *Chimères* 74 (3): 103–11.

Cohen, Elizabeth F. 2018. *The Political Value of Time: Citizenship, Duration, and Democratic Justice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/9781108304283.

Le Courant, Stefan. 2014. "Être le dernier jeune ". *Terrain. Anthropologie et sciences humaines*, 63: 38–53. https://doi.org/10.4000/terrain.15490.

United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child. 1989. Treaty no. 27531. United Nations Treaty Series, 1577: 3-178.

Author contact: Nataliya Tchermalykh, PhD (University of Geneva), nataliya.tchermalykh@unige.ch

To cite this article: Tchermalykh, Nataliya. 2022. "Time and the Child: On Temporal Construction of Refugee Childhood." *NEOS* 14 (1).

To link to this article: https://acyig.americananthro.org/neosvol14iss1sp22/tchermalykh/

"We Had That Spirit of Openness": Performative Mobility for Global Majority Youth to Move Within and Out of the Struggle

Jasmine L. Blanks Jones, MPP, PhD (Johns Hopkins University)
jblanks2@jhu.edu

Today we were being fancy, sipping chilled beverages as we sat under the "air cool" at Passion II Hotel's restaurant in the heart of Liberia, Gbarnga City. We took advantage of the electricity to charge our computers and devices, a necessity that we had long learned to manage without. Over the six years I had known Silas N. Juaquellie[1] through administering free youth arts programs across three cities (Gbarnga, Buchanan, and Ganta), we had become friends and close colleagues. At age twenty-four, he was a trainee in the first cohort of fifteen arts instructors I coached in a Boalian-inspired model of theater for change in 2013. In my role as Executive Director of B4 Youth Theatre (Burning Barriers, Building Bridges), I hired him part time as the Liberia National Director the following year. Together, we struggled over how to sustain the work when resources were scarce since most of our funding came from grants or consultancies I acquired while in Liberia. I take these moments of disjuncture and interruption to consider the role of performative mobility in how global majority youth move within and out of the daily struggle for basic needs required to transform imagined possibilities into reality. I engage this conceptualization through co-performative witnessing, an ethnographic praxis of solidarity which transcends participant observation (Madison 2007; Strong and Blanks Jones, in press), to demonstrate how youth become collectively empowered through critical theater to build fruitful connections for opportunities they have reason to value.

This day marked a new direction in my journey with Silas, and I was thankful that he agreed to be interviewed for my research. The concrete walls of the restaurant, tile floors, and metal doors produced a cacophony of extraneous sound, at times overwhelming our ability to make out our own words. In this struggle to hear and be heard, we found ourselves reflecting on how we had learned to move within the struggle in order to move out of it. For example, Silas was discouraged when participation in the eight-week summer program dropped from more than sixty participants at one site to less than five because the students and parents had collectively determined there was "no benefit" to being involved in a free arts education program without immediate material gain. His recalling of this familiar incident led to a question I was hesitant to ask but knew was fundamental to understanding the political and economic realities impacting the youth actors. I looked up from my notes to ask him directly as much for my own personal knowledge as for the completion of my data, "Is there any benefit?"

Silas gave a large smile that made his eyes small and answered:

> B4 Youth Theatre set the stage that we get connected to new people… *we had that spirit of openness. So we were able to move out* to the, the Vice President [of the Government of Liberia] then, and we wrote his office to help us with a computer. All because uh, I went to school right here and everything, but I never had the idea of interacting with the different people that we've met since I joined the [theater] program… it brought

something to me.[2]

The spirit of openness is the liberatory potential of theater pedagogy that made Silas and his colleagues "able to move out" to make demands from the state in ways he had not thought to do before, namely requesting support for material goods such as a computer. Being able to move out signals the convergence between mobility and connection for youth in Africa (Langevang and Gough 2009, 745-753). This mobility is performative as it is enacted through connection rather than physical migration (Sweet 2021, 1-18). Through critical theater, youth develop the consciousness of their collective potential for action and reflection, or praxis (Boal 1979, 81-116; Freire 2014, 97-124). They become heard, seen, and known within their schools and local communities, by government leaders, and to international audiences including diasporans, development practitioners, and researchers. Through the movement of their performances, whether live in-person, digitally streamed, or through other modalities which feature their work such as this article, their personhood is amplified. Participating in community theater gave Silas "the idea of interacting," which he modeled for his peers so that they could also build connections for their advancement and ability to secure material support for their communities. Youth who become arts instructors are compensated for their teaching and gain opportunities for paid consulting with other organizations. Through their public health campaigns, they were able to successfully advocate for medical supplies to be delivered to specific communities (Blanks Jones and Juaquellie, forthcoming). This kind of collective action is at the heart of our theater pedagogy to "verify in praxis what we know in consciousness" (hooks 1994, 47).

My year of field work in Liberia from 2018-2019 allowed me the concentrated time to join with the B4 Youth Theatre actors in their collective praxis of theater for change. Following a 2019 performance at Monrovia City Hall on gender-based violence that I had negotiated in a consultancy with a large iNGO, I invited Cynthia N. Gaye, the youth playwright I had coached through writing and directing the drama, to have lunch with me and a few other company members at Royal Hotel. She immediately accepted and was appreciative of the opportunity for

"exposure" and for the theater company "giving [her] the time and the courage to do what [she's] doing right now"[3] as artistic lead for the consultancy. This was easily the fifth script on gender justice and the rights of girls and women that Cynthia had contributed to writing as a theater participant of six years. She was the first youth actor to advance to the senior-level arts instructor position in the theater company. As she reflected on the recent performance of her script, she shared her own relevant personal struggles:

> When I was contesting as [student government] president for my [high]school, I was kind of being cheated because they say that I was a female and I was not going to be strong and besides, I cannot make it so there's no need for them to give me power. Yeah… I was like, what I'm going to do now? And sometimes Ms. Jasmine, it's true, it's good to be connected. Yeah. Because of the connection I have. I didn't have money, but *people were there to pay for my campaign. People were there to register my party, people were there to pay whatsoever on campaign day. I didn't, I didn't pay a cent.* Yeah. Because of the connection… Because of the connection I had. Yes, it is, it's true... Even as I'm speaking, because of connections, I know people know me abroad, that I don't know.[4]

The youth theater artists exercised their power while also navigating systems at multiple scales. Their performance practices embody potential solutions to community problems and thereby create opportunities for connection with other youth and across the gerontocratic divide. They also navigate various powerful institutions as revealed by the financial support Cynthia received for her campaign (also see Blanks Jones, 2018; Hansen 2005; Honwana 2012). The youth actors were collectively empowered to raise issues to a national audience through their writing and performances. Their critical theater work gave them courage to take actions in their everyday lives such as reaching out to former Vice President Joseph Boakai for material support for the local public high school or running for student government president. Such actions and interactions flow from the theater participants' ability to mobilize others to imagine something different for their lives and society.

For global majority youth, a performative mobility emphasizes building long-term and supportive connections over any immediate benefit. It pushes our understanding of mobility to include connectedness to multiple audiences as this occurs through performance and through ethnography. In co-performative witnessing, ethnographers commit to a "spirit of openness" by joining our interlocutors as coevals in the field and in research outcomes where we vision forward together. Performative mobility in the space of critical theater provides a mechanism to reimagine the everyday performances that can shift material realities for youth in Africa.

Endnotes

[1] Both of my research interlocutors requested that their full names used in publications as they would be in a performance program.

[2] National Director, interview by author, Gbarnga, July 11, 2019.

[3] Youth actor and playwright, interview by author, Monrovia, June 21, 2019.

[4] Youth actor and playwright, interview by author, Monrovia, June 21, 2019.

References

Blanks Jones, Jasmine L. 2018. "Flipping the Panopticon." *Competing Frameworks: Global and National in Citizenship Education* 137.

Blanks Jones, Jasmine L. and Silas N. Juaquellie. Forthcoming. "It Takes a Person": Youth Activism, Public Health, and Citizenship Performance During Liberia's Ebola Epidemic. In *Youth, Education, and Democracy in an Era of Global Change: Contestations of Citizenship,* edited by Patricia K. Kubow, Nicole Webster, Krystal Strong & Daniel Miranda. London: Routledge.

Boal, Augusto. 2013. *Theatre of the Oppressed*. New York: Theatre Communications Group.

Freire, Paulo. 2014. *Pedagogy of the Oppressed: 30th Anniversary Edition*. New York: Bloomsbury Publishing.

Hansen, Karen Tranberg. 2005. "Getting Stuck in the Compound: Some Odds against Social Adulthood in Lusaka, Zambia." *Africa Today* 51 (4): 2–16. doi:10.2979/AFT.2005.51.4.2.

Honwana, Alcinda Manuel. 2012. *The Time of Youth: Work, Social Change, and Politics In Africa*. Sterling, VA: Kumarian Press.

hooks, bell. 1994. *Teaching to Transgress: Education As the Practice of Freedom*. New York: Routledge.

Langevang, Thilde, and Katherine V. Gough. 2009. "Surviving through Movement: The Mobility of Urban Youth in Ghana." *Social & Cultural Geography* 10 (7): 741–56. doi:10.1080/14649360903205116.

Madison, D. Soyini. 2007. "Co-performative witnessing." *Cultural Studies* 21(6), 826-831.

Strong, Krystal and Jasmine L. Blanks Jones. In press. "Come Correct: Itineraries of Discovery in Black Women's Ethnographic Practice." *Feminist Anthropology* 3.

Sweet, Nikolas. 2021. "Talk on the Move: Articulating Mobility in West Africa." *Journal of Ethnic & Migration Studies*, June, 1–18. doi:10.1080/1369183x.2021.1924050.

Author contact: Jasmine L. Blanks Jones, MPP, PhD (Johns Hopkins University), jblanks2@jhu.edu

To cite this article: Blanks Jones, Jasmine L. 2022. "'We Had That Spirit of Openness': Performative Mobility for Global Majority Youth to Move Within and Out of the Struggle." *NEOS* 14 (1).

To link to this article: https://acyig.americananthro.org/neosvol14iss1sp22/blanksjones/

Recently Arrived Maya Migrant Youth's Racialized and Languaged Experiences

David W. Barillas Chón, PhD (Western University)
dwbari@gmail.com

Ladinos (i.e., *mestizos*) in Guatemala and Latines[1] in the United States put down, make fun of, and pick on Maya youth by calling them the racist epithet *indio.* In Guatemala and other parts of Abiayala (Latin America), *indio* serves as a racist moniker to signify inferiority. For some Maya youth, being called *indio* has no negative effect on them as they are proud of their indigeneity; for others, *indio* is a word use to shame. A root source of ladino discrimination of Maya youth is the racialized and languaged[2] colonial logics imposed by colonizers in Guatemala and other parts of Abiayala (Flores and Rosa 2015). These colonial logics travel with migrants into the U.S.

In this paper, I provide a brief outline of the racialized and languaged experiences of recently arrived Maya youth from Guatemala in the U.S. This paper is based on my previous research from 2015 to 2016 of eight recently arrived Maya youth from Guatemala (five K'iche', one Mam) and two self-identified Indigenous youth from Mexico, aged fifteen to twenty years, in a high school in the U.S. Pacific Northwest. This study asked how recently arrived Indigenous youth understand indigeneity in their contexts of origin and reception. Primary data consisted of interviews conducted in Spanish and informal conversations with the Indigenous youth.[3]

My research stems from my own experience as a Maya in the diaspora and my interest in relationships between Indigenous migratory movements and how Indigenous youth cope with racialized and languaged treatments in contexts of origins and the U.S. These are pressing issues that the interdisciplinary scholarship investigating childhood and adolescence in the U.S. must contend with to expand these areas of study.

Racialized and Languaged Experiences: U.S. Contexts

Currently, scholars in Latine studies and education studies are producing cutting-edge scholarship that documents how Latine youth discriminate against Indigenous migrant youth from Guatemala and Mexico based on race and language. In my research (Barillas Chón 2019), Joaquín, a K'iche' youth, recounted how a Mexican coworker called his Guatemalan coworkers "*indio*." Asked whether he thought this was an insult or something negative, Joaquín responded, "*no de* [sic] *algo bueno*" or "not something good." I have written elsewhere (Barillas Chón 2010) how Mexican-descent youth use "*oaxaquita*," also a similar racist epithet to *indio*, towards Indigenous Oaxacan youth, contributing to unwelcome and hostile environments.

Latine studies scholars have also expanded the analytics used to interpret the lived experiences of Indigenous youth.[4]Critical Latinx Indigeneities (CLI) (Blackwell, Boj Lopez, and Urrieta 2017) is one of the analytics that emerged in Latine studies to understand how indigeneity is reformulated in migrations and as Indigenous Peoples are impacted by and respond to overlapping colonial contexts (Calderón and Urrieta 2019; Saldaña-Portillo 2017). I use CLI in

my research (Barillas Chón 2019, 2022) to note that the racism and dehumanization Maya youth experience in the U.S. is a transnational continuation of longstanding discrimination against Indigenous Peoples across Abiayala.

Experiences in Guatemala

Understanding the treatment that Maya youth receive from ladino Guatemalan migrants and Latine students requires situating their experiences with racism and language discrimination in Guatemala. The following statement from Weas, a K'iche' youth in my research (Barillas Chón 2019), succinctly denotes the Guatemalan government's and ladinos' treatment of Maya Peoples: "Some [K'iche' speakers] were found dead in the streets and they [Guatemalan government] don't do nothing. They [government] don't do nothing because they [people in his community] only speak K'iche'. The government helps more those that speak Spanish" (34). Tonio, another K'iche' youth in the same study, shared a similar sentiment: "In Guatemala, some people have told me… *dialecto* is only used in your town with those that understand it. On the other hand, Spanish is utilized in …other places. Well then, 'don't use it [*dialecto*]. Focus more on Spanish'" (27).

Maya youth adapt to a racialized and languaged social order by learning Spanish, notwithstanding Guatemala's institutionalized neglect and impoverishment of Maya Peoples through the systemic underfunding and under-resourcing of education and health sectors in largely Indigenous rural areas of the country. Maya Peoples, despite their efforts, in many cases do not speak Spanish like monolingual Spanish speakers. Ladinos then perceive Maya Peoples as inferior because of their accents or difficulties speaking Spanish, making them fodder for being made fun of, put down, and denied jobs and economic opportunities.

Transnational Discrimination

Maya youth continue to experience discrimination from ladino migrants because the latter bring their ways of thinking into the U.S. Racist epithets and perceptions related to language regarding Maya Peoples' inferiority travel with them. Maya youth rely on their previous racial schema to map themselves onto new contexts of reception. Previous racial schema now interacts in formidable ways with other racialization processes already present in the U.S. regarding Latines (Hooker 2014). I and other colleagues untangle and make sense of these processes in other papers (Barillas Chón, Montes, and Landeros 2021; Barillas Chón 2022).

In this essay, I provided a brief outline of the discrimination recently arrived Maya migrant youth experience from migrant ladinos and Latines in the U.S. Maya youth and other Indigenous migrants, however, are not exclusively victims. For instance, Oaxacan-descent students and parents have campaigned (Werman 2012) to make the use of *oaxaquita* and *indio* illegal within and beyond schools in Oxnard, California. This campaign is an important intervention in the racism that Indigenous migrants experience. Because this racism is transnational and persistent, larger and collaborative campaigns are needed in Guatemala and in the U.S. to address it. Within the U.S. interdisciplinary scholarship investigating childhood and adolescence, our work must 1) address Indigenous youth from Abiayala and their racialized and languaged experiences, and 2) employ analytics that take into consideration how racialized and languaged ideologies are imported into the U.S. within migrants.

Author's Note

An earlier version of this paper first appeared in Youth Circulations (http://www.youthcirculations.com/blog) published April 5, 2021 under the title "Maya migrant youths' experiences with Latinx students in schools."

Endnotes

[1] Latine is a gender-inclusive term that includes people born in Abiayala and in the U.S. who are racialized as Hispanic/Latino.

[2] The term "languaged" denotes an active process of Indigenous subject formations through discursive practices based on the idea of race and indigeneity linked to Indigenous languages and Spanish (Flores 2016).

[3] Pseudonyms are used to protect participants' anonymity.

[4] For a more detailed discussion of CLI and this research, see the special issue of *Latino Studies* (2017) and the *Association of Mexican American Educators* Journal (2019)

References

Barillas Chón, David W. 2010. "Oaxaqueño/a Students' (Un)Welcoming High School Experiences." *Journal of Latinos and Education* 9 (4): 303-320. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/15348431.2010.491043

Barillas Chón, David W. 2019. "Indigenous Immigrant Youth's Understanding of Power: Race, Labor, and Language." *Association of Mexican American Educators Journal* 13(2): 15-41. http://dx.doi.org/10.24974/amae.13.2.427

Barillas Chón, David W. 2022. "K'iche', Mam, and Nahua Migrant Youth Navigating Colonial Codes of Power." *Urban Education*, 1-28. https://doi.org/10.1177/00420859211073902

Barillas Chón, David W., Pablo D. Montes, and Judith Landeros. 2021. "Presencing While Absent: Indigenous Latinxs and Education." In *Handbook of Latinos and Education: Theory, Research, and Practice* (*2nd ed*), edited by Enrique G. Murillo et al., 135-145. New York: Taylor & Francis Group.

Blackwell, Maylei, Floridalma Boj Lopez, and Luis Urrieta Jr. 2017. "Critical Latinx Indigeneities." *Latino Studies*15(2): 126-137. https://doi.org/10.1057/s41276-017-0064-0

Calderón, Dolores, and Luis Urrieta Jr. 2019. "Studying in Relation: Critical Latinx Indigeneities and Education." *Equity & Excellence in Education* 52(2–3): 219-238. https://doi.org/10.1080/10665684.2019.1672591

Flores, Nelson. 2016. "Bilingual Education." In *The Oxford Handbook of Language and Society*, edited by Ofelia García, Nelson Flores, and Massimiliano Spotti, 525-543. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Flores, Nelson, and Jonathan Rosa. 2015. "Undoing Appropriateness: Raciolinguistic Ideologies and Language Diversity in Education." *Harvard Education Review* 85 (2): 149-171. https://doi.org/10.17763/0017-8055.85.2.149

Hooker, Juliet. 2014. "Hybrid Subjectivities, Latin American Mestizaje, and Latino Political

Thought on Race." *Politics, Groups, and Identities* 2 (2): 188-201.https://doi.org/10.1080/21565503.2014.904798

López, Josúe, and Irizarry, Jason G. 2016. "Somos Pero No Somos Iguales/We Are But We Are

Not The Same: Unpacking Latinx Indigeneity and The Implications For Urban Schools." *Urban Education* 00 (0): 1-26. https://doi.org/10.1177/0042085919835292

Saldaña-Portillo, María J. 2017. "Critical Latinx Indigeneities: A Paradigm Drift." *Latino Studies* 15(2): 138-155. https://doi.org/10.1057/s41276-017-0059-x

Werman, Marco. "Oxnard Group Trying to Make 'Oaxaquita' Epithet Illegal." *The World,* May 31, 2012. https://theworld.org/stories/2012-05-31/oxnard-group-trying-make-oaxaquita-epithet-illegal

---

Author contact: David W. Barillas Chón, PhD (Western University), dwbari@gmail.com

To cite this article: Barillas Chón, David W. 2022. "Recently Arrived Maya Migrant Youth's Racialized and Languaged Experiences." *NEOS* 14 (1).

To link to this article: https://acyig.americananthro.org/neosvol14iss1sp22/barillaschon/

Young Migrants and the Construction of Desire in Popular Feminism

Débora Gerbaudo Suarez, PhD Candidate (National University of San Martin, Interdisciplinary School of Higher Social Studies (IDAES-UNSAM) National Council for Scientific and Technical Research)
dgerbaudosuarez@unsam.edu.ar

The women's rights movement installed abortion as violence against women and sex education as a historical social and political demand in Argentina. Recently, thousands among the younger generations have engaged in activism, starring in what the media has called "the revolution of the daughters" (Peker 2018). To understand how the diversity of young women inhabit the roles assigned to them, it is necessary to unravel adult-centric or mainstream representations present even within the feminist movement (Elizalde and Valdés 2021).

The pandemic hindered the participation of women and young people in activism, especially affecting those from the working classes. In 2020, the 35th "Plurinational Meeting of Women and LGBTQ" could not be organized, which every year gathers thousands of people for three days in one city. Instead, a monthly local and virtual event called "Transfeminist October" was held that year. Through public dialogues that were broadcasted on Instagram and by holding private workshops in Zoom sessions, participants discussed their issues as women and queers in the city of San Martin.

One of the workshops, entitled "Youth and Enjoyment," questioned taboos about sexual pleasure, bringing together natives and migrants from local youth organizations. Through comments made spontaneously, the same horizontal dialogue was promoted as in face-to-face events. In contrast, in events organized over Zoom, those who spoke the most were white female university students in their 30s, as well as members of the LGBTIQ community, all of them from Argentina. Members among these two groups spoke of enjoyment as erotic pleasure experienced in lesbian or non-binary relationships, polyamory, or bondage practices.

A small group of young migrants, between seventeen and twenty years old, listened attentively, but did not speak, until an eighteen-year-old Paraguayan girl broke the silence and confessed with embarrassment: "When we think about how pleasure and desire crosses us young people from popular neighborhoods, we realize that the issues we raise are all negative". In fact, for another nineteen-year-old Paraguayan, sexuality was experienced negatively because "Being a woman, mother and migrant, it is much more difficult for me to think about enjoyment from a cool place because we were denied the freedom of sexuality." This refers to the situation in her home country, where women and children are forced to become mothers because their abortion law is very restrictive and sex education is forbidden in schools.

The workshop was one of the instances of a two-year collaborative ethnography that I developed before and during the pandemic with rural youth, women, and men from Paraguay, and residents of poor neighborhoods in Buenos Aires. They are members of a long-standing diaspora affected by xenophobia and racism, given the history of neo-colonial relations in South-South migration flows. As a queer and feminist student from Argentina conducting anthropological research in

my own society, I applied Participatory Action Research methods and considered feminist theories that seek to change or eliminate social oppression (Fals Borda 2012; Olivera and Nucamendi 2014; Rappaport 2008).

An intersectional perspective allows us to see gender in a relational way, taking into account the map of hierarchies on which inequalities are built in each context (Crenshaw 1991; Viveros Vigoya 2016). In my case, a key finding was that all the participants of the aforementioned event stated that they had attended it as a reaction to the patriarchal violence inflicted on them on a daily basis. However, other issues also emerged, such as class and national inequalities that intersect with gender inequalities, shaping different experiences for young migrants in their relationship to enjoyment and sexuality.

Therefore, analyzing female genealogies is suggestive to understand the role of these young migrants in the feminist movement, considering the lineage in which their practices are inscribed, what they separate themselves from and what they reinvent (Elizalde 2021). In turn, focusing on negotiation spaces implies understanding that when the young are called to participate as "young," they can speak from the voice of age but also other voices such as those of the poor, women, or migrants, making explicit different dimensions according to the specific context (Gaitán, Medan, and Llobet 2015).

In this sense, the young women create their own groups where they "build a popular feminism from the experiences of the territory," as one of them once told me in a meeting. Thus, they learn about sexuality from pleasure, which they tend to see more as a privilege than as a right. They create a feminism that differentiates them from the young people of "unpopular" neighborhoods and from the "academic" feminisms rooted in the middle and upper classes, in which the time of youth and the ways of using it for enjoyment are different.

Thus, the exploration of sexuality and the idea of enjoyment are disruptive in a context marked by migration, poverty, and early motherhood. That said, from their subordinate position, the young women speak through silences in some spaces or by expressing themselves in others. These are issues that need to be addressed in order to decolonize Western feminism, as several postcolonial authors from the Global South have noted (Lugones 2008; Mohanty 1984). The critical contributions of Ochy Curiel (2019) and Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui (2010) have been especially influential in rethinking indigenous and peasant feminism from a decolonial perspective.

In conclusion, an important research finding is that the participation of young migrant women in feminist spaces is crucial to access some of the rights they lack in their home country. At the same time, through their activism in "popular feminism," they not only fight against inequalities that afflict them in the destination country but also introduce new demands and meanings to question mainstream feminisms. In summary, it is necessary to approach the experiences of young migrants from an intersectional perspective in order to understand their constructions of demands within feminism.

References

Crenshaw, Kimberlé. 1991. "Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence Against Women of Color." *Stanford Law Review* 43 (6): 1241-1299.

Curiel, Ochy. 2019. "Construindo metodologias feministas desde o feminismo decolonial" (Building feminist methodologies from decolonial feminism). In *Descolonizar o feminismo*, edited by Paula Balduino de Melo, Jacqueline Coêlho, Larissa Ferreira and Diene Ellen Tavares Silva, 32-51. *Brasília: Editora do IFB*, 32-51.Elizalde, Silvia, and Carolina Álvarez Valdés. 2021. "Habitar los intersticios: retos a la investigación sobre género y juventud en clave feminista" (Inhabiting the interstices: challenges to the research on gender and youth from a feminist perspective). *Última Década* 29 (55): 197-222.

Fals Borda, Orlando. 2012. "El problema de cómo investigar la realidad para transformarla por la praxis" (The problem of how to investigate reality in order to transform it practice). In *Ciencia, compromiso y cambio social. Textos de Orlando Fals Borda*, edited by Nicolás Herrera Farfán and Lorena López Guzmán, 213-240. Buenos Aires: Editorial El Colectivo.

Gaitán, Ana Cecilia, Marina Medan, and Valeria Llobet. 2015. "¿Alguien por casualidad quiere decir algo? Reflexiones sobre las interpretaciones de los silencios en programas de inclusión para jóvenes" (By chance, does someone want to say something? Thoughts about the meaning of silences in youth inclusion programs). *Servicios Sociales y Política Social* 32 (107): 101-113.

Lugones, María. 2008. "The Coloniality of Gender." *Worlds & Knowledges Otherwise* 2 (2): 1-17.

Mohanty, Chandra. 2008. "Under Western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourses". In *Descolonizando el feminismo: teorías y prácticas desde los márgenes*, edited by Liliana Suárez Navaz and Rosalva Hernández Castillo, 112-161. Madrid: Ediciones Cátedra.

Olivera, Mercedes and Mauricio Arellano Nucamendi. 2019. "Experiencias de una investigación participativa: construcción de un movimiento de campesinas para demandar la co-titularidad de la propiedad social" (Participatory research experiences: construction of a peasant women's movement to demand co-ownership in social property). In *Mercedes Olivera: Feminismo popular y revolución*. *Entre la militancia y la antropología*, edited by Montserrat Bosch Heras, 571-594. Ciudad Autónoma de Buenos Aires: CLACSO.

Peker, Luciana. 2019. "La Revolución de las Hijas" (*The Revolution of the Daughters)*. Buenos Aires: Editorial Planeta.

Rappaport, Joanne. 2008. "Beyond Participant Observation: Collaborative Ethnography As Theoretical Innovation". *Collaborative Anthropologies* 1(1), 1-31.

Rivera Cusicanqui, Silvia. 2010. "*Ch'ixinakax utxiwa. Una reflexión sobre prácticas y discursos descolonizadores"* (A reflection on decolonizing practices and discourses). Buenos Aires: Tinta limón.

Viveros Vigoya, Mara. 2016. "Intersectionality: A Situated Approach to Dominance". *Debate Feminista* 52: 1-17.

Author contact: Débora Gerbaudo Suarez, PhD Candidate (National University of San Martin), dgerbaudosuarez@unsam.edu.ar

To cite this article: Gerbaudo Suarez, Débora. 2022. "Young Migrants and the Construction of Desire in Popular Feminism." *NEOS* 14 (1).

To link to this article: https://acyig.americananthro.org/neosvol14iss1sp22/gerbaudosuarez/

"The Future is Ours": Youth Activism as a Matter of Equality

Seran Demiral, PhD (Boğaziçi University)
seran.demiral@boun.edu.tr

This article examines how social status reflects children's awareness of climate change, youth activism, and human and non-human dynamics. Adult-centered perspectives often generalize children as homogenous, as if all children share a common childhood experience and similar ideas about the world. To challenge this perspective, I illuminate diverse childhoods in the face of climate change and climate change activism. I share preliminary observations about the diversity of childhood(s) (Hecht 2002) by discussing two different fieldwork moments and sets of findings: the first reflects my doctoral study on children's engagement with digital spaces where I met upper-class children from Istanbul, Turkey in a school atmosphere (Demiral 2019); the second reflects an ongoing child participation project at Boğaziçi University that focuses on children's diverse and everyday environments.

During my PhD fieldwork in 2019, I met sixth graders in a private school that supports students through social and cultural aspects of life beyond high academic success. As part of their innovative pedagogy, the school employed critical thinking education and provided an ideal environment for me to utilize the aligned Philosophy for Children (P4C) methodology (Lipman 1992, 2003). I sometimes gave children various scenarios to hear their perceptions of the future and how they interacted with technological development. As they explored these scenarios through the P4C methodology, I observed three different clusters of children separately (forty-five children in total). When I asked about their particular interests and tendencies to organize and rearrange our discussion topics, one group spontaneously directed our conversation to child activism in the middle of a debate on child-adult distinctions.

Subsequently, I opened a philosophical inquiry about children's capabilities regarding school strikes, inspired by climate change activist Greta Thunberg. In our discussions on contemporary world issues, most of the children raised concerns that included "environmental issues, pollution, air pollution, greenhouse effect," and eventually "humanity" itself. They usually lamented about "the human desire to pollute nature" and "negligence of the environment." Conspicuously, most of the children I met knew about the greenhouse effect, the concept of a carbon footprint, or youth climate activists. From that moment, I decided to focus on how children's perceptions of climate change may have relevance to social and ecological movements.

The following year, I joined *The Children Have A Voice Common Network Project* at Boğaziçi University, where we came together with children from lower and low-middle classes. The project then expanded to include children with disabilities, migrants, and minority groups from Istanbul and other parts of Turkey. In 2020, children ages 9 to 16 gathered to attend creative drama and philosophical inquiry workshops. In a focus group about children's experiences in the city, they simultaneously raised the topic of climate activism and children's exclusion in climate activism spaces. While talking about domestic animals on the streets in Istanbul, one child mentioned intimacy between younger children and animals; then, another added, "But, there is something: nobody listens to the children." When it came to the topic of children's voices in

climate activism, a 14-year-old boy said:

> Perhaps you heard of Greta from Sweden, who is 16 years old… I think it is a good thing to give a child the right to speak. But, there is another question here: when do children in Africa have a word? Things that the girl [Greta] talks about are really nice. The damage to the world… but I am sure that her living conditions must be good.

This boy and his peers challenge Global South and North binaries, along with global and local dynamics, as they consider their lives in relation to the planet and environmental concerns (Balagopalan 2019, Hanson, Abebe, Aitken, Balagopalan and Punch 2018, Imoh et al. 2019). To translate Turkish child activists' radically inclusive, integrationist, and intersectional perspective toward climate change and ecological concerns, I theoretically draw upon histories of childhood and complicate common understandings. Childhood as a universal, separate, socially protected life stage is relatively new in human history (Heywood 2018; Stearns 2005). It is the product of modern institutional projects, popularized in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Growing up in the Anthropocene is experienced as radically different from earlier generations of children who shared the planet and often had relationships with diverse "companion species" (Haraway 2016). Turkish child rights activists ask that we reconsider what it is like to grow up in the Anthropocene: an increasingly human-centered world that children perceive as in need of attention.

In 2022, my research with the Boğaziçi University-based project focused on children's digital lives, from ecology to technological developments (Support Foundation for Civil Society 2022). I found it remarkable that these children perceive digital environments as free, comfortable, and happier spaces when compared with the material worlds of home, study, and leisure. These Turkish youth experience virtual spaces as more trouble-free and inclusive of their voices. In these virtual spaces, children more openly criticized the negligence of adults regarding both the environment and human rights.

Beyond caring about the climate crisis, many young people I talked to cared deeply about and struggled for children's rights. In our conversations, they were quick to point to the intersections between struggles for educational rights and other social justice issues, discussing at length the need to promote equality for refugees and those with disabilities. Therefore, by paying attention to youth digital practices, one gains a prefigurative glimpse at emergent, politicized generations that participate in the digital society, sometimes transcending international borders and other limitations placed on children's voices. By engaging with communities of like-minded youth across the globe, they developed virtual friendships that were deeply meaningful and made online connections with other activist groups across the world. For example, Turkey's Green Thought Association helps to connect local children and youth with their comrades in Britain's Extinction Rebellion (Demiral 2021).

These technologically-interested children seemed particularly curious about the broader world and ways they might intervene in it, articulating the desire to communicate with other species in order to rescue the world. Children aspiring to "save the world" reveals their knowledge of human-caused climate change but also reveals two more problems: First, their desire to "save the world" illuminates the ongoing anthropocentric belief that humans are in a privileged position among living things and thus have the potential to intervene or rescue the planet from

destruction. Second, their desire to "save the world" suggests that young people, given their temporal associations with futurity, will be protagonists in this burdensome struggle.

Adults, especially parents and teachers, who are deeply concerned about the world they are leaving for their children, may romanticize younger actors' interest and involvement in ecological activism to such an extent that a distorted, adult-centric vision of youth activism emerges and becomes hegemonic in popular culture. This can obscure *the actual* interests, aspirations, and future-oriented imaginaries of youth themselves. This resonates with the findings of scholars elsewhere that youth resent being excluded from the present and temporally imprisoned as future citizens (King 2016; Holden 2006). In addition to the future young people have, they surely have the present time. More importantly, they cannot be generalized since there is no homogenous, singular childhood just as there is no singular adulthood or personhood.

To underline the oppositional politics of their generation, children criticize both local and global troubles and contemporary problems. Their discontent is diagnostic, the common ground where possible future solutions may be forged. For example, they link the climate crises to all structural social inequalities (e.g., gender, age, citizenship, ethnicity). They also criticized the perceived anthropocentrism of their elders. They were deeply interested in ongoing political debates about the rights of nature and the recognition of the "legal personhood" (Tanasescu 2016) of non-human nature. My informants drew a parallel between their status as less-than-full-citizens of the nation (in comparison with adults) and non-human nature, as sentient, present beings, and yet excluded from important decision-making processes, including the basic right to exist.

Turkish middle-class children articulated a sense of endangerment and exclusion, and thus felt solidarity with non-human species. Although they clearly have political subjectivities, they too are deprived of political, civil, social, and legal rights and citizenship as compared with (certain types) of adults. Children's capacity for language and speech, however, makes them distinctive from other species and forms of non-human nature, yet, whether they are *listened to* is another matter altogether.

Perhaps, for the first time, being a child (particularly in a class privileged position) may be considered advantageous, at least in Turkey. Due to the comparative advantages they enjoy as digital natives, they inhabit a world that we (as adults) may not yet fully understand, with words and domains of experience to be explored. As this article has demonstrated, even as they are denied political rights and are excluded from important political processes, children draw important parallels in their understanding of environmental degradation, the climate crises, and the starkly unequal worlds in which we now inhabit. Through their associations and transnational networks, they hold novel conceptual understandings of the world and ways to challenge multiple crises at once: to promote a more egalitarian, inclusive form of politics, perhaps capable of expanding the rights of human and non-human nature.

By seeing parallel forms of exclusion and exploitation among certain classes of people (children, refugees, migrants) and considering analogous treatment of non-human nature, these youth seek to create strategies capable of dealing with human and non-human rights crises. Imaginatively thinking of possibilities beyond typical modern dichotomies (Haraway 1991; 2016) and with implications for understanding the challenges of our contemporary world, these children challenge us to see excluded humans and non-human nature as occupying similar sociopolitical

positions. Yet, due to their ability to speak and work creatively and collectively together, they have the power to pursue resistance strategies by considering to whom the future belongs. By claiming stakes over the future, in assertions that "the future is ours," these children transform a mundane, empty expression into something worth listening to. Thus, adult-centered political projects ought to pause and seek to include the perceptions of 21st-century children in their political theorizing and action.

References

Balagopalan Sarada. 2019. "Teaching 'Global Childhoods': From a Cultural Mapping of 'Them' to a Diagnostic Reading of 'us/US'." In *Global Childhoods beyond the North-South Divide*, edited by A.T-D. Imoh, M. Bourdillon, and S. Meichsner, 13-34. Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave MacMillan.

Demiral, Seran. 2019. "In Virtual Space, You Will Never Die!" *International Journal of Pedagogy Innovation and New Technologies* 6 (2): 40-50. DOI: 10.5604/01.3001.0013.6835.

Demiral, Seran. 2021. "Children in the Age of Uncertainty." Critical Childhoods and Youth Studies Collective Blog, Digital Technologies: Changing Childhoods and Youth theme. Accessed March 5, 2022. https://www.theccysc.com/post/children-in-the-age-of-uncertainty.

Hanson, Karl; Abebe, Tatek; Aitken, Stuart C; Balagopalan, Sarada and Punch, Samantha. 2018. "'Global/Local' Research on Children and Childhood in a 'Global Society.'" *Childhood* 25 (3): 272-296. doi:10.1177/0907568218779480.

Haraway, Donna. 1991. "A Cyborg Manifesto: Science, Technology, and Socialist Feminism in the Late Twentieth Century." In *Simians, Cyborgs and Women: The Reinvention of Nature,* 149-181. New York: Routledge.

Haraway, Donna. 2016. *Staying with the Trouble: Making Kin in the Chthulucene*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Hecht, Thomas, ed. 2002. *Minor Omissions: Children in Latin American History and Society.* Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

Heywood, Colin. 2018. *Childhood in Modern Europe.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Holden, Cathie. 2006. "Concerned Citizens: Children and the Future." *Education Citizenship and Social Justice* 1 (3): 203-210. doi:10.1177/1746197906068122.

Imoh, Afua Twum-Danso. 2012. "The Convention on the Rights of the Child: A Product and Facilitator of a Global Childhood." In *Childhoods at the Intersection of the Local and the Global. Studies in Childhood and Youth*, edited by A. T-D. Imoh and R. Ame, 17-33. London: Palgrave Macmillan, London. doi:10.1057/9781137283344_2

King, Laura. 2016. "Future Citizens: Cultural and Political Conceptions of Children in Britain, 1930s-1950s." *Twentieth Century British History* 27 (3): 389-411.

Lipman, Matthew. 1992. "On Writing a Philosophical Novel. In *Studies in Philosophy for Children*," edited by A. M. Sharp and R. F. Reed, 3-7. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Lipman, Matthew. 2003. *Thinking in Education*, Second Edition. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Stearns, Peter. 2005. *The History of Childhood in a Global Context.* Texas: Baylor University Press.

Support Foundation for Civil Society. 2022. **"**The Child's Voice Partnership Network Project." Accessed February 11, 2022. https://siviltoplumdestek.org/cocuk-fonu/toplumsal-haklar-ve-arastirmalar-dernegi-ile-cocugun-sesi-ortaklik-agi-projesini-konustuk/.

Tanasescu, Mihnea. 2016. *Environment, Political Representation and the Challenge of Rights: Speaking for Nature*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan.

Author contact: Seran Demiral, PhD (Boğaziçi University), seran.demiral@boun.edu.tr

To cite this article: Demiral, Seran. 2022. "'The Future is Ours': Youth Activism as a Matter of Equality." *NEOS* 14 (1).

To link to this article: https://acyig.americananthro.org/neosvol14iss1sp22/demiral/

Children's Entanglements with Water: The Local-Global Interconnections

Ambika Kapoor, Postdoctoral Researcher (University of Sheffield)
ambika.kapoor@sheffield.ac.uk

The Pahari Korwas have been listed as a 'Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Group' in the Indian Constitution. The impact of deforestation and mining in the mineral-rich region of Chhattisgarh, where they reside, has resulted in displacement, increased environmental pollution, and poverty, further increasing their vulnerability (George 2015). Through an illustration from my ethnographic work in an Indigenous community in Sarguja district, Chhattisgarh, I explore children's everyday lives, particularly focusing on their engagement with hardships and risks. The research took place over a period of seven months. The methods included observations, informal dialogues with children, drawings, and photographs, which were then analyzed thematically. These engagements with children took place at their schools, homes, neighborhoods, and during walks from one place to another.

Children's lives are directly or indirectly affected by global events, including migration, capitalism, colonialism, and natural calamity (Hanson et al. 2018), creating a 'globalized childhood'. I meaningfully engage with the impact of global events in the lives of children, including how these events are shaped by history, politics, and, in particular, climate change. Using human relationships with water as an example, this research shows that the local and global are not distinct from one another**,** as Hanson et al. (2018) and Twum-Damso Imoh et al. (2018) have previously argued in terms of how these two intertwine. I extend this argument by illustrating how the local is impacted by global events, often disproportionately impacting the marginalized communities.

Local-Global: Fluid Interconnections

The Pahari Korwa community in a village in Sarguja, including the children, had a deep embodied relationship with water (Hadfield-Hill and Zara 2019). In the context of the Pahari Korwa village, both the children and other community members' lives and routines revolved to a large extent around water as a resource, similar to observations by other scholars in their respective research contexts (see Dyson 2014; Punch 2005; Robson 2010). These everyday activities included filling water from the borewell, bathing, washing clothes, and playing. As a result, the children spent a lot of time near the water bodies in the village, including borewells, wells, and a pond. In the summer, the groundwater level reduced, and with water scarcity, these routines were altered and children spent more time walking to faraway wells to access water or accompanying their parents to water bodies in the jungle. It shaped their everyday discussions as they expressed difficulty in accessing water, or waited for the monsoon to replenish water bodies, which, if in excess or erratic, could also be harmful to the crops or cause difficulty in movement. Similar to Hadfield-Hill and Zaras's (2019) experience, this analysis shows how young people lived with water, how it shaped their routines, and how it impacted their lived experiences of inequality.

Nightingale (2003) argues that people's environments cannot be considered as a passive backdrop to their lives. Scarcity of water in the village required people to limit its use and focus on preservation along with making risk assessments for floods and droughts. In many ways, the children in the village shared more in common with the adults in this setting than with some children elsewhere in the world or even their urban counterparts in India. For many children in the world, the availability of water can be taken for granted as something that can be accessed through a tap with an unlimited supply. This example helps recognize and relate to some of these 'local' experiences of water scarcity that are exacerbated by the global climate crisis. Understanding children's engagement with water helps observe how the local and the global intertwine (Hanson et al. 2018). It further helps recognize 'the global in the local' and 'the local in the global,' which opens up spaces to explore how these spatial and environmental dynamics impact children's lives in ways that are particular to their geographical locations and unlike childhoods elsewhere (Hanson et al. 2018, 273).

While writing about children's everyday lives in the Indigenous community, it was difficult not to focus on the macro issues and structures of material inequality and historical marginalization, as they played an important role in shaping their lives. Children's everyday lives in the local context of an Indigenous village were impacted by a larger global phenomenon – the climate crisis. Research indicates that countries in South Asia are most vulnerable to the adverse impacts of global climate change (Lal 2003; Mirza 2011). Observed impacts of climate change show inter-seasonal, inter-annual, and spatial variability in rainfall during the past few decades across all of Asia (Singh and Singh 2015), in the form of droughts and erratic rains. Kraftl (2018) argues that issues around water may not affect all childhoods uniformly, and my analysis of the Pahari Korwa village illustrates how the impact of the crisis is being experienced unequally with marginalized communities — and their children in particular — facing harsher repercussions with the least access to resources (Mishra and Eapen 2020).

Re-thinking Local and Global

To move beyond the North-South divide, firstly, we need to acknowledge that globalization is not a universal phenomenon, as global processes often produce different impacts in different parts of the world (de Castro 2020). As illustrated through this research, communities in the Global South are disproportionately impacted by climate change, worsening the already existing inequalities among children worldwide. Secondly, to understand their interconnections better, we need to reassess and re-imagine the ways we think about these terms – local and global. Often the way these terms are used equates 'global' with childhoods in the Global North that are seen as modern (de Castro 2020) and suggests 'local' as Southern childhoods that are traditional, non-modern, and a place for practicing the production of colonial differences (Escobar 2007). Through an investigation into Pahari Korwa children's lifeways with water, we see how their local lives are affected unequally by the global phenomenon of climate change, thus complicating the North-South childhood divide and revealing their entanglements through water.

Conclusion

Through human and water relationships, this article contributes to the debates about 'local' and 'global' childhoods by blurring fixed boundaries and capturing their interconnectedness (Hanson et al. 2018). Discussing the impact of water on the lives of the children, this article demonstrates

how climate change has an unequal impact in terms of further marginalizing vulnerable communities and reminding us that globalization is not a universal process. This argument pushes ways to reimage 'local' and 'global' by not simply reducing the southern childhoods to being non-modern, othered, or deviant (Abebe and Ofosu-Kusi 2016). Rather, the global flow of water and its scarcity on a changing planet reminds us that the local is always affected by the global, with children living at the crux of climate change.

References

Abebe, Tatek, and Yaw Ofosu-Kusi. 2016. "Beyond Pluralizing African Childhoods: Introduction." *Childhood* 23 (3): 303–316.

de Castro, Lucia Rabello. 2020. "Why Global? Children and Childhood from a Decolonial Perspective." *Childhood* 27 (1): 48–62.

Dyson, Jane. 2014. *Working Childhoods: Youth, Agency and the Environment in India*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Escobar, Arturo. 2007. "Worlds and Knowledges Otherwise: The Latin American Modernity/Coloniality Research Program". *Cultural Studies* 21 (2–3): 179–210.

George, Goldy M. 2015. "Are We Heading Towards Adivasi Genocide?" *Journal of People's Studies* 1 (1): 83–106.

Hadfield-Hill, Sophie, and Cristiana Zara. 2019. "Children and Young People Living Through the Monsoon: Watery Entanglements and Fluid Inequalities." *Children's Geographies* 17 (6): 732–747.

Hanson, Karl, Tatek Abebe, Stuart Aitken, Sarada Bagalopalan, and Samantha Punch. 2018. "'Global/Local' Research on Children and Childhood in a 'Global Society'." *Childhood* 25 (3): 272–96.

Kraftl, Peter. 2018. "A Double-Bind? Taking New Materialisms Elsewhere in Studies of Education and Childhood." *Research in Education* 101 (1): 30–38.

Lal, Murari. 2003. "Global Climate Change- India's Monsoon and Its Variability." *Journal of Environmental Studies and Policy* 6 (1): 1–34.

Mirza, M. Monirul Qader. 2011. "Climate Change, Flooding in South Asia and Implications." *Reg Environ Change* 11: 95–107.

Mishra, Amit, and Nikhil Eapen. 2020. "How Inequality Is Aggravating the Impact of Climate Change for Millions in India." *The Wire* website. June 9. Accessed [July 20, 2020]. https://science.thewire.in/environment/discrimination-inequality-climate-change-labour-rights/

Nightingale, Andrea. 2003. "Nature-Society and Development: Social, Cultural and Ecological Change in Nepal." *Geoforum* 34 (4): 525–540.

Punch, Samantha. 2005. "Children's Strategies for Creating Play Spaces: Negotiating Independence in Rural Bolivia." In *Children's Geographies: Playing, Living, Learning,* edited by Sarah Holloway and Gill Valentine, 41–54. London: Routledge.

Robson, Elsbeth. 2010. "Children's Bodies: Working and Caring in Sub-Saharan Africa." In *Contested Bodies of Childhood and Youth*, edited by Kathrin Hörschelmann and Rachel Colls, 148–162. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Singh, Nandita, and Om Prakash Singh. 2015. "Climate Change, Water and Gender: Impact and Adaptation in North-Eastern Hills of India." *International Social Work.* 58 (3): 375–384.

Twum-Danso Imoh, Afua, Michael Bourdillion, and Sylvia Meichsner. eds. 2018. *Global Childhoods Beyond the North-South Divide.* London: Springer International.

Author contact: Ambika Kapoor, Postdoctoral Researcher (University of Sheffield), ambika.kapoor@sheffield.ac.uk

To cite this article: Kapoor, Ambika. 2022. "Children's Entanglements with Water: The Local-Global Interconnections." *NEOS* 14 (1).

To link to this article: https://acyig.americananthro.org/neosvol14iss1sp22/kapoor/

Constellations:

Connections Across Childhoods

Equity Article: "You're already Black…": Racially-informed Care and Intersections of Gender for LGBTQ African American Children and Youth in Birmingham, Alabama

Stacie Hatfield, PhD (Andrews University)
stacie@andrews.edu

Researchers of children and youth have drawn our attention to the diverse ways ethnic minority and LGBTQ young people experience marginalization across the intersections of race, class, gender, and sexuality (Bernstein 2011; Chin 2002; Cover 2012; Gray 2009; Meadow 2018; Pascoe 2007; Tilton 2010). However, our understandings of how care is engaged in by Black parents and communities, with attendant implications for how Black LGBTQ young people receive or miss access to LGBTQ support and HIV prevention, need further attention. This paper on Black LGBTQ childhoods examines intersections of race, LGBTQ identity, and childhood in Birmingham, Alabama, a U.S. city of racialized Global Souths and Majority Worlds, to examine care for Black LGBTQ children and youth. During sixteen months of ethnographic fieldwork in Birmingham, Alabama, in 2018 and 2019, I found that African American parents working to mitigate marginalizations of race and LGBTQ identity in the context of Black heteronormativity and anti-Black racism may inadvertently distance their LGBTQ children from notions of gayness, HIV, and LGBTQ support as a racially-informed form of care. This analysis draws from theories and phases of care proposed by Berenice Fisher and Joan Tronto in 1990 and by Joan Tronto in 2017.

Networks of care organized through family and family-like groups, church, and religious communities and through HIV prevention and education services provide multiple forms of support and care for Black and Black LGBTQ young people in Birmingham. "Caring with," as proposed by Joan Tronto in 2017, occurs "when a group of people (from a family to a state) can rely upon an ongoing cycle of care to continue to meet their caring needs" and indicates ongoing social or structural systems of care (Tronto 2017, 32). Care in this way becomes visible through everyday forms of care provided by Black parents in Birmingham in response to LGBTQ identity among Black LGBTQ children and youth.

The Black LGBTQ people I spent time in Birmingham with often conveyed experiences of navigating Blackness and "gayness" with their families when first coming out. Instances of racially-informed forms of care were particularly visible in stories recounted by Black LGBTQ individuals and their mothers. My conversation with Winton was no exception. We sat across from each other in the recording studio at the Birmingham Civil Rights Institute talking about LGBTQ space, what that meant, and about his hopes for safety and community as a gay Black man. During the interview, he talked about coming out to his mother as a young person still in school. He recounted,

> When I came out to my mother her first response was 'you're already a Black man and that's already going to make things hard for you in this country. Adding that to it is not going to make things any easier. That's not the life that I want for you, a life of uphill

battle. But if that's the life you choose, I can't do anything but support you.'

Winston's mother's first concern was not that he would be endangered spiritually or rejected by their community, two commonly understood reasons for Black anti-gay sentiment connected to African American religiosity and discourses of Black respectability (Arnold, Rebchook, and Kegeles 2014; Battle and Ashley 2008). Rather, her concern was that the marginalizations he would face as a gay person would compound the marginalizations of being a Black man in the United States. She identified his Blackness as a cause of marginalization that would only be made more difficult by his gayness, yet she reiterated her commitment to care for him. Her words conveyed care for her gay son, informed by the realities of anti-Black racism in the United States. A Black mother speaking during a podcast interview publicly recorded at the HIV Outreach Center where I conducted participant observation responded similarly. When asked how she felt when her son came out, she said, "When I found out my son was gay, I was afraid for him. He had watched his uncle get sick and die from AIDS. I couldn't see how he could choose to go that same way, down that same path." Her response to his gayness was directly linked to her fears for his health and wellbeing as a Black gay man. Like most mothers, she wanted to see her talented and handsome son successful and healthy. Being Black and gay, compounded by a disproportionately high incidence of HIV in Black LGBTQ communities which pathologizes Black LGBTQ identity, threatened her son's wellbeing in compounding ways. Her words indicated her desire to protect her child from "gayness" and from the possibility of contracting HIV through the same-sex sexual encounters that had already claimed the life of a close relative.

Parental concerns about youth sexuality continue to shape the abstinence-only sex education taught in Alabama's public schools. Judith Levine (2002) has emphasized the irony of abstinence-only education policies often producing the very results parents most fear: increased incidences of teen pregnancy and sexually transmitted diseases. Additionally, sex education in the United States is ambivalent about sex-related content, focusing on reproductive biology while actively promoting ideals of heteronormativity (McNeill 2013). During the time of my fieldwork, age-appropriate comprehensive sex education addressing same-sex sexual health was at times offered by HIV prevention specialists in Birmingham's majority Black schools if requested by the school's counselor. But these classes were an exception, and parents had the option of opting their students out. Like the ironies of abstinence-only sex education in heteronormative contexts, in fearing the marginalizations of "gayness" and distancing their children from LGBTQ support services associated with HIV, parents could inadvertently limited their children's access to HIV prevention education and regular testing, two interventions known to reduce the likelihood of contracting HIV and dying of AIDS.

These ethnographic moments help to show how parental concern and racialized forms of marginalization shape Black parents' responses to their child's LGBTQ identity. LGBTQ identity can be seen to further encumber already difficult chances of safety and success for Black children. These findings underscore the need for HIV resources and LGBTQ support services by, for, and within Black communities. They also highlight ongoing marginalizations of racialization impacting the lives of LGBTQ children and youth in the United States, marginalizations countered by Black parents in Birmingham through racially-informed forms of care.

References

Arnold, Emily A., Gregory M. Rebchook, and Susan M. Kegeles. 2014. "'Triply Cursed': Racism, Homophobia, and HIV-Related Stigma Are Barriers to Regular HIV Testing, Treatment Adherence, and Disclosure Among Young Black Gay Men." *Culture, Health & Sexuality* 16 (6): 710-722.

Battle, Juan, and Colin Ashley. 2008. "Intersectionality, Heteronormativity, and Black Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender (LGBTQ) Families." *Black Women, Gender + Families* 2 (1): 1-24.

Bernstein, Robin. 2011. *Racial Innocence: Performing American Childhood from Slavery to Civil Rights*. New York, New York: New York University Press.

Chin, Elizabeth. 2002. *Purchasing Power: Black Kids and American Consumer Culture*. Minneapolis, Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press.

Cover, Rob. 2012. *Queer Youth Suicide, Culture and Identity: Unliveable Lives?* Burlington, Vermont: Ashgate Publishing Company.

Fisher, Berenice, and Joan Tronto. 1990. "Toward a Feminist Theory of Caring." In Circles of Care: Work and Identity in Women's Lives, edited by Emily K. Abel and Margaret K. Nelson, 35-62. Albany, New York: State University of New York Press.

Gray, Mary. 2009. *Out in the Country: Youth, Media, and Queer Visibility in Rural America*. New York, New York: New York University Press.

Levine, Judith. 2002. *Harmful to Minors: The Perils of Protecting Children from Sex*. New York, New York: Thunder's Mouth Press.

McNeill, Tanyz. 2013. "Sex Education and the Promotion of Heteronormativity." *Sexualities* 16 (7): 826-846.

Meadow, Tey. 2018. *Trans Kids: Being Gendered in the Twenty-First Century*. Oakland, California: University of California Press.

Pascoe, C.J. 2007. *Dude, You're a Fag: Masculinity and Sexuality in High School*. Berkeley, California: University of California Press.

Tilton, Jennifer. 2010. *Dangerous or Endangered: Race and the Politics of Youth in Urban America*. New York, New York: New York University Press.

Tronto, Joan. 2017. "There is an Alternative: Homines Curans and the Limits of Neoliberalism." *International Journal of Care and Caring* 1 (1): 27-43.

Author contact: Stacie Hatfield, PhD (Andrews University), stacie@andrews.edu

To cite this article: Hatfield, Stacie. 2022. "'You're already Black…': Racially-informed Care and Intersections of Gender for LGBTQ African American Children and Youth in Birmingham, Alabama." *NEOS* 14 (1).

To link to this article: https://acyig.americananthro.org/neosvol14iss1sp22/hatfield/

Complements: Interview with Rashmi Kumari

Rashmi Kumari, PhD Candidate (Rutgers University)
rl698@scarletmail.rutgers.edu

Chloe Bozak, BSW Candidate (Thompson Rivers University)
bozakc18@mytru.ca

Introduction

This interview follows Smruthi Bala Kannan and Rashmi Kumari's commentary "Collaborations Across Global North-South: Considering Opportunities and Challenges," featured in *NEOS* Volume 12, Issue 1 (2020).

Interview

Chloe: First, I want to thank you for your time as we reflect on your April 2020 commentary. Before talking about the commentary specifically, do you want to tell us a little bit about what you're currently working on? What has changed for you regarding your research with young people since the time your commentary was first published?

Rashmi: Thank you for asking me this question. This is a great opportunity for me to reflect on the commentary that Smruthi and I wrote together in 2020. The pandemic has given us several reasons to reflect on our research and work with young people.

I am currently writing my dissertation which is based on a yearlong ethnographic fieldwork with Indigenous (Adivasi) young people from Central India. My Ph.D. dissertation examines how the figure of the Adivasi child in Central India emerges in the discursive and non-discursive convergence of violence and development. Indigenous children appear in these discourses as innocent and in need of rescue from violent environments. At the same time, Indigenous children are also assumed to play critical roles in the development processes (United Nations 2014). By focusing on multiple, often contradictory processes that inform these children's subjectivities, the dissertation project examines how the discussions and practices of development obscure both discursive and spectacular forms of violence. A way out of the double bind of violence and (under)development in the lives of Indigenous children in post-colonial India is sought in the various spaces and imaginations of education. My ethnographic project focuses firstly on processes and practices of development in the 'conflict ridden' areas of Chhattisgarh that situate education as the 'best possible solution'; Secondly, I explore how Indigenous children figure as the subject of the developmental projects, and how children engage with these. Third, I pay close attention to the ways in which Indigenous children's educational experience demonstrates that they desire development while also expressing discontent with the state-driven developmental projects.

In the last two years between the publication of the commentary and now, the world saw one of the most devastating pandemics (COVID 19) in the recent past. My work has also been affected

by this. Although my proposed work remained the same, the site and my engagement with the site changed due to COVID protocols. Instead of locating education, and other associated experiences of young people in academic institutions like formal schools, my fieldwork expanded to include young people's engagement with religion (during pandemic), health (community healing), and social movements (against the state-made crisis and neglect during pandemic). I went on to explore and engage deeply with the way this rural Indigenous community, and especially young people with limited internet connectivity to access virtual classrooms, made sense of the global pandemic.

Chloe: You mention in your commentary that scholarship from the Global South is often skewed by the Global North. How do you think representations of the Global South are skewed and from your perspective has this changed since your commentary was first published?

Rashmi: When Smruthi and I wrote about the representation of the Global South in the Global North, I was thinking it in terms of historical representation of the Global South, and the knowledge production that is so entangled with one, the racial and economic domination of the North, and two, the situatedness of the scholarships. In the commentary, we wrote about the flow of conceptual knowledge, especially in the context of child rights and protection, from the North to the South. Continuing with this example of global child-rights discourse as a flow of concept and of policy not only "normalizes a particular rights-based subjectivity" (Balagopalan, 2019) (read here a neo-liberal individuated child subject of the West), it also makes the child-subject what Chandra Mohanty says "non-classed, non-racialized" in her interview on "under the western eye" in 2015 where she focuses on feminist theories. Extending their arguments, I see that in the figure of rights-based child-subject, although there is a scope for thinking about marginalized children as having their own thoughts and interpretations of power, they are conceived to be existing isolated from the continuing legacies of colonialism, capitalism, and imperialism.

Scholars from the post-colonial critical thought have been highlighting the asymmetry in the representation of the Global South and the scholarship emanating from there since the time Spivak wrote that popular piece on the subaltern subjectivity. I, although, see a few representations and to some extent the theoretical intervention of the Global South in overall academic thoughts – especially if one looks at the conversations of post and decolonial, and of Indigenous thoughts. However, within childhoods studies and Anthropology of Childhood, we are yet at a very initial stage.

Chloe: You discuss some of the challenges of transnational collaboration and you argue that these challenges are rooted in structural inequities. You suggest that some of these inequities include uneven access to resources like libraries and databases as well as the uneven valuation of knowledge production from scholars situated in the Global South. How do you think the COVID-19 pandemic has changed opportunities for transnational collaboration with our growing reliance on technology?

Rashmi: COVID-19 pandemic has definitely "changed opportunities for transnational collaboration with our growing reliance on technology" but it also made visible the many

structural inequities that we see, not only between the North and the South, but within the North itself. For example, internet access as a resource is not equitably distributed and despite the need to go 'online' there are communities of people left outside of those collaborations. However, as I mention in my response to the first question, a majority of the children from my field site have limited access to either the devices or the internet. Some children share mobile phones within a family to continue their classes and this happened only for high schoolers. Children under 9th grade were continuing education through 'neighborhood' schools but again, it took a long time for the administration to bring resources including teachers who were inducted into pandemic-related duties.

Chloe: You mention in your commentary that Global South scholarship can help to complicate binaries in childhood studies, such as "normative" and "non-normative" childhood. You speak, for example, to global-local connections in terms of how childhoods take shape in particular times and places. What are some examples of these global-local connections or important lessons that you think illustrate this point from Global South scholarship?

I do not yet have an example of a collaboration between the North and the South or a global-local connections especially in Anthropology of Childhood or Childhood Studies. I do see some of these collaborations working for disciplines like Sociology, Media and Communication Studies, and even Anthropology where most theorization of concepts have come from this recognition of how global conditions of capitalism, neo-liberal expansionism, colonialism (both historical and ongoing) have shaped the local movement, identities, aspirations, and practices. One of the major global-local connections I see is the work that has happened on child –rights, especially because of the presence of international organizations like the UN. I see that even at the level of policymaking and implementation, scholarship from Global South is hardly taken into considerations. As a recent roundtable conference on childhood and youth succinctly points out "debates in the fields of childhood and youth studies have continued to be largely anchored by epistemological frameworks and theoretical concepts foregrounded by scholars and institutions situated in the global North" (Kannan, et al. 2022).

Chloe: In this Spring 2022 *NEOS* issue, we are working to amplify perspectives from and in the Global South. What other avenues have you seen, or would you like to see that further amplify Global South scholarship on childhood and youth?

Rashmi: Since I am working in India, I obviously see the scholarship on childhood and youth in India, very recent and still in its nascent stage, that could benefit from finding a space in global platforms. I also see Mexico and South American contexts like Brazil and Colombia among other places where a lot of work on youth movements are insightful, but these are not reflected as scholarship on childhood and youth. Similarly, there is also work happening on childhood in Palestine, Kashmir, and similar places that are rift with everyday violence and conflict. Engaging with scholarship in these spaces can be one of the best ways to amplify Global South scholarship on childhood and youth.

Chloe: You mention that prior work in *NEOS* and ACYIG has centered ethics, reflexivity, and care as research praxis. How do you practice ethics, reflexivity, and care in your own research, and how do you think that we can do this in our

research as well as with each other as scholars, knowledge producers, and youth-centered researchers?

Rashmi: Being a graduate student, I have a limited pool of experience to draw from about my practices of reflexivity, care, and ethics as research praxis. Yet, I would like to discuss some of the things I have tried during my fieldwork, and I am currently using in post-fieldwork/writing phase. Being a non-Adivasi researcher, and belonging to the dominant caste in India, my work for most part has been in and with Adivasi (Indigenous) communities, and especially young people. Being aware of my positionality as both an international student in the United States, and as a dominant caste researcher in India, I understand my positions of a vulnerable graduate student here in the US, and of privilege within my field site. I understand the same of my research participants as well that they belong to many worlds simultaneously. What I am trying to articulate here is as sociologist Patricia Hill Collins (2000) points out in her matrix of domination, it is important to account for positionality and situatedness that embodies both privilege and vulnerability. As a scholar of color from India, I do not assume the authority to represent Adivasi voices. One of the ways I privileged young people's 'voices' during my fieldwork was to incorporate multi-modal ethnography where young people narrated their own stories in writing and other art forms like painting, photography, and video-making. As I prepared to leave the field, these initiatives deepened. My collaborators have continued the work with children and some of their work is currently being published by a popular children's magazine in India.

Chloe: You explain that scholars have underscored how young people are embedded in and add value to their communities and global contexts, but this type of research can be interrupted by institutional discourses of discipline and merit in academia. What would it look like to you to have academia value and recognize this kind of research? How can we persist in getting Global South contributions to childhood studies taken seriously amidst such barriers?

Rashmi: Academia has traditionally valued writing in the forms of PhD dissertations and publishing peer-reviewed manuscripts among others. Most of these are not publicly accessible. However, I also see an emerging practice among scholars who make their scholarship public and accessible to the communities within their research site. Following these examples, my research incorporated the aspects that would center the communities and how they would like to represent themselves. As part of this design, I had conversations with the village elders and youth leaders on how to incorporate their ways of learning and education into the work that I am doing. One of the examples of this I found in my work is that youth willingly shared their videos with me and requested that I tweet about their initiatives. I also accepted the 'refusals' as and when they were voiced by the people. Basically, what I am saying is that perhaps these collaborative methods show how academia can step out of the bind of discipline and merit. Going back to the roundtable conversation I mentioned earlier, I agree with Anandini Dar and others who impress upon the need for a multidisciplinary approach to understanding "marginalized childhood."

Chloe: To conclude your commentary you pose three questions to consider regarding collaborations between the Global North and South. The final question you pose is "how would the theoretical landscape in the anthropology of children and youth be further enriched by such collaborations?" I'm curious what your

thoughts are regarding what the answer could be to this question.

Rashmi: It is a rather vexing question that would take sustained effort over a longer period of time. One of the examples of a theoretical intervention within childhood studies I see is in the work of Sarada Balagopalan. In order to give "agentic authority to child as subjects," scholarship (both sociological and anthropological) within early childhood studies, mostly based in North America and Europe, conceptualized multiple childhoods and sought to account for childhoods as socially and contextually constructed. Balagopalan critiques this position by emphasizing the need to look at postcolonial contexts and thoughts to incorporate the historicities of colonialism working upon the lives of children in the Global South. Perhaps we have to engage with multiple scholarships from the Global South that are grappling with the history of disciplines like anthropology themselves while also theorizing within them.

References

Balagopalan, Sarada. 2019. "Why Historicize Rights-Subjectivities? Children's Rights, Compulsory Schooling, and the Deregulation of Child Labor in India." *Childhood 26* (3): 304-320.

Collins, Patricia Hill. 2000. *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment.* New York: Routledge.

Kannan, Divya, Anandini Dar, Sarah Duff, Hia Sen, Shivani Nag, and Clovis Bergere. 2022. "Childhood, Youth, and Identity: A Roundtable Conversation from the Global South." *Journal of Childhood Studies* 47(1): 20-31.

Mohanty, Chandra Talpade. 2015. "Chandra Mohanty's 'Under Western Eyes'" Interview with Jesper Nordahl. Youtube, February 11. Accessed May 4, 2022. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9EDFA-bKq1o

United Nations. 2014. *United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs — Indigenous People.* Acccessed May 4, 2022. https://www.un.org/development/desa/indigenouspeoples/about-us.html.

Author contact: Rashmi Kumari, PhD Candidate (Rutgers University), rl698@scarletmail.rutgers.edu; Chloe Bozak (Thompson Rivers University), bozakc18@mytru.ca

To cite this article: Kumari, Rashmi and Chloe Bozak. 2022. "Interview with Rashmi Kumari." *NEOS* 14 (1).

To link to this article: https://acyig.americananthro.org/neosvol14iss1sp22/interviewkumari/

Complements: Teaching Tool: Ubuntu Epistemology

Chloe Bozak, BSW Candidate (Thompson Rivers University)
bozakc18@mytru.ca

Velicia Hawkins-Moore, PhD Candidate (Prairie View A&M University)
vhawkinsmoore@student.pvamu.edu

Introduction

This Teaching Tool is intended to support educators working with Velicia Hawkins-Moore's commentary "Dismantling White Supremacy: The Role of Ubuntu Epistemology and US Universities," featured in *NEOS* Issue 13, Volume 1 (2021).

Have the class read Moore-Toliver's commentary in advance.

Writing Prompt

Start with a 10- to 15-minute writing prompt to get the class thinking. The writing prompt will be for the students' eyes only to start engaging with the concepts and to facilitate discussion later on.

Hawkins tells us that Ubuntu translates to "A person is a person through their relationship to others" or "I am because you/we are" (2021). What does this mean to you? How do you think you could apply this epistemology in your everyday life? What do you think is significant about Ubuntu epistemology being rooted in humanness?

Video Viewing

Next, show one or two videos that give more information on the meaning of Ubuntu.
Video Option 1: **https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7UojwMiRpNM**
Video Option 2: **https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ld--_YzdnYw**

Small Group Discussions

Next, put students into small groups to discuss questions. Once they have had a chance to discuss, have them come back to the large group and allow time for the whole class to talk and bring their main ideas forward. Consider asking some or all of the following questions:

- How do we see Ubuntu epistemology applied in the commentary to empower Black youth?
- What do you think it means to decenter whiteness?
- What could decentering whiteness look like in action and how can Ubuntu epistemology aid in decentering whiteness?
- What is the importance of learning and knowing other cultures' epistemologies? How does this serve to disrupt dominant ideologies and decenter whiteness?
- How can you apply Ubuntu to your everyday life and interactions?

Assignment

Give an assignment for the students to portray their knowledge in a creative way. For example, they could create a zine, an infographic, a song, a video, a piece of art, a story, a poster, etc. Below is an example of a poster:

Author contact: Chloe Bozak (Thompson Rivers University), bozakc18@mytru.ca; Velicia Hawkins-Moore (Prairie View A&M University), vhawkinsmoore@student.pvamu.edu

To cite this article: Bozak, Chloe and Velicia Hawkins-Moore. 2022. "Teaching Tool: Ubuntu Epistemology." *NEOS* 14 (1).

To link to this article: https://acyig.americananthro.org/neosvol14iss1sp22/hawkinsmoore/

About *NEOS*

NEOS is the flagship publication of the Anthropology of Children and Youth Interest Group (ACYIG), American Anthropological Association. The bi-annual publication consists of peer-reviewed original short-form research articles as well as editor-reviewed commentaries and feature pieces. *NEOS* relies on the work of many volunteers, including the full editorial board, peer reviewers, the ACYIG communications team, and a multitude of advisory board members for both *NEOS* and ACYIG. If you are interested in getting involved, please contact acyig.editor@gmail.com.

About ACYIG

Launched in 2007 as an Interest Group within the American Anthropological Association, the Anthropology of Children and Youth Interest Group (ACYIG) now boasts more than 1200 members in over ten countries. Members include academics and practitioners who publish on and work with children all over the world. The need for an anthropological interest group concerned with children and childhood continues to center on the fact that, despite growing interest in the area of cross-cultural research on childhood, children's experiences, and children's rights, there are very few established places to discuss and publicize such work, especially outside the realm of education and health disciplines. To read more about ACYIG, visit our website at http://acyig.americananthro.org

NEOS Editorial Board

Assistant Editor – Matilda Stubbs, PhD

Matilda Stubbs' primary research focuses on the anthropology of social service administration, specifically the role of documents and bureaucratic culture in U.S. child welfare, adoption, and foster care services. She also teaches on a range of other topics including automobility and vehicularity, visual and material culture, communication, tourism, and sensory studies. Her most recent project focuses on the global political economy of youth slime culture and ASMR on social media platforms.

Assistant Editor – Alexea Howard, MA

Alexea Howard, MA is a recent graduate from California State University, Long Beach whose focus is in Medical Anthropology. She graduated at the top of her class with awards such as Distinguished Graduate Student, Academic Excellence, and Best Thesis. Alexea earned her BA (Honors) in Anthropology with a focus in Medical and Psychological Anthropology from the University of California, Los Angeles, and received post-baccalaureate training in Psychology and Addiction Studies. Her research explores the way that concepts of health and illness are impacted by a sense of community and a gained sense of agency. Her most recent work focuses on reasons for continued use among those who participate and frequent pro-anorexia websites and how the use of these sites has impacted the community's conceptions of health and illness as it relates to anorexia.

Assistant Editor – Kimberly Garza, PhD, MPH

Kim is a biocultural anthropologist with a focus on the ways in which daily social interactions influence levels of stress and health status in adolescent girls. Working with middle school girls in the American South, she examines girls' use of social interactions through ethnography and the use of biomarkers to better define the ways girls use social interactions in the development of identity and define social hierarchies – and how interactions, life events, and coping strategies are embodied. Currently a post-doctoral fellow with the American Diabetes Association at Lurie Children's Hospital, Kim will be joining the faculty of Roanoke College in Salem, Virginia in the fall. Kim completed her MA and PhD in Anthropology and MPH from the University of Illinois at Chicago.

Digital Scholarship Intern – Chloe Bozak

Chloe is a bachelor's student in Social Work at Thompson Rivers University in Kamloops B.C. She is currently assisting on a research project exploring students', faculty's, and staff's experiences with equity, diversity, and inclusion on campus at Thompson Rivers University. She is passionate about immigration policy, Canadian law, and learning about how to create a more equitable society.

Copy-Editor—Sujatha Subramanian

Sujatha Subramanian is a doctoral candidate at the Department of Women's, Gender and Sexuality Studies, The Ohio State University. Sujatha has a Master of Philosophy in Women's Studies and a Master of Arts in Media and Cultural Studies from Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Mumbai. Her research interests include girlhood and youth studies, juvenile justice, feminist geography, and feminist media studies. Her doctoral research studies the experiences of multiply-marginalized girls who have been detained in India's juvenile institutions in the name of their care and protection. Her work has been published in peer-reviewed journals, including Feminist Media Studies, Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion, and Economic and Political Weekly. Sujatha is also an editor with Detention Solidarity, an online space critically engaging with the structures and experiences of detention that constitute the carceral state in India.

NEOS Author Biographies

Shaima Amatullah, MSc, PhD Student
National Institute of Advanced Studies
Shaima Amatullah is a Ph.D research scholar with experience in qualitative research. In her doctoral thesis, she uses an interdisciplinary approach (psychology, sociology and childhood and youth studies) to explore questions of the ways in which social representations and dominant discourses around Islam/Muslims influence identities of students from the Muslim community.

David W. Barillas Chón, PhD
Western University
I am a Maya in the diaspora. My migration journeys and Indigenous remembrance shapes my research focus, educational, and political commitments. I investigate issues concerning indigeneity, Latinxs, migration, colonialisms, and race in the contexts of schooling and education

Jasmine L. Blanks Jones, MPP, PhD
Johns Hopkins University
Jasmine L. Blanks Jones is a dynamic theatre nonprofit leader, award-winning educator, and holds a dual PhD in Education and Africana Studies from the University of Pennsylvania. Her research on theatrical performance as a civic engagement praxis illuminates global race-based inequities in education and health, lifting the potential of knowledge co-creation through the arts and digital cultural production.

Chelsea Cutright, PhD
Centre College
Chelsea Cutright (she/her) is currently a visiting assistant professor of international studies at Centre College. She has a PhD in cultural anthropology from the University of Kentucky. Her teaching and research interests include gender, sports for development, youth studies, and contemporary Africa.

Seran Demiral, PhD
Boğaziçi University

Demiral studied children's subjectivities through interaction with digital technologies for her PhD in Sociology, considering the changing childhood experiences within online environments. She teaches digital childhoods and children's literature at Boğaziçi University, as well as creative writing and methods in sociology at Işık University as a part-time lecturer. She is also a writer from Turkey and P4C (Philosophy for Children) trainer. In addition to her books for children and young adults, she has written science-fiction novels and stories and a non-fiction book about Ursula K. Le Guin's literary works published in Turkish.

Shalini Dixit, PhD
National Institute of Advanced Studies

Shalini Dixit is a faculty member at NIAS. She acquired her MPhil-PhD from Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi. Her broad area of research is social psychology of marginalised communities.

María Claudia Duque-Páramo, PhD
Writer, Researcher, and Consultant

María Claudia Duque-Páramo is a Colombian writer, researcher and consultant. She is a specialist in pediatric nursing with a master's in community psychology and PhD in anthropology. She has extensive experience as a teacher in health and social science disciplines with university students, diverse communities, and officials. She has carried out, advised, and participated in universities in Colombia, the United States, and the Netherlands in qualitative, quantitative, and mixed research on childhood issues, particularly childhood and migration and punishment. She has national and international publications on these issues and participates in events, academic networks, and radio and television programs.

el-Sayed el-Aswad, PhD
Anthropologist

Professor el-Sayed el-Aswad received his doctorate in anthropology from the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. He has taught at Wayne State University (USA), Tanta University (Egypt), Bahrain University and United Arab Emirates University (UAEU). He achieved the CHSS-UAEU Award for excellence in scientific research publication for the 2013-2014 academic year. He served as Chairperson of the Sociology Departments at both the UAEU and Tanta University as well as the Editor-in Chief of the Journal of Horizons in Humanities and Social Sciences: An International Refereed Journal (UAEU). He has published widely in both Arabic and English.

Débora Gerbaudo Suarez, PhD Candidate
National University of San Martin, Interdisciplinary School of Higher Social Studies (IDAES-UNSAM) National Council for Scientific and Technical Research

Débora Gerbaudo Suarez explores the links between age, gender and space to visualize urban and environmental inequalities among young migrants in the Participatory Action Research project "Migrantas en Reconquista".

Stacie Hatfield, PhD
Andrews University

Stacie Hatfield is an Assistant Professor of Anthropology in the School of Social and Behavioral Sciences at Andrews University. Her research examines intersections of race, gender, spirituality, and everyday activism in the United States.

Velicia Hawkins-Moore, PhD Candidate
Prairie View A&M University

Velicia Hawkins-Moore is a first-generation college graduate. She attended the University of Maryland International Branch campus in Bad Kreuznach, Germany. Velicia has taught and worked in Abu Dhabi, Ghana, West Africa, Xi'an, China and Houston, Texas. She has presented her research at Columbia University, The University of Las Vegas at Nevada. She has a published chapter "Ubuntu Epistemology, Sankofa Scale, Africana Woman's, and African American Male Theory" in the book *African American Leadership and Mentoring Through Purpose, Preparation, and Preceptors* (2021).

Manya Kagan, PhD Candidate
Ben Gurion University in the Negev

Manya Kagan is a Ph.D. Candidate at the Department of Education and Tamar Golan Centre for African Studies at Ben Gurion University in the Negev. Kagan is interested in the intersection of migration and education, particularly in East Africa and participatory and visual qualitative methods.

Ambika Kapoor, Postdoctoral Researcher
University of Sheffield

Ambika is currently a post doc researcher at the University of Sheffield, UK on a project focusing on children's voices in reimagining treescapes. She recently completed her PhD from the University of Leeds. Her research explores children's experiences with agency in an Indigenous community in Chhattisgarh, India. Her areas of interest include ethnography, childhood geographies and issues of social justice.

Rashmi Kumari, PhD Candidate
Rutgers University-Camden

Rashmi is a PhD candidate at the Department of Childhood Studies, Rutgers – Camden. Her dissertation research seeks to explore the ways in which the figure of the indigenous child in India emerges in the discursive convergence of violence and development. Focusing on the political and social constructions of indigenous childhoods and youth living amidst political violence in Central India, Rashmi is interested in locating the ways in which indigenous children make meaning of violence and developmental interventions. Rashmi conducted her multimodal ethnographic fieldwork in the South Bastar region of Central India. Some of her work can be found at rashmish.xyz.

Adriana Lacombe Coiro, LL.M. Candidate
Harvard Law School

Adriana Lacombe Coiro in an LL.M. Candidate at Harvard Law School, where she contributed as a student attorney to the Harvard Immigration and Refugee Clinic. Holds a bachelor of laws from FGV Direito Rio, in Brazil. Previously worked as a volunteer at Fòs Feminista, as a law clerk at Rio de Janeiro's State Court and as a researcher at FGV Direito Rio.

Mariana Lima Becker, MA, PhD Candidate
Boston College

Mariana Lima Becker is a doctoral candidate at Boston College Lynch School of Education and Human Development. She has taught English as a foreign language in Brazil and is a licensed English as a Second Language teacher in Massachusetts. Her research interests involve bilingual education and immigrant children’s educational lives and literacy practices.

Parul Malik, PhD
Independent Scholar

Parul Malik has received her Ph.D. from Delhi University's Department of Education. Her research was about Critical Sexuality Education with children in and out of school contexts, using peer education and participatory methods.

Gabrielle Oliveira, PhD
Harvard Graduate School of Education
Gabrielle Oliveira is associate professor of Education and Brazil Studies at the Harvard Graduate School of Education. Her research centers on immigrant families, how they care for their children, and their trajectories in the education systems in the United States and in Brazil. As an anthropologist of education, Gabrielle has done extensive ethnographic research with Latin American communities in the United States.

Joshi Ratala Dinesh Prasad, MA, PhD Candidate
University of Tokyo
Born in Nepal, Joshi Dinesh came to Japan for further studies. He obtained his undergraduate degree from Ritsumeikan Asia Pacific University and graduate degree from United Nations University. He is currently pursuing his PhD in 'Human Security Program' at the University of Tokyo while undertaking a full-time job in an educational industry based in Tokyo. His research explores the educational rights of migrant children in Japan.

Arjun Shah
Dokkyo University
Arjun is an undergraduate student at Dokkyo University. He was born and brought up in India by the age of 15 and moved to Japan in 2015. He has worked as an intern with NPO kuriya and NPO Katariba.

Krystal Strong, PhD
University of Pennsylvania
Krystal Strong is an assistant professor at the University of Pennsylvania's Graduate School of Education with affiliations in Africana Studies and Anthropology. Her research and teaching focuses on student and community activism, youth, and the role of schools as sites of political struggle in Africa and the African Diaspora.

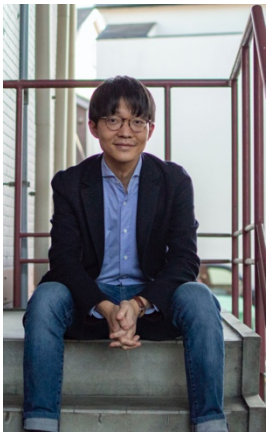
Nataliya Tchermalykh, PhD
University of Geneva

Nataliya Tchermalykh is a social and legal anthropologist. She is currently a postdoctoral teaching and research fellow at the Interdisciplinary Center for Children's Rights Studies at the University of Geneva. In 2019, she completed her doctoral degree in anthropology and sociology at the Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies in Geneva (Switzerland). Her research interests encompass socio-legal studies, legal anthropology, visual anthropology and art. In 2020-2022 she leads a research project, called Can a Child Sue a State? A socio-anthropological inquiry into prerequisites of children's access to international justice, funded by the Swiss National Science Foundation.

Tomoko Tokunaga, PhD
University of Tsukuba

Tomoko Tokunaga is an Assistant Professor of the Faculty of Human Sciences at the University of Tsukuba. She received her Ph.D. in Educational Leadership and Policy Studies (Sociocultural Foundations of Education) at the University of Maryland, College Park. She has conducted participatory action research (PAR) projects on youth empowerment and community building where she collaborated with high schools, NPOs, and immigrant youth in Japan and the United States. She is the author of Learning to Belong in the World: An Ethnography of Asian American Girls (Springer, 2018).

Shinya Watanabe, MA
NPO Katariba



Shinya is a curriculum designer at non-profit organization Katariba. He received a bachelor's degree from the University of Chicago. He has worked with schools across Japan to design extracurricular empowerment programs. His current project focuses on working with schools in Japan to build culturally responsive curriculums and environments for students with foreign roots.