

ReVista

HARVARD REVIEW OF LATIN AMERICA • WINTER 2004

The Children

Latin America and Beyond

EDITOR'S LETTER

A blue whale spurts water joyfully into an Andean sky on my office door. A rainbow glitters among a feast of animals and palm trees. Geometrical lightning tosses tiny houses into the air with the force of a tropical hurricane.

These images are drawings given to me over the years by children who form part of my extended family—Aldo Miguel, Carlitos, Santiago, Jenni Paola, Ana María, Ana Micaela and many other children of Latin America.

They remind me of deep friendships formed there and also with Latin@ immigrants to the United States. They remind me of the happiness—and fragility—of childhood.

The children's drawings and wisdom have helped me gain a perspective on Latin America as deep as any book could provide. A former DRCLAS Visiting Scholar from Mexico recently recounted how his young daughter asked him at Christmas, "If Santa Claus is a man, how come it's Santa (the feminine form for "saint" in Spanish)?" While he was grasping for an answer, she bombarded him with yet another question: "And who elected him anyway?"

Innocent questions, I think. Yet they are already profound queries about gender and citizenship. As many articles in this Winter issue of *ReVista* illustrate, children and teens form their ideas about society at an early age. In turn, they form society. They are our future.

We've tried to take a look here at the changing nature of childhood in Latin America and beyond. The tape recordings of Rebecca Sawady in El Salvador and the visual art collected by Ellen Calmus, Moira Gannon and João Kulsac bring together the children's own voices and images.

The voices of adults here are those who have dedicated themselves to working with or studying children and teens. Perhaps it is natural that in developing societies or in transitional situations like immigration, researchers focus on the problems of the underprivileged. Many of the hemisphere's children still do not enjoy basic health, education and well-being.

In the process of searching for photos for this issue, I asked a few of my friends from Peru, Colombia and Mexico for photographs of their children to publish. "No way," they unanimously said, "That's tempting kidnappers." With globalization and security concerns, the physical spaces for middle- and upper-class children in Latin America are also changing. As Cindi Katz points out in her article on globalization, the child as consumer is as much of a concern as the child as worker.

It's the nature of journalism to focus on problems. I look at the drawings on my office door and think of the joy and mischief of childhood. And I hope that amid the problems and challenges for children and teens in Latin America, their happiness and frivolity, joy and spunk and wisdom and creativity shine through these pages. The children—all of them—are our future.



ReVista

HARVARD REVIEW OF LATIN AMERICA • Volume III, Number 2

Published by The David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies

DRCLAS: John H. Coatsworth, *Director* (on sabbatical) Thomas B.F. Cummins, *Acting Director*

EDITORIAL STAFF: June Carolyn Erlick, *Editor-in-Chief* Amanda Austin, *Editorial Assistant*
Neida Jiménez, *Creative Consultant* Kelly McMurray/2communiqué, *Design* P + R Publications, *Printer*

61 Kirkland Street Cambridge, MA 02138 Telephone: (617) 495-3366 Facsimile: (617) 496-2802

TO SUBSCRIBE: Email: <drclas@fas.harvard.edu> Website: <<http://drclas.fas.harvard.edu>>

READER FORUM: <jerlick@fas.harvard.edu>

Copyright © 2004 by the President and Fellows of Harvard College. ISSN 1541-1443

Cover photograph by Ellen Calmus

Magaly, a nursing student and health promoter for Proyecto El Rincón in Malinalco, Mexico, would like to be a doctor.

Children

The Best and Worst of Times

BY CAROL BELLAMY

THE 21ST-CENTURY FINDS US LIVING IN A cruelly divided world where it is always the best of times as well as the worst—but on a scale that would have made Charles Dickens gasp.

Consider the phenomenon of extreme poverty. In a \$30-plus trillion global economy fueled by new technology and growing economic integration, nearly three billion people—close to half the human race—are living on less than two dollars a day in conditions of almost unimaginable suffering and want. Half of them are children.

Never in history have we seen such numbers. And never in history have we seen overall aid to the world's neediest countries fall to such shamefully meager levels as they have in recent years.

Yet there have been more gains against global poverty in the last 50 years than in the last 500—and more progress for children in recent decades than in any other period.

Between 1970 and 2000, the mortality rate among children under the age of 5 fell from

to the rights and well being of their children—and that their work must begin with the eradication of the worst aspects of poverty.

With regional economic growth at its highest rate in 25 years, many Latin American and Caribbean leaders, united in partnership with donors, multilateral institutions and broad segments of civil society, moved to invest in the child survival and development goals of the 1990 World Summit for Children.

The campaign included an expansion of immunization that cut measles deaths by 95 per cent, virtually eliminated neo-natal tetanus, and moved closer to achieving gender balance in primary education.

But by 2002, an economic contraction drove the regional unemployment rate to record lows. With rich and poor separated by wide economic disparities, abject poverty tightened its grip on 4 out of every 10 people. More than half of the region's 200 million poor are children, countless numbers of whom are abandoned and adrift, where they are easy targets for violence, drugs, exploitation and disease—

ple with the knowledge they need to protect themselves and their communities while combating the discrimination that helps perpetuate the pandemic.

And only education can help children and young people acquire the knowledge and develop the skills they need to build a better future—the better future that the international community promised every child more than a decade ago, at the World Summit for Children—and reaffirmed most recently at the UN General Assembly's Special Session on Children.

We are at a moment in history in which the exercise of leadership must begin with the recognition that poverty is much more than an economic issue. A malnourished infant, a subjugated girl child, a child soldier—all effectively enslaved by poverty and social exclusion—are deprived not only in their potential to grow, but also in their right to become responsible and productive citizens.

These are among the reasons why the conquest of poverty has become the overarching Millennium Development Goal of the United Nations.

It is also why UNICEF regards education, especially for girls, as a prerequisite for attacking poverty. Only education can put young women on a path to economic and social empowerment, help them make the most of their abilities, and provide a means for changing attitudes about violence while promoting equality.

But these and other investments in children are not short-term propositions.

That is why UNICEF urges ministers of finance, from developing and developed countries alike, to take steps to ensure the long-term future of their countries by putting the well being of children at the heart of the budgetary process.

Their responses have strengthened my belief that the world may finally be ready to alter the course of human development by decisively shifting investments, both governmental and private, to favor child well-being—and that all of us can help accelerate that shift by working to build a shared sense of responsibility for the well-being of every child on earth.

Carol Bellamy is the director of UNICEF.

A malnourished infant, a subjugated girl child, a child soldier—all are effectively enslaved by poverty and social exclusion, denied their potential to grow and become responsible and productive citizens.

96 deaths per 1,000 live births to 56. But nearly 30,000 young children a day still die needlessly from preventable ailments like measles, diarrhea and acute respiratory ailments.

The 1990s saw a huge decline in the number of people killed in wars between countries, to 220,000 over the decade—down from nearly three times that many in the 1980s. Yet during the same period, 3.6 million people died in civil conflicts—half of them children.

For the peoples of Latin America and the Caribbean, this juxtaposition of the best of times with the worst is only too familiar.

But in 1998, in an agreement known as the Lima Accord on children and social policy, the leaders of the region reaffirmed that the future of their countries is inextricably linked

especially HIV/AIDS, whose pattern of devastation is already beginning to resemble sub-Saharan Africa's.

Anyone familiar with the agony of sub-Saharan Africa knows that it is impossible to speak about health and sustainable development except through the lens of HIV/AIDS—and the swath it is now cutting through a whole generation of children.

I have spoken with many young people from all over Africa who have shared their views on what should be done to slow the pandemic—and their perspective has bolstered UNICEF's conviction that until a medical remedy is found, there is only one effective tool for curbing HIV/AIDS—and that is education.

Only education can empower young peo-

THINKING ON CHILDREN

Children and Globalization p.4

About Children p.9

A Literary Look at Childhood p.10

The Global Child p.12

Children and Globalization

Schools, Children and Trust in the Americas

BY FERNANDO REIMERS

I'VE SPENT AN HOUR TALKING TO THE CHILDREN IN THIS SCHOOL in the south of Chile. I've carefully looked at their well-kept notebooks. I've heard them read from their books and asked them questions about what they have read. Later I will discuss with the teacher what he tries to do when he teaches them reading. And then the children will be asked to demonstrate some of what they have learned in math and in science and to read some poetry in Mapudungun—the language of the Mapuche, the indigenous group that claims the identity of most of the children in this school.

But I will focus on these things later, for now I'm listening to the children. I'm looking at them. Eight-or-so boys and girls surround me as I study their notebooks. The rest work at small desks or talk with their teacher. Jerónimo, a 10-year old with bright eyes, is more engaged than the rest. He is curious about the purpose of my visit. Finally he asks me “*De donde vienes?*”—Where do you come from? I tell him that I come from the United States. He pauses to think and then says, “*De donde los aviones se estrellaron contra las dos torres?*”—Do you come from the place where the airplanes blew the two towers up? I tell him that I do come from the place where hijackers crashed several airplanes against very tall buildings almost two years ago. The other children listen attentively as I answer Jerónimo's question. I ask him where he has learned about this; “I heard it on TV,” he replies. I ask him whether he has talked about this in school and he replies that he hasn't. He swiftly goes back to his notebook and school work. Jerónimo is enjoying showing me how good a reader he is. He is a good reader and a good thinker. He asks good questions.

During the rest of my trip to Chile last summer to study the impact of government policies in supporting instructional improvements, Jerónimo's questions and my questions about his questions stay in my mind. Why was the image of the collapsing World Trade Center the first idea Jerónimo associated with the United States? Why did his questions find no room in the curriculum of instruction? What do other children in Chile learn about the U.S.? What do they learn about their neighbors in Bolivia? What do children in Bolivia learn about their neighbors in Chile? What do children in the U.S. learn about Mexico, Canada, Brazil or Chile? What do children in these countries learn about the U.S.? What do all of the children in the Americas learn about each other? About the interdependent nature of the challenges they face? About the opportunities for collaboration across national borders?

Against the backdrop of those questions inspired by my visit to schools in Chile, I subsequently follow the news of the opposition to Free Trade at the WTO meeting in Cancún and the development of events in Bolivia in opposition to the gas pipeline that would run through Chile. I ponder the subsequent address of Evo Morales, the leader of the *cocaleros* in Bolivia, to the assembly of the Latin American Council of Social Sciences in which he declared that Latin America will be another Vietnam for the United States. I reflect on the latest findings of the *Latinobarometro* poll that documents increasingly negative attitudes towards the United States in several Latin American countries. I reflect on the failure of the presidential sum-

[A girl reads her school book](#)



mit in Monterrey last January to result in any substantive agreement to improve the well-being of people in the Americas.

I find these questions and events unsettling because I believe the prospects for expanding human potential throughout the Americas rest in the skills and willingness of people and their leaders to deepen economic and cultural exchanges. Global coalitions and resources must address the persistent and interdependent challenges of poverty and inequality, political instability, violence, environmental degradation, poor health and malnutrition, joblessness, weak and fragile scientific and technological communities, elusive human rights, small markets, marginalized cultural and artistic communities and multiple constraints on freedom to speak, think and act.

The continued development of freedom and capabilities in this hemisphere to address these persistent challenges depends on collaboration to consolidate open societies and in the unrestrained flow of ideas, people, capital and resources across national borders. Historical examples do exist to illustrate the benefits of global flows of ideas—such as the independence movement in the Americas or the 19th-century intellectual exchanges between Horace Mann and Domingo Faustino Sarmiento that led to the creation of public education systems in North and South America. However, telecommunication technologies and global institutions now decidedly enhance the potential for inter-hemispheric collaboration. Globalization—the availability of a physical and institutional infrastructure that makes it possible to mobilize resources to create value, solve problems and seize opportunities on a transnational scale—affords an unprecedented prospect to reframe and address these persistent challenges. Paradoxically many still see globalization, or a narrow manifestation of this process, as contributing to these problems, rather than to their solution.

Many obstacles to seizing the opportunities that globalization makes possible are in the minds of people, in their fears and prej-

The prospects for expanding human potential throughout the Americas rest in the skills and willingness of people and their leaders to deepen economic and cultural exchanges, to mobilize global coalitions and resources to address persistent, and increasingly global and interdependent, challenges.

udices and in their lack of knowledge about each other. Schools throughout the Americas are failing to address the most serious challenges and opportunities involving economic, social and political interdependence in the hemisphere. Unlike schools in European Union, the classrooms in the hemisphere, from Jerónimo's school in the Chilean south that left him with unanswered questions to those in the most northern reaches of Canada, are not preparing children to understand how the local conditions that will influence their lives are shaped by global forces and events. Global Education, an established body of work and practice in the field of education, is absent from the curriculum of most schools in the American hemisphere. This state of affairs is so deeply embedded that few question whether the purposes of schools are appro-

priate to prepare children for fulfilling lives in a global and ever more integrated world. When raised, these questions are typically faced with paranoia, with fears that they represent imperialistic designs or attempts to undermine national sovereignty and unity.

Schools, teachers and textbooks sometimes teach fear and mistrust of hemispheric neighbors overtly, as government-sanctioned textbooks for mandatory high school use in Venezuela did only three years ago:

Beginning in the seventies, as a result of our oil boom, of populist policies and of State paternalism, and as a result also of negative economic and social situations in many Latin-American countries, the country saw an indiscriminate and uncontrolled avalanche of immigrants from Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Dominican Republic, Trinidad, Cuba, and other countries in Central and South America who, in a great majority without formal education, without skills, with traumas, diseases, came in search of the easy bolívar (the national currency) that Venezuela offered. In addition to their impact in our national identity we should ask: what will the attitude and position of many of these foreigners be in the event of international tensions or conflicts? Specifically, in the event of conflict with Colombia: what will be the attitude of a Colombian when as mandated in their Constitution they do not loose their nationality even if they become naturalized Venezuelan? Will their national identity be with Colombia or with Venezuela? How many of them will become involved in espionage or sabotage to the basic industries, to the oil industry?" (Vásquez, M. 1999. *Instrucción Premilitar*. Editorial Biosfera. Caracas, Venezuela. Aprobado por el Ministerio de Educación según Resolución No 148 del 7 de Julio de 1999, pages 58-59. My translation.)

The same textbook goes on to identify cultural exchanges among nations as the source of the destruction of national identity. The book explains that the press, the radio and television have been the main agents of this accelerated transculturation: "None will be able to deny the socially negative effects caused by North American television through the Venezuelan television" (Ibid, page 59).

Children in other countries in the Americas may be taught such an explicitly negative portrayal of globalization, of the flows of ideas and people. However, schools everywhere in the hemisphere are doing too little to develop the skills and dispositions that will help citizens take advantage of the opportunities for collaboration now within reach. As a result, at a time when globalization has created unprecedented opportunities for transnational partnerships in addressing critical problems, many in the Americas perceive globalization itself, as well as the international institutions that make it possible, with fear and mistrust. Never has the narrow focus of instruction in the United States and the lack of emphasis in teaching geography, foreign languages and area studies been more counterproductive. Ten years after Canada, Mexico and the United States signed the North American Free Trade Agreement, schools in these countries still breed ignorance and prejudice about the partners in this strategic economic alliance. Perhaps this renewed parochialism reflects broader and deeper currents favoring isolationism from the world community. New regulations of the



Jerónimo reads to the class as they celebrate their Mapuche heritage.

Immigration and Naturalization Service have reduced the inflow of foreign students to universities in the U.S. thus limiting the opportunities for many college and graduate American students to learn from a diverse group of peers. Consistent with this narrowing of the curriculum in American educational institutions, funding for American cultural and public diplomacy is dwindling, representing less than one percent of the defense budget.

This inability to prepare children in the Americas for greater mutual understanding, appreciation and cooperation is the greatest failure of education reform in the hemisphere. Most schooling still reflects the values that served local elites to consolidate nation states and to create national identities. The ill disposition toward neighbors—when not outright bigotry, prejudice or ignorance—served in the past to promote the local petty politician or small business leader seeking to carve out a protectorate. However, these learned values work at cross-purposes with the knowledge, skills and habits of mind that support open societies, internationalism, commitment to international covenants and institutions, free trade and a greater understanding of the many opportunities for collaboration and partnership throughout this hemisphere.

School curricula must be developed to enhance inter-hemispheric understanding through materials that are nonbiased, accurate and reflective of diverse views. This reform must extend beyond the largest countries that are most obviously interdependent because of the large scale of their trade or those that hold the largest energy reserves in the hemisphere, for no nation can prosper in a troubled neighborhood. Progress in expanding human freedoms will be continuously challenged by pockets of instability caused by failed states, and by the ensuing intense polarization and pockets of authoritarian rule of the left or of the right.

This failure of schools to prepare the citizens of the Americas for more intense collaboration and interdependence is understandable. Most nations in the Americas are still struggling to provide universal compulsory education of decent quality to all children. Tactical issues of means often fill up the agenda of school leaders and prevent them from engaging with strategic issues of purpose. Most schools in the Americas are still struggling to resolve 19th-century

challenges such as teaching children to be competent readers. In so doing they have failed to seize the opportunities of the later part of the 20th-century and are thus not preparing children for the 21st-century.

In particular, schools are not actively contributing to building global trust. This is more than an abstract ideal. It involves a set of skills and habits of mind and knowledge of subject matter—of history and geography, linguistic competencies and metacognitive skills—that allow people across national divides to see those born in other nations as equals and as potential partners and to collaborate with them with respect and positive dispositions to create opportunities for mutual gain. Schools that fail to teach students to read at high levels have not yet begun to develop the multiple linguistic competencies that will make greater communication and collaboration possible in the hemisphere.

Schools that provide very limited opportunities to develop inter-personal trust, to learn about reciprocity and to build social capital, fail completely at developing hemispheric trust.

Most education reforms have missed the mark. Simple-minded solutions to improve the efficiency of educational institutions have prevented reflection on the purposes of schools. They have failed to take into account the changing context that globalization has created during the last decade. Important challenges and opportunities of our times call for concerted efforts across national boundaries. Complex intellectual creation in many disciplines, advancement of science and the arts, promotion of health and solution of epidemics, preservation of the environment, control of international criminal activity, resolution of international disputes and, by definition, greater economic integration and trade cannot take place within the confines of one country. Yet schools in the Americas continue in their 19th-century task of domesticating minds into the socially constructed divides that shaped the boundaries of the past.

The responsibility for this poor state of affairs is widely shared. It rests most obviously in the hands of policy elites and government bureaucrats who in the quest to provide mass education at low cost often mistake means with ends. They focus on secondary challenges such as school attendance and grade retention rates. Primary questions such as the purposes of schools often remain unexamined. Even worse yet, those entrusted by taxpayers and voters to administer what is in most places the largest industry often use public means to advance private ends, to build political machines, to reward loyalties and to improve the livelihood of friends and relatives. But politicians and bureaucrats have been in good company in failing to prepare teachers to develop global inter-hemispheric literacy and trust.

Business elites, fascinated by math and science as the engines of modern economic prowess, have focused their energies in lobbying for greater curriculum attention to these subjects and for efficient productivity in learning. In spite of, or perhaps because of, these efforts, children in Latin America today score at world lows in math, science and literacy in the countries that have participated in international comparisons of student achievement. This suggests that measuring results alone does not lead to improvement. More

importantly, measuring student performance on a limited range of low order cognitive skills has proven to be of little consequence to help citizens create and seize the opportunities made possible by globalization. International development institutions have joined business and policy elites in this uncritical enthusiasm for strategies to provide mass schooling at low cost. Poorly educated citizens in turn continue to elect leaders who are not significantly more skilled in bringing about peace, stability and hemispheric progress.

The task of fostering global understanding in the Americas is one that calls for greater coordination and collaboration among countries in the region in defining the purposes of schools. The failures of the education systems in the Americas to collaborate and define what teachers should teach are most evident when contrasted to a number of collaborations in the European Union and to emerging efforts to teach about other parts of the world in schools in the United States.

In 1976, education ministers in the European Common Market agreed to set up a research and information collaborative of centers to facilitate the exchange of educational experiences and to support policy development in the Common Market's nine countries. This agreement resulted in the creation of EURYDICE, a research and information network on education in Europe. EURYDICE has facilitated the exchange of ideas based on comparative research. Since the establishment of this network for the exchange of ideas and best practices, all countries of the European Union have

The task of fostering global understanding in the Americas is one that calls for greater coordination and collaboration among countries in the region.

undergone ambitious reforms of both K-12 and higher education. EURYDICE has supported these reforms facilitating the exchange of ideas and institution-building, and has studied the design and implementation of these reforms as a way to further support the consolidation of these changes. In 1986 the early focus on the exchange of research findings was supplemented with strong programs of student exchanges, through the very large and comprehensive Erasmus program.

Once an integrated European market developed in 1992, education formally became a legitimate area of Union focus, recognized in the Maastricht Treaty. Articles 149 and 150 of the Treaty define the Community's role as contributing to improving the quality of education in the Union encouraging cooperation among member states and supporting and supplementing their action <europa.eu.int/comm/education/policy_en.html>. Current educational collaborations in the European Union have extended to programs that support education of children and youth at all levels (the Socrates program and Leonardo da Vinci program) and the introduction of European studies at the college level (the Jean Monnet project) while increasing the development of common standards for higher and professional education.

Over time EURYDICE has consolidated itself as an observatory of education reform in the Union. Current and recent comparative analyses have focused on such subjects as cooperation in education, early childhood education, financing of education, foreign languages, educational planning, information technology in edu-

cation, key competencies, lifelong learning, management and evaluation of schools, organization of education, private education, reforms of education, school failure and dropouts. (See <www.eurydice.org/doc_intermediaires/analysis/en/analysis.html>.)

Education collaboration in the European Union has gradually addressed more ambitious goals. Last year, the European Council identified education as one of the bases of the European social model and established the objective of reforming education systems to achieve the highest world standards by the year 2010.

The underachievement of inter-American collaboration in defining instructional purposes is also apparent in comparison to modest emerging international foci of U.S. education curriculum policy. Recent initiatives in the United States are beginning to address the deficits in the curriculum in preparing students for international understanding. However, they do not give priority to learning about countries and cultures of the Americas. Exemplary models include the efforts of the Asia Society to boost an emphasis on Asia in school curricula. A recent report circulated among education and business elites in the US identified "a huge gap between the strategic importance of Asia...and Americans' disproportionate lack of knowledge about this vital region. [The] report analyzes the strengths and weaknesses of current teaching and learning about Asia and Asian American topics in U.S. primary and secondary schools. It sets forth actions needed to improve the quality and broad accessibility of such instruction" (Asia Society. *Asia in the Schools. Preparing Young Americans for Today's Interconnected World*. 2001). Similar recent initiatives include also a new program of the U.S. Department of Education to support the development of instructional materials on the Middle East, Central Asia and South

Asia and the languages spoken in these regions. Analyses can be found at <www.ed.gov/legislation/fedregister/announcements/2003-3/082603c.html>. Efforts such as the Massachusetts Initiative for International Studies are attempting to spearhead the conversation about the need for more attention to these topics in the curriculum among educational leaders in the Commonwealth.

In the south of Chile a 10-year-old named Jerónimo has questions about his neighbors in the hemisphere who live in the United States. His teachers do little to help him answer these questions. Jerónimo is not alone in the opportunities that he is missing to develop global literacy and global trust, a new set of fundamental skills and dispositions to seize the opportunities of the 21st-century. His peers in the United States, in Canada, in Mexico, Brazil, Venezuela, and elsewhere in the hemisphere are equally constrained in their opportunities to learn to appreciate and understand the interdependent nature of the challenges they face and to develop the skills to address those collaboratively.

It is high time to move away from applying 19th-century solutions to 20th-century educational problems and to start using all the educational resources of our times to develop the skills and dispositions that build global trust in the Americas.

Fernando Reimers is Associate Professor of Education and Director of the International Education Policy Program at the Harvard Graduate School of Education. His research focuses on policies to improve the quality and relevancy of education in open societies.

About Children

Our Ongoing Conversation

BY FELTON EARLS AND MAYA CARLSON

DEAR JUNE, Our wonderful conversation over lunch the other day got Maya and me to thinking about how some of our best friends are children. Through these friendships we have entered a world we all know as adults but appear to forget quickly. It goes without saying that our three grandchildren top the list. But through our work we also have friends who live and work on the streets of Brazil and Mexico City. Others are children in primary schools located in remote areas of Costa Rica. Still others are children of Mexican immigrant families in Chicago. The list goes to include many other children in countries in Europe, Africa and the East. All of them will be interested to know that *ReVista* is dedicating an entire issue to them.

With all these children as friends, we've noticed how little say they have in the real world, even in matters that directly affect their lives. They don't get to say much about what they study, how their playgrounds should look or what kinds of questions researchers like us should ask them to improve their chances in life. They certainly don't get asked their opinions about policies concerning children in their towns and countries. If half the world's population is children, they represent a pretty silent community. So if you will permit us, we would like to offer a few cautionary notes for you and your readers to think about as you enter the world of childhood. In writing to you we have not directly consulted any specific child, but offer these comments as a reflection of our accumulated experience in working directly with children (and regularly taking care of our grandchildren).

From an early age children are energetic. This we have learned the hard way from trying to keep pace with our grandchildren. We also know that they are curious, thoughtful, fun loving, creative, daring and competitive. Above all, they are loyal. This loyalty may be a consequence of their exquisite dependence. Most children would claim that adults see them as undisciplined, naughty and frivolous. Few adults seem to notice the striking loyalty children display, even to persons who are not kind to them.

The value we place on children relates to their future and ultimate status as adults. They are, by definition, a temporary phenomenon, a transient necessity. Children are suspended just long enough to reach maturity. But maturity is a vague and varied destiny. Any child can tell you that for most adults they're "well-becoming" matters more than their well being. This gap between how well I am doing now and what eventually becomes of me creates the sense that childhood is a waiting period. It is as if the true value of the little person is postponed until the bigger person is realized.

A process of simultaneously speeding up and slowing down complicates this waiting game. Children acquire all types of skills at an earlier age in our fast-paced society, whether it be reading, solving puzzles or learning about sexuality. Thanks to good nutrition and the control of many common childhood infections, their bodies develop more quickly and are stronger than ever before in human



A Colombian boy with his gymnastics uniform.

history. But what accelerated growth and development get you these days is a longer period of preparation for adulthood. Our post-industrial economy has drawn out the period of education and training well beyond high school and even college. If adulthood were defined as reaching the age of independence and self-sufficiency, then one could reasonably argue that the definition should be set at around the chronological age of 25. We adults are obviously confused by when maturity is reached. How else can we explain having a drinking age of 21, a driving age of 16 and a voting age of 18? This is where friendship comes in. It would be constructive for us to have regular and amicable conversations with children and adolescents about their place in this world now and in the future.

Teenagers justifiably complain about being unappreciated, under-represented, and feeling detached. But despite this apparent barrenness, they have plenty of amusement thanks to an awesome dose of sexy marketing and violent imagery in the media. We now know that this media exposure is mostly bad. Obesity, violent behavior and irresponsible sex are some of the negative consequences.

So where do we go from here: taming television, giving parents more time to enjoy their children, smaller high schools, raising the voices of children, lowering the voting age. There will no doubt be many clues in your volume on children. But you should know that to be certain that these insights are on target, we will read *ReVista* to our grandchildren, send copies to our friends and ask for their advice.

Once this issue is out, let's do lunch again.

Warm regards,

Tony and Maya

Felton (Tony) Earls is Professor of Social Medicine and Maya Carlson is Associate Professor of Psychiatry at Harvard Medical School. Their current research projects are based in Chicago, Costa Rica, Tanzania and the Gaza Strip.

A Literary Look at Childhood

"The Child is the Father of the Man" and Woman

BY DORIS SOMMER

WHEN WILLIAM WORDSWORTH FORMULATED THIS REVERSAL OF parenting, putting children first and parents later, he followed through on a romantic inspiration about innocence being close to wisdom. Adults can, and should, learn from children's uncluttered capacity to love the world outside themselves. The Romantics practically discovered children for serious literature. Before then, children had been more or less tolerated as potential adults rather than as respected partners in conversation, much less as beacons toward enlightenment. But by the late 18th century, romanticism in literature was simultaneous with substantial investments in legitimate family life. Together, literature and domesticity formed part of the general moment of bourgeois modernization. Surely Wordsworth, with his fellow poets-as-philosophers, could not have been thinking about Latin American novels that put children at their center. Those Spanish-language novels were written long afterwards and in a language that may have stayed foreign to him. But the same inspiration to modernize by taking a fresh look through naïve narrators is also the spirit of several of Latin America's most compelling novels. My personal favorite one is narrated by a relatively dark-skinned girl named Snow White.

Five-year-old Blanca Nieves has the upper hand at home on a Venezuelan plantation just before the oil boom made renewable products a thing of the past. The little girl was one of six daughters, born successively every year to a father who wanted at least one son to inherit the patrimony. In *Las memorias de Mamá Blanca* by Teresa de la Parra (1929), "Father played the thankless role of God," while a charming mother filled the plantation with poetry and with delightful daughters. Blanca knows her power in this feminized world, especially as one of the little women who reign there. Without bragging, the child narrator observes that she and her sisters were at "the center of this Cosmos." That is why, she explains, everyone referred to them in the royal second person singular: *tú*.

A brilliant case of self-empowerment, Blanca's interpretation of "*tú*" could be dismissed as a mistake, much as her father practically dismissed the births of his daughters. But Mother knows best. Where there is room for mistake, there is also room for freedom. Though misunderstood as merely frivolous and impractical, Mother had been careful to give her daughters fanciful and unlikely names, instead of trapping them with appropriate labels that could predict their fates: Blanca Nieves was hardly Snow White, but the darkest of all the girls; Violeta was no shrinking flower, but the tomboy of the family. Only one of the daughters, by the paradoxical mistake of being right, got a name that fit her too well. It was Aurora, the dawn, and she lasted only seven years. At her early death, Blanca muses on the perfect name. "It's wrong to be right," she concludes. Words are kinder when they keep a distance that allows for variation and interpretation.



This is a profound lesson in literary criticism, philosophy, social theory, and we come to it by way of a purposefully naïve child.

Literary and social analyses can theorize about the effects of "re-signification," that is, changing the value of a word for strategic purposes:

We are used to appreciating Latin American novels for, among other things, doing some historical work that official histories refuse to do.

"Chicano," for example, was taken up by Mexican Americans as a positive identification though it had been used as a slur. "Queer" now names gestures of gender liberation instead of a pathology. Even the word "woman," resignified as an active social agent, has challenged more limiting traditional meanings. But I can



Blanca Nieves and her family in *Las Memorias de Mamá Blanca* by Teresa de la Parra

think of no more dramatic and simply elegant example of resignation than little Blanca's use of the common and often condescending "tú" as a confirmation of her royalty. Apparently innocent because it comes from a child, the novel's clever shift of privilege affects other relationships too. Father's second-person address to his workers now glows with respect, while their formal third-person address to Father makes "usted" sound ironic and distant. Teresa de la Parra manages to realign all these asymmetrical relationships of class and gender through a child's point of view. Knowing that she is loved enables her to speak. And knowing only as much as her five years will allow enables her to see and to hear the obvious lessons of her world.

Other child-centered novels come to mind as vehicles for social realignment. I think, for example, of *La Mañosa*, by Juan Bosch

(1936). Told in the autobiographical voice of the author as a little boy, the novel is about coming down with a fever that lasts throughout the book. The novel is a confused, in fact feverish, account of one of the many revolutions in the tobacco-growing area of the Dominican Republic. War and fever clearly go together in the uncomplicated child-size picture, and they ravage the future of both the boy and his country. For another noteworthy case of sobering childlike clarity through an irresistible child narrator, think of *Balún Canán* (1957), by Rosario Castellanos. Chiapas is the setting for the narrator who protests, with the first line, that no, she is not a grain of cumin, she is a little girl. The indigenous housekeeper had dismissed the child's questions as ignorant. The girl stays confused, and her lasting confusion through the narrative performs the main point stronger than a statement could do. The point is that she is destined to stay ignorant as a condition of her privilege. If she knew how her family came to power and stayed powerful, shame and justice would interfere with privilege. Very soon, she learns that her parents will dismiss her rights to the family's inheritance, because girls do not inherit, especially when claims to the land clash between Creole deeds and the indigenous documents of Balún Canán. The parents will even stint on her lessons in reading and writing, as unnecessary or dangerous in a Creole girl who asks honest questions. On the historical background of Mexico's top-down reform legislation about land use and public education, the nameless child narrator brings local corruption into focus.

We are used to appreciating Latin American novels for, among other things, doing some historical work that official histories refuse to do. For instance, *La vorágine* (1924) by José Eustacio Rivera called attention to the slave-like conditions in the rubber plantations where the Amazon blurs the borders of Colombia, Peru and Brazil. *One Hundred Years of Solitude* (1967) by Gabriel García Márquez, narrates the largely undocumented massacre of Colombia's banana workers in 1927. *El hablador* (1987) by Mario Vargas Llosa denounces genocidal modernization, despite the author's political preference to foster modernization at all cost. Novels, we know, multiply history's points of view by giving voice to a range of characters. Therefore, novels can recover details and interpretations that might seem extraneous or inconveniently contradictory to official histories. Should we notice, too, that the political charm of some novels is their strategic childishness rather than their added intelligence? When the chosen narrators are too young to collect confusing details but rather see a glaring reality in its raw confusion, they are also naïve enough to ask us what it all means.

Doris Sommer is the initiator of Cultural Agency at DRCLAS, a project that links the humanities with social development. See <http://drclas.fas.harvard.edu/programs/cultural_agency/culturalagency.php>. She is Ira Jewell Williams Professor of Romance Languages and author of Foundational Fictions (1991), Proceed with Caution (1999), and Bilingual Aesthetics (2004).



Reconfiguring Childhood

Boys and Girls Growing Up Global

BY CINDI KATZ

CHILDREN ARE A SPUR, A COMMITMENT, A WAY OF IMAGINING the future—but all too often these sorts of phrases just rattle around a vacuum, their utterance the beginning and end of the commitment. We emphasize “the best interests of the child,” but this gloss provides a moral imperative to all manner of uncompleted projects and unfulfilled policies. Likewise, the use of children’s images or presence in public forums of all types gives a patina of honorableness to practices and plans that never actually make good on the promissory note of childhood. The 1992 Rio Earth Summit is a notable example. Such saccharine calls to futurity often bypass the presents and presence of flesh-and-blood children. Actual boys and girls, of course, live in the sedimented residues of the past, their life chances worked out—and mired—in particular historical geographies and political economies that are not always accommodating to their forging livable futures. At best, these geographies are shifting and uneven. Even the most local circumstances—conditions of the body, the home, the neighborhood—are interstitial with processes at larger scales. The imperatives of capitalist-driven “globalization,” for instance, alter the terrains of children and childhood, rendering the previously taken-for-granted up for grabs as commitments to particular places and paths of social reproduction are wrenched. I’ve focused much of my research on these altered terrains and their consequences for children coming of age in vastly different places, most notably

rural Sudan and the urban U.S., in particular central and East Harlem. The common experiences of young people in both places brought rejigging the practices and commitments of social reproduction, and the non-coincident ways that children were not learning what they probably would need to know as they faced the shifting circumstances of capitalist globalism, compel me to argue that “globalization” must be made sensible at the scale of children’s everyday lives if it is to be understood at all. My experiences in the arid lands of Sudan and the streets of New York lead me to ask what these processes may mean for Latin American children, whether in sprawling São Paulo or the Chilean desert.

These concerns have led me to projects that address children’s everyday lives and prospects in the transformed political economic landscapes that result from global economic restructuring. But they also have provoked me to think about how large scale political economic, cultural, and social changes have reworked childhood itself and made its various figures recognizable to one another. The consequences of these shifts open up a number of arenas for political engagement. Childhood and the experience of being a child are, of course, historically and geographically contingent. Globalization reconfigures childhood and what it means to be a child by reordering and rescaling relationships between production and reproduction, altering the spaces of everyday life and reconstituting



Left: a child works in the Mexico City post office; right: children enjoy ice cream in a Chilean mall.

geographies as certain places are brought closer together while others are hurled away. Different figures of the “global child” emerge in these spaces and help to form their material social life.

The child worker is one such figure, and it is the very processes of globalization that make this child sensible to people in the global north, as mediated processes of exchange force ‘us’ to reckon with child workers as instrumental to ‘our’ comforts. This recognition has galvanized an energetic anti-sweatshop movement in some quarters, provoking a response from some producers dependent upon child labor. A number of multinational corporations have raised compensation rates for all workers, improved their (minimal) standards for employment, and established schools and other facilities for child workers. Yet despite good intentions, much of this movement is misguided. It misses an essential point. If these children did not work, they and their families might go hungry. In the North we tend to think that if children did not work, they would go to school. In most cases, that’s simply not true. The expenses of schooling, of uniforms, of the loss of children’s household work often make formal education too costly even when children do not work outside their homes. Movements to change the horrible truth that ‘our’ comforts rely upon ‘their’ work need to work a broader ground than an opposition to sweatshops or child labor alone allows, important though such imperatives might be.

Another figure of the global child that arouses far less apparent concern, is the child-consumer. This child is as much a part of contemporary processes of global change as the child-worker and the two are not easily separated. The literary theorist Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak recently added another global child to the picture, the child-investor, who likewise provokes little anxiety in the (Northern) global imaginary. Why, she asks, does only the child-worker trouble our imaginations and unsettle received notions of childhood? If, indeed, childhood is not a time of life that is sacrosanct from the market, then shouldn’t all children have the right to ‘get a piece of the action’? Without confusing the vast differences between children born to substantial stock portfolios and those with few means of economic survival apart from their early employment, it is important to recognize the ties that bind them in order to figure out political strategies capable of redressing these contradictory relationships. The child consumer is, of course, one of the links. Children are not only a huge and growing “market niche” in the global North, they are increasingly recognized and hailed as influencing household consumption choices, even for such things as automobiles and other consumer durables.

It is perhaps not so new that children with significant market clout coexist with child-workers on the uneven and contradictory terrain of capitalist globality. Some kids insist on Nikes and oth-



Left: boy in door; right: a Latina girl in Boston helps her mother at Haymarket.

ers make them. But the techno-cultural circumstances of contemporary globalization have the capacity to render child-consumers, child-workers and child-investors intelligible to one another, at once heightening the contradictions but making possible a politics that would embrace them all. The complex and non-innocent integrations between and among globalized children make clear what is at stake in the reworkings of childhood associated with contemporary global economic restructuring. Such integrations demand a geographically lithe political imagination if they are to be confronted and redressed. Instead of bringing children of every color together for the palliative politics of globalony, why not spend that money and time in really exposing children of vastly different circumstances to one another's taken-for-granted worlds *and* the circuits through which they—the worlds and the children—are connected? Young people who get to breach the thin lines that separate privilege and poverty or the ugly glue that binds children's production and consumption might develop political imaginations that cut through their unseemly contradictions. Such exposures have worked at a much smaller scale in various participatory and exchange projects involving children and young people, such as those by Roger Hart and Sharon Sutton.

If the potent contradictions raised by child workers, consumers, and investors operating in a more tightly bound global economy and emporium call forth a novel transnational politics with interesting implications for and from Latin America, so too do the concerns raised by childhood's reworking as capitalist production goes global. With the globalization of production, an aura of placelessness frequently unhinges historical relationships between production and social reproduction. These shifts enable producers to jettison former commitments to place and the reproduction of any particular labor force while drawing upon workers nurtured and educated a range of geographies. Reneging on place-based commitments to the social wage goads neoliberal imperatives of tax

revolt and privatization. As public support for social welfare, education, housing, health care, and public space withers, children's presents and futures hang in the balance. Insisting on the importance of social reproduction as a metric for understanding global economic restructuring revalues and reimagines globalization in registers much more significant and vibrant than those associated with the formal economy and its tedious institutions. It also puts children at globalization's heart. Rendering the toll of globalization visceral in this way signals how it might be reconfigured by those it is most likely to strand. Young people's experiences of being deskilled or ineffectively prepared for the (limited) employment possibilities that await them in places as different as New York City and rural Sudan, but also in the Chapare under the strictures of anti-coca forces or in structurally adjusted Buenos Aires and elsewhere, often have striking resonances. Their sense of being marooned in an ever more vivid and tightly bound global economy might propel a transnational politics that works across these odd common grounds. Elsewhere I have imagined these transnational connections as "counter-topographies" of globalization, and tried to work out "contour lines" that link discrete places by virtue of a specific relationship to particular effects of global economic restructuring such as young people's deskilling or militarization.

While these spatialized politics gesture towards the connections among disparate children—a project crucial to countering capitalist globalism—what of the particularities, differences, and disjunctures around childhood and its reworking? Here I want to focus on two interrelated phenomena: the expansion and constriction of the spaces of childhood and youth, and the scramble to produce young people who might make it in the unsteady and uneven historical geographies of neoliberal capitalism. My research in Sudan and on contemporary childhood in the U.S. points to divergent strategies, and I wonder what other approaches to 'making it' might be found in Latin America. In Sudan the physical horizons of chil-

dren's everyday lives—already more open than in the urban U.S.—expanded in response to the changes brought about by 'development,' while in the U.S. the zealous protection of children has become engulfing since the 1970s when discourses of fear became more pronounced in the media and public imaginary. If in the U.S. the degradation of the public spaces of childhood—among other things—has tended to reinforce restrictions in children's spatial range, in Sudan the environmental degradation associated with agricultural development propelled the expansion of children's everyday geographies as they went further afield for various resources.

In a similar vein, as the Sudanese children came of age, it was increasingly apparent that to be viable in the rural environment required and tapped into a sprawling geography simply to stay in place. This is not unlike what is happening in much of Latin America and the Caribbean. Through a process I refer to as 'time-space expansion,' young people in rural Sudan were able to draw on the knowledge they had acquired in childhood to farm, tend animals, and engage in forestry, but these activities were feasible only through geographical extension, and increasingly had to be complemented by non-agricultural work in urban areas or overseas. But geographical extension was not the only means of meeting the changed landscape of 'development.' Within one generation, I also found a phenomenal shift in the relationship to formal education as evidence mounted that the political ecologies and land tenure arrangements associated with state-sponsored, multilaterally-funded 'agricultural development' would not absorb most young people coming of age. Between 1980 and 1995, primary school enrollment in the village where I worked increased 75% for boys and an astonishing 1000% for girls 7-12 years old. As traditional bets on the future wore thin, the village leadership devised a number of self-

relatively privileged families. A huge number of strange but increasingly normalized things accompany and betray this anxiety. Among them are an over-protection of children so that the space-time of their lives is scheduled, surveilled, and geared to specific outcomes rather than the intrinsic pleasures traditionally associated with childhood. Another effect of these concerns is witnessed in the excessive parental concern with preparation for all of the imagined hurdles of growing up so that the disciplining of pregnant women is now a matter of course in the U.S., but increasingly so is the provision of pre-natal and neonatal intellectual stimulation through the acquisition of a battery of specialized toys and other products. These sorts of practices are often accompanied by heightened concern for securing a place in the 'best' pre-schools and schools, and making sure that children are enrolled in specialized classes and competitive in sports. The long march to Harvard seems to be increasingly secured in the over-scheduling of children and the narrowed gauge of their free time. Of course, these concerns are class specific and overdrawn, but these sorts of practices are becoming the ether of contemporary childhood in the U.S. Not only do they have tremendous consequences for the children they are meant to protect and support, but the evidence suggests that they are oppressive to parents who feel they must conform to them or risk their children's future chances.

The childhoods associated with these divergent responses to the chilling effects of capitalist globalism in the U.S. and Sudan are wildly different, as are their customary geographies. Where in Sudan producing the flexible flyers of globalism occurs in and draws upon an expanded spatiality, the U.S. niche filler grows up cosseted in the shrinking time-spaces of over-scheduling and parental hyper-vigilance. Of course these differences of nation are mediated by class, race and gender, often creating common grounds of experience—and

concern—across disparate geographies. Growing up global, whether in the privileged enclaves of Caracas, the barrios of Bogotá, the mountains of Peru, or as a Poblano in East Harlem or along the U.S.-

Globalization reconfigures childhood and what it means to be a child by altering the spaces of everyday life.

help initiatives to increase school enrollment and attendance, with particular sensitivity to girls' education. In 1983, they provided piped water to help free girls' labor time, and after a few years hired women teachers and constructed separate classrooms for girls. By 1995 a secondary school was under construction in the village to allow a greater number of boys and girls to be educated without short-changing their families of their labor. Each of these processes suggest the production of more flexible and diversely skilled young people. Their engagements with the harsh terrain of structurally adjusted and war-divided Sudan might yet be frustrating and draining, but the resilience of their practices together with the sorts of strategies through which the local population reworked the conditions of everyday life were impressive; all the more so in the face of the sort of structural problems that characterized Sudan.

In the U.S., on the other hand, at least among the bourgeoisie, the new terms of neoliberalism and its 'lean, mean' political economics seem to have called forth a devotion to producing specialized children ready for niche marketing. This pattern can also be seen in urbanized, middle-class Latin American families. Parents and others fearful of the limited horizons of an increasingly globalized capitalism seem to almost commodify their children, tooling them to fit into a specialized place in a system with fewer and fewer guarantees, even for

Mexico border, commands a reconfiguring of childhood and its imagined horizons. The subjects of this reworking—kids who make their parents laugh, worry, and dream—get to know the world and their place in it in the mundane spaces of their everyday lives. Countering the erosive effects of capitalist globalism on these spaces demands actions that at a minimum produce livable and survivable environments at all scales. More ambitiously, it calls for spaces that promote learning, cooperation, self and mutual respect, creativity, and the testing of limits in ways that are enabling rather than threatening, open to difference rather than hardened against it, and secure rather than surveilled. In the interests of truly social reproduction and the production of a socially just and vibrant world, the spaces of children's becoming (adults) must be made to foster their agency as producers of culture rather than as recipients of its debris.

Cindi Katz is Professor of Geography in Environmental Psychology and Women's Studies at the Graduate Center of the City University of New York. She is a fellow at the Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study at Harvard for 2003-4. Her book, Growing Up Global: Economic Restructuring and Children's Everyday Lives (Minnesota) will be published in 2004. Her current work concerns late 20th-century U.S. childhood.

HEALTH AND COMMUNITY

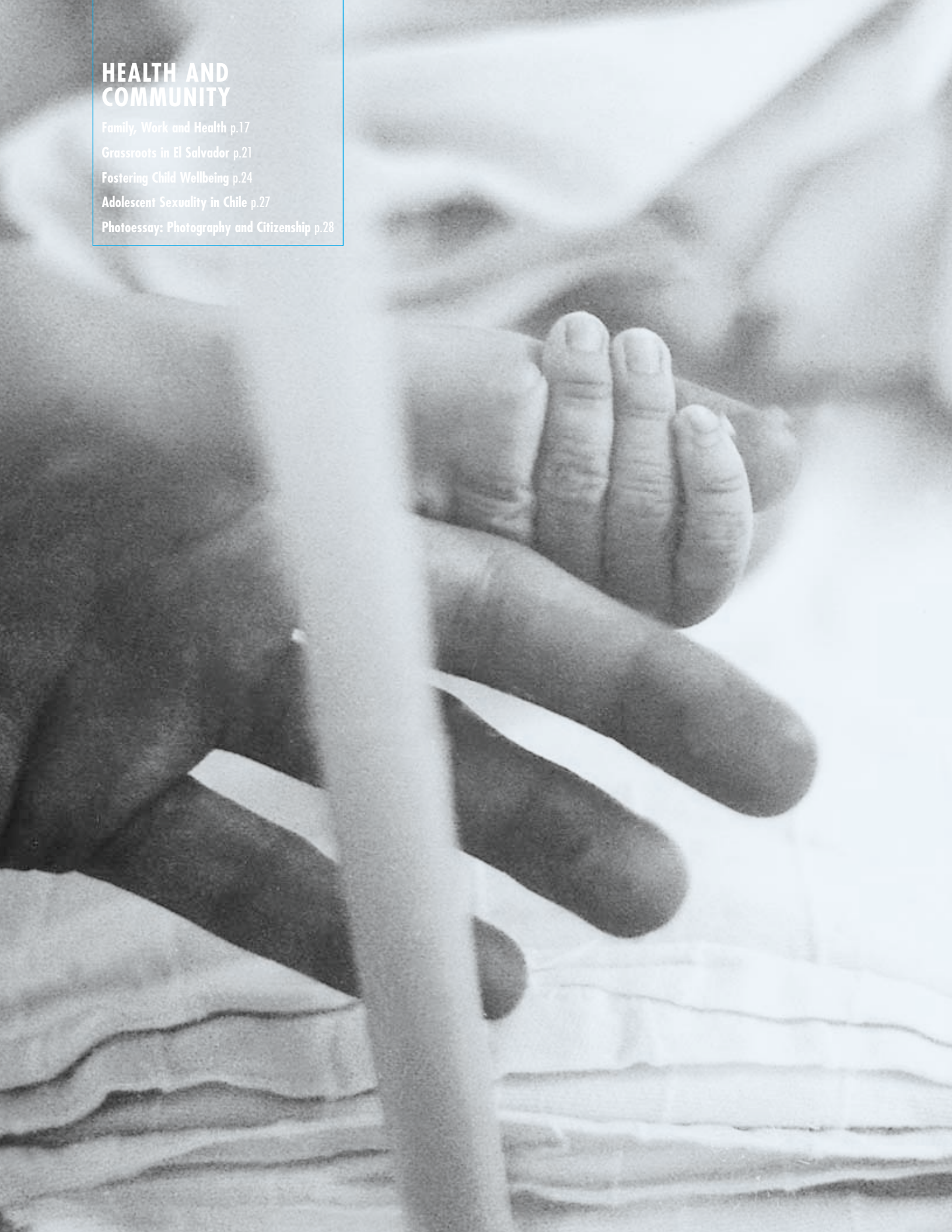
Family, Work and Health p.17


Grassroots in El Salvador p.21

Fostering Child Wellbeing p.24

Adolescent Sexuality in Chile p.27

Photoessay: Photography and Citizenship p.28





Children are the happiest when they are healthy. But we must examine health beyond the needs of the individual child in the context of community and lifestyles.

Changing the Untenable

Choices Families Face

**BY JODY HEYMANN, M.D.
AND FRANCISCO FLORES-MACIAS**

HUMBERTO STARTED TO PACE BACK AND forth across the floor of the cinder-block home, cradling his son in his arms. There had to be a story. In the slum, no one had enough money to stay home voluntarily. For most men, there was an awkwardness when they held an infant; infant care remained gendered women's work. Humberto had clearly been caring for his son for months.

Humberto (whose name, as well as others in this article, has been changed to protect confidentiality) started in the middle of the story. His son, Humbertito, or little Humberto, had been named after him. Pneumonia had struck Humbertito as an infant. Two million children under the age of five in developing countries died from acute respiratory infection in 2000. Humberto and his wife, Julia, brought their only child to the hospital. But you could not leave your child as you might in a hospital in New York or Geneva and expect that nurses, attendants and physicians would meet his or her needs. Like poorly-funded hospitals in much of the developing world, the public hospital where they sought help relied on family members to provide much of the care. Humberto and

Julia—like every other parent—had to be there to make sure their children ate, received medicine, had diapers changed and received every aspect of basic care. The hospitals simply did not have the staff.

Humberto and Julia had to take turns missing days of work at their factory jobs to care for their son. The first day Humberto was absent, his supervisor told him he had to return the next day. The second day Humberto missed work, his supervisor told him not to bother to return. The third day Humberto missed work, he was fired.

When Humbertito recovered from pneumonia, his father walked from one factory to the next looking for work. However, it rapidly became clear he'd been blacklisted. At every door he knocked on, he was told there were no jobs. Frequently people who came after him received work.

But the story of the connections between labor conditions, children's health, and family welfare began earlier. The working conditions that Julia faced were the beginning of the story. Julia had to return to her factory job 42 days after Humbertito's birth or be fired. The milk in her breasts dried up. With her long work hours, there was no way

to breastfeed or pump milk during the day. Around the world, the basic biology of breastfeeding provides essential immunity to infants, assisting in fighting off infections that are dangerous in the first year of life. The economics of infant formula and clean water mean that breastfeeding plays a particularly critical role for poor families in developing countries. Without breast milk, infants in these families too often end up severely malnourished because of the inaccessible high cost of formula and the unavailability of clean drinking water. Fed too little powdered formula mixed with water filled with pathogens and pollutants, the infants become sick with gastrointestinal and respiratory illnesses. It's double jeopardy because they do not have the protection of the immunoglobulins found in breast milk. Julia had no choice except to return to work right away. She was unable to continue to breastfeed for any length of time. Humberto suffered first with diarrhea, then with pneumonia.

The problems families confront stem from the lack of essential services for their children as well as the working conditions

parents face. In the same Honduran city where Humberto lived, there was a shelter for families displaced by a hurricane and mudslides two years earlier. Past the barracks with still-homeless families, a small boy, his black jeans several sizes too big at the waist and too long, leaned against a metal pole as he stood watching people washing clothes in the communal sinks. Ten years old, Ramón walked the 30 feet from where he stood to the one room shelter shared by eight members of his family. When he got to the open door, three of his younger sisters swarmed around him, delighted to see him back. His parents couldn't afford childcare while they worked trying to earn enough money to rebuild a home. Ramón was responsible for Martita, who was five years old, Cari who was four years old, and three-year-old Justina. When he pointed to Laurita, who he said was more than one and less than two, she wasn't readily visible. There appeared to be a doll sitting in a chair in the dark room, not a toddler. Her body was completely immobile. Further inside the dark room on a bed lay Beni, Ramón's five-month-old brother.

Laurita's legs were thin as twigs, bent like those of children with rickets from malnutrition. Ramón explained that she never used her legs. He didn't know how to get her out of the chair or to encourage her to walk. At five months, Beni was on his way to being equally malnourished. There was a bottle at home but Ramón didn't know how to prepare it; only his 14-year-old brother Miguel did. But Miguel was nowhere to be found. All the children depended on Miguel to come home for them to have a meal.

Ramón was tender with his siblings and as attentive as one could expect a 10-year-old to be. But no 10-year-old could care well for five children five-years-old and under. Ramón was about to start third grade. He had repeated the second because he had lost time when he had been asked by his mother and father to care for Justina, his three-year-old sister who had had convulsions as a result of high fevers. Justina's teeth were rotted. They had the rot of bottle-mouth, a result of being left with a sweetened bottle in her mouth for hours on end with no one to supervise her.

Beni had a deep, penetrating cough. A bottle of medicine for Beni's constant

Children play on a street in Livingston, Guatemala.



H.M. ROSENBERG <HROSENBERG@FAS.HARVARD.EDU>

coughing sat on a shelf in the tidy room. The bottle was labeled clearly that Beni should receive the medicine three times a day, but there was no one to give it during the twelve hours that his parents were at work. Caring and concerned that an overdose might be deadly if Beni received too much, Ramón's parents had given him clear and firm instructions never to give the medicine.

Ramón's mother worked from six in the morning to six at night, six days a week. His father worked equally long hours trying to save something to rebuild the home destroyed by the hurricane. They clearly cared deeply about their children. But it was equally clear that when they needed to work long hours to meet basic needs, when they lacked child care so their preschool children were in the care of a 10-year-old boy, the health, basic development, and education of their children were all endangered.

Humberto and Ramón were interviewed in the context of the Project on Global Working Families (PGWF), a program that I (Jody Heymann) founded and lead at the Harvard School of Public Health. PGWF is the first program devoted to understanding and improving the relationship between working conditions and family health and well-being throughout the world. As part of this effort, our research team has conducted four types of studies to date. First, we have mapped forty years of demographic trends related to labor and families in more than a hundred countries. Second, we have conducted in-depth interviews of nearly a thousand parents in six countries around the world including Mexico, Honduras, Botswana, Vietnam, Russia and the United States. Third, we have conducted statistical analyses on large national household surveys from Brazil, Mexico, Botswana, Russia, South Africa, Vietnam, and the United States. Fourth, we have begun new large-scale studies on special topics. In fact, our most recent initiative, started this year, will conduct a household survey in different Mexican communities to measure the impact of international migration on the health and development of the family members that stay behind. Finally, we are currently examining public policies from more than a hundred countries, including Latin America in its entirety, regarding the conditions working poor families face.

FINDINGS: CHILDREN AND FAMILIES AT RISK

In every country where we have conducted in-depth studies, children are being left home alone. Thirty-seven percent of parents in Mexico found themselves having to leave their children home alone some or all of the time they worked, as did 21% in Vietnam and 50% in Botswana. The experiences of preschool and young school age children

The Project on Global Working Families at the Harvard School of Public Health seeks to improve the relationship between working conditions and family health.

home alone are often tragic. Dr. José Luis Castro, working in southern Mexico, told us in an interview that he remembered two cases where children left by themselves had suffered serious accidents. In one occasion, one child got very ill after drinking liquid detergent. Another child, left unsupervised at home, got severely burned. Similarly, Dr. Marcia Graciano, interviewed in northeastern Mexico, recalled a recent incident where a child had fallen from a cradle and suffered brain injuries, and he had been taken to the emergency room only after the parents got home.

Too often, parents' only alternative to leaving very young children home alone is to leave them in the care of other children. In Mexico, 24% of the parents we interviewed had left their children in the care of other children, as had 34% of the parents in Botswana and 22% of the parents in Vietnam. A Mexican mother, Crista Robles, worked as a domestic servant while her six-year-old cared for her two-year-old.

My son, who is two, had just left with his older sister, the one who is six years old... She didn't go [to school] today, because I told her to stay home. Because if she didn't, where would I leave my son? . . . Sometimes they tell me, 'Mamita, don't work anymore, because we don't want to be alone.' And I tell them, 'But if I don't work, we won't be able to afford food.'

When children are left home alone or in the care of other young children, they are far more likely to be inadequately fed, become malnourished, be exposed to poor drinking water, get diarrhea or other infec-

tions or have serious accidents and injuries. At two years old or six, the children are simply too young to care for themselves or for each other. Six-year-olds don't adequately feed their two-year-old siblings; they don't feed them frequently enough, they are unable to prepare the food young children need. They don't know how to ensure that an infant eats enough. In countries where cooking requires fire, young children can

rarely cook safely. Where clean running water does not exist in the household, obtaining it often requires traveling lengthy distances or boiling water. The consequences of using the more readily available unclean water are diarrhea and frequent infections. Accidents and injuries arise from young children being hit by cars when they are too young to reliably take precautions on the road, when they fall from heights when they are unsupervised, and when fires start when they try to cook.

In Mexico, nearly half (48%) of the parents we interviewed had had children experience accidents or emergencies while their parents were at work, as had 38% in Vietnam and 52% in Botswana.

When we interviewed Berta García, a laundress and restaurant worker, she told us that her two jobs were necessary to raise enough money to support her three children, but that while she was at work her children had to stay home alone. One day, she was contacted at work and notified that her 11-year-old middle child had fallen and hit his head. She went home and took her son to the doctor, only to find out that he had suffered a concussion and lost consciousness for several minutes.

Other times, families told us of tragedies involving fires when children tried to cook. Too often this resulted in children being severely injured or dying. In the same city where Ramón and Humberto lived, an older woman described rescuing one of her neighbor's twins. At two years old, the twins had been locked in their house for safety (relative to wandering alone in the streets) while their parents went to work when they had no alternative source of care. No one

knows how the fire started. All the neighbor knew is that she was able to rescue one, badly burned, but it was too late for the second twin.

When the parents we interviewed stayed home temporarily to care for their own children, all too often they lost pay, benefits, or jobs that were essential to feeding families. The simple act of caring for sick children led to lost pay, lost job promotions, or difficulty retaining jobs for 51% of parents in Mexico, 28% of parents we spoke with in Botswana and 63% in Vietnam. In one southern Mexican city, a mother reported not being allowed to leave work after receiving a report that her son had been bitten by a dog; another explained how she lost pay after taking her nine-month-old baby, sick with diarrhea, to the doctor one day; and a third one lamented that in her previous job—where she worked for ten years—her boss constantly warned her that

investments in resource-poor countries have been overwhelmingly in physical capital. The World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, and other institutions provided loans for dams, bridges and roads, among other things. Yet the dollars loaned for these physical capital investments, while sometimes well-used, have too often been wasted (if not stolen) and come at the cost of human and social investment, leaving countries and populations paying debt for decades—a debt for which they have shown little gain. Investments in human capital would mean that toddlers would not be left home alone and young school-age children would not be pulled out of school to care for their younger brothers and sisters. Moreover, these investments would increase the ability of resource-poor countries to compete for skilled-labor jobs in the global economy. Finally, once made, no one can take away the benefits of these investments.

umented—children having to be left home alone at two years old, having to be pulled out of school at six to care for younger siblings, having to grow up without adequate care of adults, not facing a reasonable chance of an education because their working parents need to make untenable choices—are no more inevitable than children having to conduct paid labor at young ages. As a global community, when we begin to see as unacceptable—instead of as inevitable—parents working 100-hour weeks, parents earning too little for their families to eat if they provide care for their children, parents losing jobs or being fined for staying home for a day to care for a sick child or missing work to care for a child in the hospital, then the prevalence of these untenable conditions as well will decline.

To make this happen will take professional and personal efforts: efforts by those working in large global intergovernmental organizations, national governments, local and international nonprofits and those leading companies regionally and globally. But beyond our professional role, we will all need to be ready to pay for a living wage and decent conditions not just for a person who we can see eye-to-eye in our neighborhood, but also for parents in Honduras, Mexico, Botswana, Vietnam and every other country. The future of humankind depends on the ability of families to function and raise healthy children. The world can afford to ensure adequate working conditions and social supports for families; what we can't afford is to neglect them.

We need to provide the social conditions that make it feasible for families to raise healthy children while working and ensure a floor of decent working conditions.

if she ever missed work, regardless of the reason, she would get fired. Unfortunately, stories like these were recurrent.

MAKING A DIFFERENCE

We are taught at a young age to turn our gaze away from problems like these. We are taught they are unsolvable, even when solutions to the same problems exist for people who are closer to us. Don't be fooled and don't turn away.

We need to take two steps as a global community: first, provide the social conditions that make it feasible for families to raise healthy children while working, and, second, ensure a floor of decent working conditions. It is long past time that we should be investing in human capital—quality child care programs, early childhood education, programs for children under five-years-old that will allow their school-age siblings to attend school instead of caring for them, programs for children under five that will give them a head start on their own education, and after-school and year-round programs that will give school-age children the kind of education that allows them to truly compete in the global market. For too long, global

Second, we need to fight for a floor of decent working conditions for all people. Basic working conditions that allow parents to raise a healthy and sane next generation should not be negotiable. Basic rights of those working have been agreed to by 171 countries in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights—as well as delineated in scores of international conventions developed by the International Labor Organization and agreed to internationally. What is currently lacking is not a theoretical consensus but a practical commitment. Two decades ago child labor was not on the global radar screen. While child labor remains a problem in 2003, the combined action of popular movements, a wide range of global and national NGOs, individual initiatives, local and national governments and international bodies—like the ILO, the World Bank, and UNICEF—has changed world views on the inevitability of child labor—and in particular reduced the number of children suffering in bonded labor. We need an equally strong global effort to address the daily conditions children face in working poor families globally. The negative outcomes of poor working conditions we've doc-

Jody Heymann is an associate professor at the Harvard School of Public Health and the Harvard Medical School. A public policy expert and pediatrician, Heymann is the founding director of the Project on Global Working Families. Her recent books include Global Inequalities at Work (Oxford University Press) and The Widening Gap (Basic Books).

Francisco Flores-Macias has been part of the research team of the Project on Global Working Families since 2000. He graduated from Harvard College in 2002 with a B.A. in social studies, and he is currently the project director of a study that will measure the impact of international migration on the health and welfare of working families in Mexico.



Of the People, By the People, For the People

Grassroots in rural El Salvador

BY REBECCA SAWADY

THE CHILDREN GATHER AROUND ME IN a circle on the floor. I show them the small silver tape recorder and microphone I had promised to bring to class in this most rural of communities in El Salvador. Their eyes open wide with excitement.

At first, many of the boys and girls hold back. They are initially too shy to come forward and speak into the microphone to record their voices, but once a few children step forward, I am swarmed with 35 two-to six-year-olds, clambering to get a word in edge-wise. They introduce themselves, talk about what they like to do in the *kinder*, and sing songs. They plead to hear the recordings over and over again, giggling every time they hear their own voice.

"Buenos días niños! (Buenos Días!) Yo me llamo Patricia Yanira del Caserío La Presa"

"Me llamo Milton. Vengo de Caserío Copante. Vengo a jugar y a pintar y escribir"

"Yo me llamo Íngrid Esperanza Luna Pérez y me gusta trabajar"

"Yo me llamo Glenda Soledad, me gusta estudiar"

"Buenos días yo me llamo Nereyda Marisol. Me gusta jugar con los juguetes de cocina y jugar la plastilina [play-dough]"

"Buenos días! Yo me llamo Meylin Xiomara que vivo en Naranjera y me gusta escuchar cuentos"

These children attend school in one of the five comprehensive early childhood development centers (*Centros Infantiles del Desarrollo Integral*, or CIDs), also known as *kinders*, run by *La Asociación Campesina para el Desarrollo Humano* (CDH), a grassroots community health, education and development organization in the rural communities of Estancia, El Salvador. The local *campesinos* formed CDH three years ago to

continue the health, education and capacity-building work done by the French non-profit organization, *Médicins du Monde* (MDM).

CDH determined what work needed to be done in the community based on its strategic plan developed through in-depth discussions with communities about their needs, perceptions of services, and areas for further growth. In addition to their work with the CIDs, CDH runs La Clínica CAIPES (*Centro de Atención Integral para la Prevención y Educación en Salud*). Since 1998, this clinic has brought comprehensive health care to the people of the region, making medical services accessible both geographically and culturally.

The communities in which CDH works

Left to right: Yanira del Carmen, Jáquelin Liseth, and Rosa Elvira at the Copante *kinder*. Rosita is currently undergoing multiple plastic surgeries to correct the birth defect that left her without a functioning right ear.



Top: Three-year-old Alba Miladis from the Naranjera kinder is deaf and awaits her first appointment with a San Salvador pediatric audiologist; bottom: Wilman Alexis with his sister Glenda Maricela at the Tierra Blanca kinder.



straddle the Río Torola in the department of Morazán, one of the poorest regions of El Salvador that was devastated by the brutal 12-year-long civil war that ended in 1992. Mass graves filled with women and children have been discovered in the surrounding communities. Many of the peasants currently living in the area spent much of the war as refugees in camps in Honduras. Most lost one or more family members to the war and many were disabled as a result of the conflict.

Prior to the civil war, those living in rural Morazán had no access to education or health care. Those who are now working on the project were able to receive a smattering of education in refugee camps and in settlements during times of relative peace. However, no one's education went beyond the second-grade level.

Ten years ago, José Ramiro Cortéz Argueta had a second-grade education and did not have enough money to buy shoes or to replace torn pants. Today, Ramiro is the Executive Director of CDH. He has completed a high school equivalency degree and become a respected community leader, a health promoter with great clinical acumen, and the director of one of El Salvador's most promising community organizations. Victorino Sanchez, the project's administrator, has completed one year of university education, is Microsoft Excel savvy and composes eloquent formal letters for the organization. María Santos, María Isabel, Ana, Marilú, Isidra and Lucia, the six local community educators, have completed or are currently working on their high school degrees. They have participated in training sessions held at El Salvador's Universidad de Centro America (UCA) and are well-versed in early childhood education theory and practice.

The community educators work in the five CIDs, which were formed in 1993, to help two- to six-year-old children deal with the traumatic psychological effects of the war and to provide them with nutritious meals. Not only were the CIDs able to provide these children with previously unavailable educational opportunities, but they were also safe havens that helped normalize their childhood experiences. Over the past 10 years, the CIDs have expanded their mission to include all aspects of child health and development. They have made tremendous strides towards reducing childhood

malnutrition. They have helped children make successful transitions into school and have provided them with opportunities to learn how to read and write.

"Mi escuelita yo lo quiero... Una maestra se llama Rebecca. Otra maestra se llama María Santos. Otra maestra se llama María Luisa. Y todas ellas trabajan en un kinder de popularia y que nos dan clases a los niños que hemos aprendido letras mucho y también a bailar.

Una niña que siempre anda con granitos [skin infections] que se llama Cindy [Lorena's younger sister] y la otra niña que ha andado con estos granitos es Glenda y esa niña es mi prima!"

— LORENA ARELÍ MARTÍNEZ MARTÍNEZ,
CASERÍO TIERRA BLANCA

The CIDs are staffed by six well-trained community educators—all of whom have been working in the centers for six to ten years—and five Ministry of Education teachers. The CIDs are affiliated with programs from many local, national, and international organizations, including the Ministry of Health, the Ministry of Education, the UN World Food Programme, the Salvadoran NGO *Medicos por el Derecho a la Salud*, and Doctors for Global Health.

The area in which CDH works faces

many challenges. Roads are often difficult if not impossible to pass, especially in the rainy season. The government does not maintain the roads in the area, so road repair is done by groups of CDH-organized volunteers, usually local *campesinos*. To get to

cult for her to develop adequate communication skills. CDH and its partner organizations are helping to coordinate specialist hearing and speech evaluations for Alba with a pediatric audiologist in San Salvador. Without this help, such an endeavor would

CDH determined what work needed to be done in the community based on its strategic plan, developed through in-depth discussions with communities about their needs, perceptions of services and areas for further growth.

the nearest town, people must walk 30 to 90 minutes up steep slopes to the closest bus stop and then take the bus that sporadically travels to town. Furthermore, no bridges cross the river that separates CDH from two of the communities served by the project. In the dry season, the river is low enough to cross by foot. In the rainy season, however, people use two unreliable suspension cables to transport themselves across the river. Those children wishing to obtain beyond a first-grade education level must make this commute every day to school. Transportation for health emergencies relies on a 1992 Toyota Hilux with 250,000 miles on it, locally known as *el anciano*. Such a ride costs 150 colones (\$17.14) in gas (plus car maintenance), a sum that is beyond the reach of many people in the area. Because CDH is concerned with providing necessary services to the local population, the organization pays for many of these rides out of its limited general operating funds.

The past year has been a challenging one for CDH as it struggles to establish itself as a Salvadoran NGO with legal standing and to obtain sufficient funding and support to continue serving its communities. Despite these obstacles, the CIDs have been able to continue offering children of the community access to high-quality early childhood development opportunities which were not previously available. Three-year-old Alba, who is most likely deaf, is one of the many children benefiting from CDH's early childhood health and development programs. Although Alba doesn't speak, she communicates avidly with gestures, and is easily seen to be extremely intelligent and developing well in other areas. However, unless she learns sign language or lip reading soon, it will be extremely diffi-

be completely out of reach for her impoverished family. Alba's struggles are not over. She has many difficult years ahead of her. Through ongoing support from her family, the community educator, the local health promoter and CDH, Alba and others like her will have the opportunity to reach their full potential.

Despite all of these challenges, the project's potential is enormous. CDH is a uniquely empowering organization run by the people of rural Morazán, for the people of rural Morazán. With solidarity and support, it will make a real difference.

Rebecca Sawady spent six months working with CDH this past summer/fall as a volunteer through Doctors for Global Health (DGH), funded through grants from DRCLAS, the Center for International Development and the Department of Population and International Health at HSPH. Rebecca is studying international health as a masters student at Harvard School of Public Health, where she is continuing her own professional development so that she will be able to better serve marginalized communities in rural Latin America. For more information about the project and how to become involved, please see DGH's website <www.dghonline.org> or e-mail Rebecca at <rsawady@hsph.harvard.edu>.

Photographer Ilille Sawady specializes in portrait and social documentary photography. Her work in El Salvador was made possible with support from Digi Photo, Flatiron Color Lab, K&M Camera Tribeca, L&I Color Lab and individual donors. She currently resides in New York City and can be reached at <ilille2@yahoo.co.uk>.

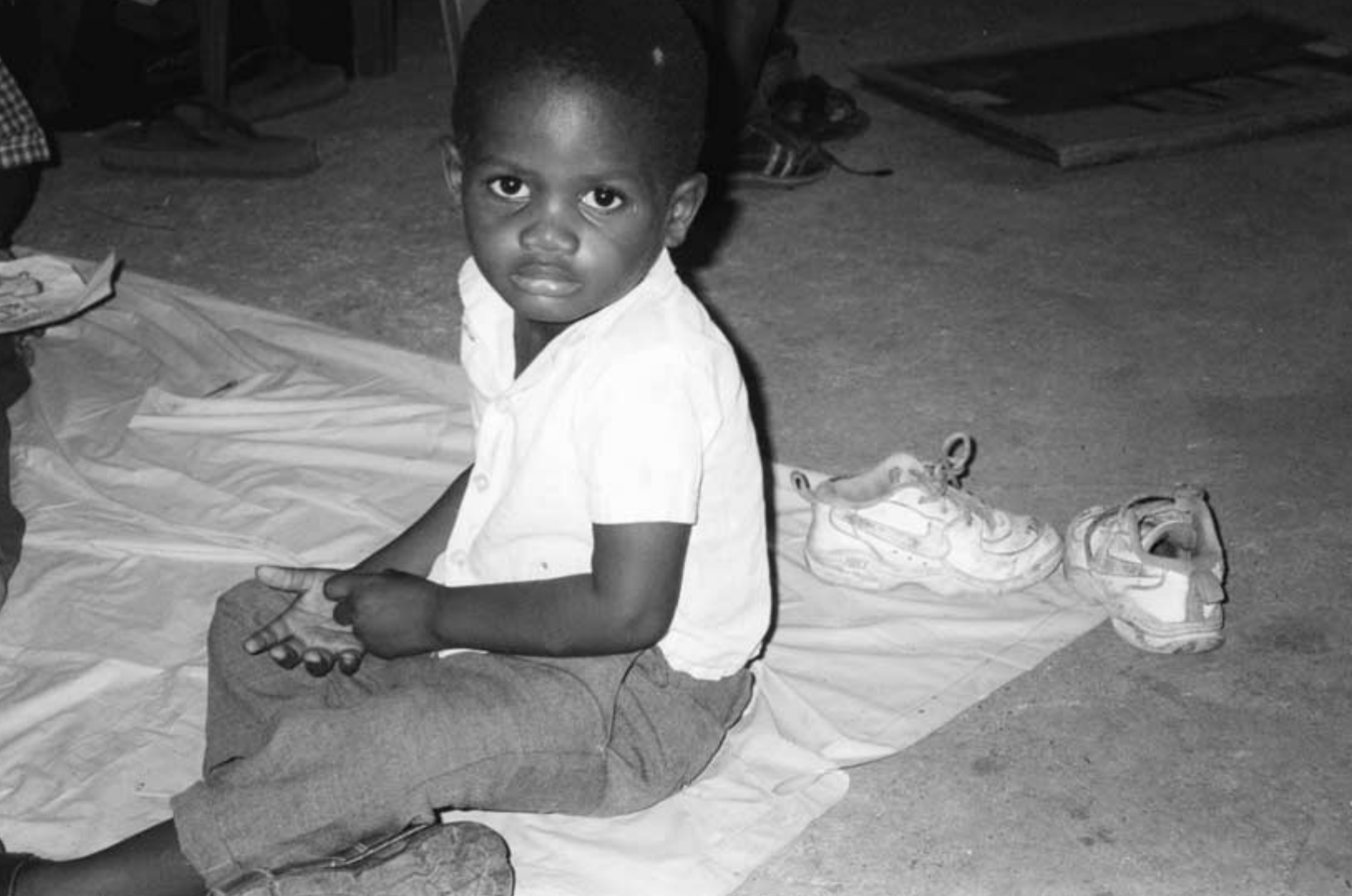
INTERVIEW WITH SIX YEAR-OLDS AZUCENA AND ÉLIDA

ON WHAT THEY LIKE TO DO IN THE KINDER:

Élida: A aprender, a pintar
Azucena: Y a escribir las vocales
Élida: Yo ya sabo la "a" y la "e"
Azucena: Yo también. Y la "u"

ON WHAT THEY DO AT HOME:

Azucena: Yo barro y lavo trastes y quemo [basura]
Élida: Yo voy a quebrar maíz a lavar maíz y a quebrar y a lavar el molino
Azucena: Yo también. Y a lavar la mesa y a lavar los platos
Élida: Yo a lavar los trastes me pongo.



Fostering Child Wellbeing

Integrating Mental Health and Health with a Children's Rights Perspective

BY MYRON BELFER WITH RAUL MERCER AND JAMES PERRIN

CHILDREN SLEEP AND WORK ON THE streets of many countries in the Western Hemisphere. They die too young. Injuries to children—whether intentional or not—exceed those in much of the rest of the world. Often, kids either don't get enough to eat or are not fed nutritious food. Substance abuse is a fact of life throughout Latin America. The stark reality of life for children in the countries of Latin America and the Caribbean brings home both the challenge and the opportunity for those of us concerned with children's health in the area. Projects in Chile, Jamaica, Costa Rica and Brazil are now seeking to make a difference by connecting rights-based public policy concerns with the more typical health agenda.

Nations in both Latin America and the

Caribbean provide fertile ground to demonstrate how to achieve better developmental outcomes for children. From the region, it is hoped that successful initiatives will gain the attention and support of international health agencies, governments, communities, stakeholders and families.

It is true that child wellbeing dramatically improved during the 20th-century. Indeed, several Latin American and Caribbean countries have had particularly striking improvements in the past decade. These changes have shifted the emphasis from enhancing child survival rates to finding ways to enhance the healthy development and wellbeing of the world's children.

Yet, when faced with overwhelming health and mental health problems, how can responsible individuals think beyond

direct assistance as a way of helping the growing number of children who survive beyond age five? Programs providing food or clinical intervention do change children's lives. The roots of the problem must be addressed; evidence from many parts of the world clearly shows that development and implementation of policies and programs attacking root causes are the way out of dire straits. These programs can impact social ecology and advance health and mental-health agendas. They can identify specific problems and solutions and allocate appropriate resources.

Our focus must shift from the more traditional concern with survival and disease. This can only be achieved if new ways to

[A child and his shoes on the Dominican border.](#)

collaborate can be demonstrated, new knowledge can be shown to make a difference in programs and policies, and new resources can be activated and used effectively to achieve child health and wellbeing. Resources currently exist in all domains that can demonstrate innovative ways to achieve these goals. The academic community, health organizations, other systems serving children and youth, and “the community” in Latin America and the Caribbean are some examples. Support from the community is essential for the success of this venture. The traditionally strong role of the family and community infused with new ideas will enable the development of novel strategies that may have broad applicability, replicability and implications for policy.

Recently, the Mental Health and Special Programs Unit of the Technical Services Health Area and the Child and Adolescent Health Unit of the Family and Community Health Area of the Pan American Health Organization (PAHO), the David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies (DRCLAS), the Department of Mental Health and Substance Dependence at the World Health Organization in Geneva and faculty from Harvard and Columbia universities collaborated to focus on the healthy development and wellbeing of children, rather than the more traditional emphasis on pathology associated with most other academic collaborations. PAHO is committed to achieving a better understanding of how new knowledge can be coupled with advocacy to demonstrate the potential for enhancing the health and mental health of children in Latin American and the Caribbean. Fostering collaboration among mental health and child health colleagues is an essential ingredient of this initiative. This collaboration seeks to integrate new knowledge with policy development in an innovative way to rethink and reorient health strategies. A key aspect of academic participation is the support for gathering data on the extent of the problem by utilizing the existing resources in a precise manner.

The initiative, hosted by DRCLAS, brought together participants with a wide range of skills—whether clinical, sociological, behavioral and epidemiological—that raise the level of dialogue. This dialogue can be utilized to develop imaginative programs aimed at influencing the social ecology in

ways that enhance child-related outcomes. The group and the initiative share a common belief that merging an understanding of social ecology and clinical knowledge in community-based research will lead to improved policy development, advocacy, and model program dissemination. All involved recognize the need for solid evidence of efficacy and effectiveness derived from research to convince policymakers of the importance of a plan to enhance child wellbeing which integrates early child development, child health and child mental health initiatives in a public health context.

The collaboration did not start with any preconceptions of the “right” way to approach a set of identified problems, but rather took root in existing, nascent programs. These programs demonstrated principles of organization, intervention and policy with a likelihood to compel notice by public policy makers and colleagues in

All of the projects have specific policy relevance in their countries, but offer the possibility for informing policy development throughout the region.

the early child development, child health and mental health fields of study. At the core of these diverse initiatives lies a belief in the potential of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child to foster the improvement of children’s lives and influence policy. The Convention has been embraced to a remarkable degree in Latin America and the Caribbean despite economic hardship and political turmoil. The models, once implemented, will demonstrate how to use the Convention to the maximum benefit of children’s health and mental health. Despite inequalities both within countries and between countries, each country has assets that can improve the wellbeing of children through effective policy-making.

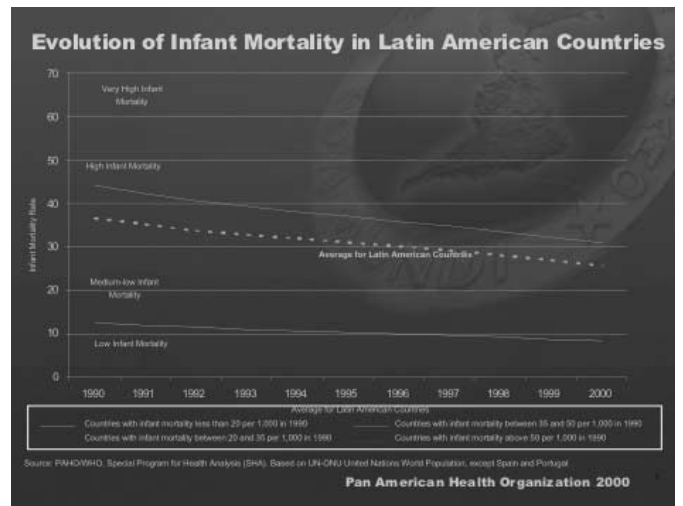
The overall notion that policy is a key vehicle to improving the lives of children comes from the conceptual model of Dr. Julius Richmond, Harvard professor emeritus and former Assistant Secretary of Health and Surgeon General of the United States. Dr. Richmond has shown the powerful interaction of “knowledge base,” social factors, political will and, ultimately, public policy. For the purposes of the present col-

laboration, the model is modified to identify specific policy impacting early child development and mental health promotion, and the development of community interventions as its social strategy.

THE GROUP IDENTIFIED FOUR PROJECTS, which although of diverse natures, all had a common focus on child wellbeing, theoretical framework, use of community interventions, their policy relevance, ability to be replicated and research rigor. Each project benefits from an experience, sometimes not well documented, that has identified problems or strengths in implementation, applicability to target groups and the potential to be incorporated in policy development and community interventions.

In Brazil, the impact of Guardianship Councils on child wellbeing will be studied. Guardianship Councils are a direct outgrowth of the Brazilian government’s

ratification of the UN Convention of the Rights of the Child—which thus far, has had a dramatic impact. Legislation recognized all children as citizens, not just those who violated the law as was previously mandated. With this policy, children were accepted as individuals with their own interests who should be treated as agents in society and not as passive recipients of philanthropic actions. The legislation led first to the establishment of Child Rights Councils with macro-level responsibilities and the Guardianship Councils which functions at the community level and ensures that children in need or at risk receive the best possible assistance. Councils can now be found throughout Brazil. While the distribution is wide, the impact of the Councils and their functioning remains obscure to many. The purpose of the pilot research will be to document the impact of the Councils on children’s health and wellbeing. The study will determine the factors that support the existence of the Councils, examine correlates and changes of child health and wellbeing associated with the actions of the Councils, and study the nature of linkages with other segments of



CHARTS COURTESY OF PAN AMERICAN HEALTH ORGANIZATION

World infant mortality trends and the evolution of infant mortality in Latin America.

the health and child-services sector.

In Costa Rica, the impact of maternal depression on the development of children will be studied. This builds on the well-documented positive impact of considering the family as a unit of intervention in which all risk factors are intertwined. This model, developed by Professor William Beardslee of Harvard Medical School and Boston Children's Hospital, has shown that when parents are depressed, their children are affected in various ways and by different mechanisms. Untreated maternal depression may lead to developmental distortions and, eventually, less than optimal overall development. The research in Costa Rica, in collaboration with Dr. Luis D. Herrera, will demonstrate the applicability of the model, adapted for use by clinicians in Costa Rica, for Latin American families and provide an enhanced understanding of the impact of culture and poverty, both key elements in appreciating the relevance of social ecology. The intervention also involves a psycho-educational preventive, that is, literally teaching individuals and families about depression and what can be done to lessen its impact.

In Jamaica, the project will focus on extending the findings of the Profiles project, which used community interventions to improve child developmental and behavioral outcomes over an extended period of time. Having already identified family and community factors that affect developmental outcomes by age six, there is now an opportunity to understand the impact of interventions at a later age and to focus on the policy relevance of the Profiles project.

This project can demonstrate the linkages or non-linkages between the social environment of the child and family and an optimal developmental outcome, as measured by school achievement.

In Chile, the pilot project builds on evidence that integrated health interventions can transform the life experience of children and lead to improved developmental outcomes. The conceptual framework is derived from Healthy Steps, which provides family support and education related to child development. The project will deliver comprehensive and developmentally-oriented health care in a middle-income society that has been impacted by structural realignment. Structural realignment refers to the economic changes associated with reforms urged by the World Bank in Chile. The research will assess the effectiveness of integrated health management programs for children under three-years-old as a community child mental health program compared to those currently in place. The project underscores the importance of embedding an appreciation of the role of risk, protective factors and a life course perspective to achieve the desired outcome of child wellbeing. The project also highlights the importance of family and community contexts as well as the role of the State through policy. Cost and cost effectiveness, key issues for policymakers, will be studied.

Thus, quite different projects, with conceptual frameworks that embrace common principles and objectives, will be able to demonstrate the importance of a rights-based perspective on health and mental health. The impact of this focus should be

evident through enhanced access, increased capacity for intervention and policy development. All of the projects have specific policy relevance in their countries, but offer the possibility for informing policy development throughout the region. The traditional focus on family and community in Latin America and the Caribbean make it a fertile ground for studying the impact of community-focused programs and may offer models applicable throughout the world. The elaboration of an understanding of families and communities will demonstrate the importance of valuing social ecology.

William R. Beardslee (Harvard Medical School, Children's Hospital Boston, Paula Bedregal (P. Catholic University of Chile), Myron L. Belfer (Harvard Medical School, World Health Organization), Mary Carlson (Harvard University), Cristiane Duarte (Columbia University), Felton Earls (Harvard Medical School), Luis D. Herrera (Fundacion Paniamor, Costa Rica), Christina W. Hoven (Columbia University), Raul Mercer (Center for Studies of State and Society, Argentina), Claudio T. Miranda (Pan American Health Organization), Helia Molina (Pan American Health Organization), James M. Perrin (Massachusetts General Hospital for Children) and Maureen Samms-Vaughan (University of the West Indies) contributed to this report, which was authored by Myron Belfer with Raul Mercer and James Perrin. They can be reached through Claudio T. Miranda at <mirandac@paho.org>.

Where the Patient Still Thinks...

The Doctor Knows Best

BY TARAYN GRIZZARD

LIKE A ROW OF DOLLS THEY SIT IN THE clinic waiting room—a dozen or so 14- and 15-year-old girls—all dressed nearly identically in navy blue school uniforms. With the television blaring real-life family drama overhead, we float about, getting charts and pill packs, getting ready for the next patient. It is another morning in the Santiago de Chile adolescent health clinic where I am interning and treating patients as a fourth-year medical student. I call out the next name and find my patient—a slip of a girl with frosted purple eye shadow with an uncertain, gangly gait favored by adolescents and baby deer—and walk her into the exam room. She sits, and with little preamble, the doctor of the day begins to ask excruciatingly detailed questions about her sexual activities. I watch, curious to see her reaction to his seemingly invasive interview. She seems comfortable enough with all of this, answering him easily, and ventures that she would prefer monthly injectable birth control. The doctor curtly replies that he does not think she needs anything other than standard oral contraceptive pills and points for her to undress for her internal exam.

Behind a completely inadequate curtain she calmly undresses while the doctor finishes his note and I scramble to prepare her for the exam. Ready for her exam, she lies in stirrups and draped as secretaries and other physicians come in and out of the room without knocking, the curtain barely shielding her from the traffic moving to and fro, the doctor talking to others while she waits. She sits up expectantly as we finish her exam, and the doctor tells her that he has decided that she will take the Pill and needs to return in two months. With a nod of his head and eyebrows she is dismissed, dashing out of the exam room and back to school with a backwards glance and friendly smile.

Probably the most amazing facet of this clinical situation is that the adolescent in question was even able to be there at all. As I learned from many conversations with my Chilean colleagues in obstetrics and gynecology and social services, adolescents in Chile face many difficulties and potential barriers

in caring for their reproductive health. As in many other South American countries, abortion is absolutely illegal, requiring government permission even if a mother's life is at risk, mostly due to the strong influence of the Catholic Church. An illegal abortion occurs every five minutes in Chile, either surgically or through mifepristone (RU-486), both of which can cause life-threatening health effects such as sepsis or hemorrhage. Adolescents who find themselves pregnant and choose to marry are facing a lifelong decision without recourse or solution, as Chile is the world's only democracy without a divorce law, another result of the very strong influence of Catholicism in Chile. Cultural hesitancy about sex education limits the availability of important knowledge about sexuality and reproduction, although in many *comunas* and cities *colegios* are now more likely to offer inclusive sex education. Finding her way to our clinic door *before* a pregnancy occurred was an accomplishment in and of itself, regardless of the visit's outcome.

Yet at the time of the visit described above, I was startled by the maturity of the adolescent in question and the callousness and paternalism of the doctor; either way, I initially saw this visit as a less-than-pleasant anomaly. However, while working independently as an intern, I soon discovered that most of the patients I saw were fairly comfortable with the extensive questions about the most personal aspects of their sexual lives, the clinical commotion that frequently disrupted pelvic and other private exams, and the fact that doctors sometimes make decisions regarding their care that directly oppose what they might prefer.

Cultural differences regarding modesty and expectations of a medical setting notwithstanding, the most striking thing to me about the aforementioned visit and my work in Santiago as a healthcare provider in general were the profound cultural differences in the patient-doctor relationship. In an effort to explain to me his clinical reasoning during the young girl's visit, the physician with whom I worked that day, along with many other of my colleagues in Santi-

ago, explained to me that the physician's goal in any clinical encounter was to decide what was best for the patient. His job was not to be a friend, or an intermediary between her and her parents, but to protect her welfare and do what he thought best; this is the reason patients come to a physician. This is especially true with adolescents, where a physician must act in place of her parents in granting her permission to use birth control—while they frequently do not want to involve their parents, they do want some adult to take charge of this matter for them.

So, far from being affronted that her doctor was acting, as Ferris Bueller would put it, as a parental unit, the 14-year-old girl we just saw expected that type of relationship with her doctor, and trusted that we would only do what was needed to take care of her needs. In fact, most patients in Chile seem to desire that type of relationship, and absolutely trust their physicians—a stunning contrast to the litigation-ridden healthcare industry in the U.S.

And it is this lack of industry that seems to make all the difference, although cultural expectations and sexual politics undoubtedly make a huge impact as well. While there are many private and highly profitable hospitals and clinics in Santiago, doctors in Chile are typically not wealthy compared to their U.S. counterparts; most struggle for income and must pay for a costly education. As a resident told me during my second week, patients in Chile know that their doctors must be dedicated to medicine to pursue it and thus will do for them everything that needs to be done. Perhaps the one benefit to the financial disarray of the U.S. medical system will be the possibility of re-equilibrating patient-physician relationships and enhancing patient trust in the physician who they know is present for only one reason—to take care of them.

Tarayn Grizzard is a 4th year Harvard Medical School student who spent the summer of 2002 in Santiago de Chile working in an adolescent reproductive health services clinic courtesy of a DRCLAS internship grant.



Photography and Citizenship

Photography and subtitles by the children of The Photography and Citizenship Project

TEXT BY JOÃO KULCSAR

THIS PHOTOESSAY EXAMINES HOW VISUAL literacy might be used as a tool to prevent HIV/AIDS with at-risk children and youth in Brazilian juvenile centers. Visual literacy can be understood as the ability of people to realize a visual representation system, associated with their capacity to express themselves through it (Donis A. Donis, 1973).

Every day we consume thousands of images through TV, newspapers, outdoor-signboards, advertisements, leaflets and other kinds of media. According to writer René

Huyghe, “we live in the 20th century in the Image Civilization.” In this image-oriented society, every citizen has the right to be taught to read visually in order to build a democratic society. The photograph, when understood as language, may be an important resource of information to interpret reality and lived experiences. Its ludic aspect allows developing the participants’ sensitivity, creativity and perception. Thus, the photograph shows itself as a powerful tool for the acquisition of knowledge and expression of citizenship.

The Project Photograph and Citizenship at Febem—a detention center that imprisons children and youngsters to serve sentences for murder, robbery and kidnapping—is the result of 13 years of research and practice in teaching children and young people from low-income communities to read through images. The photography classes, which began in August 1999, have enrolled 850 children and young people, as well as 75 monitors. The first of the three modules in the program aims to sensitize and train prison guards through fortnightly development



From left to right: The photographers' words: "AIDS is not on the face." —João; "Handshake does not transmit the HIV virus." —Felipe; "The world is not only made of flowers. Take care, wear a condom." —Leonardo; "Love your body." —João Victor

meetings. In the second module, the guards, now educators, give the basic course to the youngsters, emphasizing the importance of self-esteem and the critical reading of images. The third 100-hour module enables the youngsters to work in black-and-white photography studios and laboratory.

HIV/AIDS PROJECT

The environment, peace and HIV/AIDS are among the topics undertaken in the past four years. Within the period from May to November 2001, eight workshops from generated

material for the exhibition "FALANDO SÉRIO, MANO !" to raise awareness and clear up prejudices and stereotypes related to HIV/AIDS. The students from this course produced images and texts for an educative and preventive campaign in order to discuss means of preventing contamination of the virus. The exhibition and the catalog went through several Febem units in an awareness-raising work with other children and young people who couldn't take part in the course. The project was among the finalists of the Unicef Award 2001 in Brazil, and the pho-

tographs are part of the Ministry of Health's 2003 calendar.

João Kulcsar is The Photography and Citizenship project's coordinator and was a Fulbright Scholar at Graduate School of Education at Harvard University/Project Zero from 2002-2003. He teaches at Senac and in other social projects.

Visit <www.pan-optico.com.br> or e-mail : <jkulcsar@uol.com.br>.

Photographs continue on next page.>



Top: "This ticket will give you AIDS as a gift." —Camilo, Daniel, Gilhiard and Rafael; bottom: "Don't allow the AIDS get you, run from it with condom." —Leonardo, Paulo, Fabio.





"Don't be prejudiced." —André, João and Patrick



CULTURE AND EDUCATION

Through the Eyes of Children p. 32

Latinos and Social Reform p. 38

Academia Boston de las Artes p. 40

Academically Successful Latinas p. 43

Children's Art and Their Environment p. 45

Education in Costa Rica p. 48

Child Labor in Argentina p. 49

Children of the Favela p. 51

On the Dominican Border p. 52

The Role of Cinematography
in Social Change p. 54

Booting Up Amidst Flattened Frogs p. 55

Teen Life p. 56

Through the Eyes of Children

Barrio children help resolve ethical dilemmas in photography

BY ELLEN CALMUS

TWENTY YEARS AGO, I PUT MY CAMERA AWAY, SUSPENDING A photographic career I'd happily pursued for nearly a decade. I did this after publishing photos I'd taken in a Salvadoran war zone in 1983 during a summer of research on land reform. These were not the kind of war photographs you might imagine putting a photographer off photography forever, not the gory images of hurt bodies that magazine editors think twice about publishing, but photographs of a farming community. The photo I recall as having most disturbed me at the time was a picture of a very small boy walking through a field carrying a curved machete. The caption was a quotation from the people of that Morazán farming community: "Our children start carrying the *corvo* at the age of three, so that they will get used to it."

What was missing on the page disturbed me even more than

the violence of the poverty depicted there: the role of my own government in the boy's situation. At that time, community residents were in danger of dying of starvation because of the combined effects of a severe drought and a military blockade designed to weaken guerrilla presence in the area. Whether or not it was weakening the guerrillas, the strategy of cutting off supplies to this area—implemented by the Salvadoran army with the support and financing of the U.S. government—was starving the little boy with the *corvo*. Knowing this seemed to imply a responsibility for a citizen to do something about it. I felt an intense, if inarticulate, ethical discomfort about publishing these photos, these strangely attractive images of desperate people in brightly-colored scenic tropical settings, photos that did not manage to do anything at all in response to the tragedy I saw in them. My academic focus made me feel that it would be inap-

E. CALMUS <ECALMUS@POST.HARVARD.EDU>



*Call it “empowerment.” Call it “cultural agency.”
Helping children find their voices—whether through
photography, art, computing or excellent education—
enables social change.*

appropriate to use them for an explicitly activist purpose. But my inaction felt like a betrayal of the people in those photos. As if in publishing them for an unconcerned readership I would be promoting the ugly phenomenon Susan Sontag refers to in *Regarding the Pain of Others* when she writes: “It is passivity that dulls feeling.”

My (unsatisfactory) way of dealing with this ethical dilemma was to request that the editor of the photography magazine publish along with the photos my accompanying text, “Why You Can’t Be a Photographer in El Salvador.” I heard not a ripple of the shocked reaction I’d expected in response to the combination of photographs and text. I couldn’t tell what readers had understood about the real-

ity behind those pictures, but there was no sign that publishing them had accomplished anything more than filling those pages with colorful images. After that, I simply stopped being a photographer.

Ten years before I had been a Harvard Visual Studies major, inspired by the classes I took from a dynamic young teacher of documentary film and photography at Carpenter Center. Dick Rogers encouraged his students to consider the ethical as well as the aesthetic values expressed in our photography, and I was most impressed with the work he showed us by photographers like Dorothea Lange and Walker Evans. After graduation I went to work as a photographer and writer for an alternative magazine in Montana. Dick was enthusiastic when I showed him my clippings, which were very much in the vein of old-style investigative journalism: articles on working conditions in a mining town, on the suspicious jail death of a young Blackfeet

Left: Anayeli wanted to have her picture taken in her favorite tree; right: Alán came for his portrait bringing three flowers and two cousins.





Left top: Jimena's candy stand; left bottom: Confetti eggs for the barrio fiesta; above: Omar at his mother's fruit and vegetable shop.

Indian in a reservation town, on ecological scandals; with Dorothea Lange-inspired black and white portraits of Montana workers, small-town meter maids, Native Americans, farmers.

From Montana I went to Mexico, where I studied Spanish, photographed campesino theater groups and spent several years working with *Cine Mujer*, a Mexican feminist film group, making documentaries about issues like rape, abortion and women in the *maquila* industry. When I asked Dick if he would write a graduate school recommendation, he exclaimed, "Don't tell me: you're applying to medical school!" expressing a sort of amused dismay at how many of his former students were abandoning work in his field. I assured him that I was not applying to graduate school in order to change careers, but only because I was truly puzzled by how U.S. policy looked from outside the U.S. and wanted to understand it. He wrote me a lovely recommendation, but I suspect he saw me as another photographic casualty—which, in effect, I soon became after that summer of graduate school research in El Salvador.

In January 2001, El Salvador was hit by a series of devastating earthquakes. I returned there to work with a U.S. relief agency. On a cloudless morning a month after the first terrible quakes, as I was taking a taxi to the agency's office, a second series of even more destructive earthquakes battered the country. The agency's emergency director and I drove across the country to the worst-hit areas. We surveyed the destruction. The ground still trembled under our

feet. He handed me his digital camera. My hands shook as I took pictures of a mountain smoking from landslides cascading down its sides, a student carrying a typewriter out of the rubble, a woman crying in front of the ruins of her home. I was surprised to find that the people I asked for permission to take their pictures always gave it, often thanking me for being there and seeming to find it a relief to talk. Though I felt terrible about being empty-handed except for the camera—for we'd gone out ahead of the agency's trucks carrying relief supplies—I was struck by the fact that the survivors of this disaster seemed to feel a deep need for their experience to be witnessed by the outside world.

Suddenly photography started making sense to me again, especially when my photos went directly onto the relief agency's website. When the agency such record levels of donations for earthquake relief efforts that it was now expanding existing recovery programs and initiating others, it seemed those photos on the website had probably helped. I found myself regaining my lost faith in photography's potential to be a force for good.

On my way home to Malinalco, a small farming town in the mountains southwest of Mexico City, I bought a used digital camera, though it wasn't clear to me what it would mean to do photography here. I showed it to the children who come to the neighborhood educational resource center I've been running for the past several years, where I help them with homework and tutor them



Perla with flowers from her grandmother's garden

in any problem areas—as their parents often can't, not having had adequate educations themselves. The children and I do other things, too: art projects, games, singing, walks in the hills. The idea is to build self-esteem as well as strengthen their academic skills. The children immediately got excited about the camera and started telling me what pictures they wanted me to take.

That was the beginning of one of the most interesting photography projects I've ever done. I joked with friends that I was just the camera operator; it was the children who were the directors of photography. In fact, this was true. I found it fascinating to let them decide where they wanted me to take pictures and how they wanted to present themselves (for, not surprisingly, the pictures that interested them most were the ones of themselves). It seemed to me that the process produced a special quality in the expressions captured in these portraits: a self-assurance they normally display only among themselves, which tends to vanish in the presence of adults. While the fact that many of these photos are of smiling children might make them seem at first glance to be a rather polished variation

on your basic adorable-Third-World-kids tourist pictures, I see something quite different and exciting in them, images which say "This is ME."

I confess to enjoying the respite this process gave me from the need to justify taking pictures while I revived my long-dormant photographic skills. I was taking these photographs because the children wanted me to. That seemed to absolve me from any further need for justification. It was clear that the experience, along with the pictures they took home to their parents, constituted a major boost to the children's self-esteem. I liked the Freireian aspects of this method of subject-generated photography, including the fact that letting them direct the process was bound to be as instructive for me as it was for them. Two of the children reported that their parents had had the small prints I'd given them blown up and framed. I started detecting a new tone in the notes the children sometimes leave for me in my mailbox (When one wrote: "I am very PROUD of you, Ellen," I figured the wording was probably based on what her parents had said to her).

After I'd taken pictures of them in my yard, on the street, climb-



Carlos and his cousin José

ing the hill behind our barrio, leading a horse in from pasture, the children started bringing me their baby brothers, sisters, nephews and nieces to photograph, which in the natural course of things led to my photographing their adult relatives, as well—who, introduced to me by their own children, responded with enthusiasm. I began attending barrio processions and feast days, invariably finding that there would be children present who had studied with me or had come by to have their picture taken, who could introduce me to the adults I encountered, which made things more comfortable for us all. Eventually, the city of Malinalco agreed to mount an exhibit of these photos in the municipal cultural center, to be titled: *¡Que Viva El Rincón! Portraits of a Barrio*.

There was considerable excitement about the exhibit in the barrio. I had decided to make it a benefit for the community project called “El Rincón” which was evolving from our educational resource center, and the people in the barrio were quick to add their support. A newly-formed women’s income-generating group made tamales to sell at the opening; a group of young women studying computer skills with me on a recently-donated computer did the organizing to handle sales; neighbors who worked at a local nursery donated roses and the local brass band offered to play for the event. Mothers brought their children, all dressed up for the occasion, to cut the ribbon, and when the band struck up the rousing tuba-heavy music that I call “oompah-ranchero,” the children danced.

In the following weeks, every time I passed the cultural center I’d see some local resident studying the photos in the exhibit, often with a market basket over an arm, usually accompanied by a child or two. People from the barrio who had never been in the cultural center before went to see the exhibit; people I’d never met would introduce themselves to me as the parent, uncle, aunt, or grandparent of a child in one of the photos, which would naturally lead to a conversation about the portrayed child and a feeling of mutual pride. When I asked a local shopkeeper what he’d thought of the exhibit, he said: “It was good. We needed something like this.”

Nothing could have surprised or gratified me more than hearing that my photography was *needed*. Though it is practically a cliché

to say that art is necessary, in fact we continue to think of art as a luxury. When we think about the culture of the poor, we rarely think in terms of art appreciation. I believe that what the shopkeeper meant was that the exhibit proposed a barrio identity with which the residents of these sloping cobblestone streets could identify. But was this art? Certainly these photos have little in common with those of the Depression-era photographers whose work first inspired me. And it may be that these brightly-colored images of rather heroic-looking campesinos and their sassy but sensitive-looking children may strike some as being typified by that most damning of all adjectives (when applied to art, at least): sentimental—though I think that in the subject-generated photography of a population that has been oppressed for centuries, what might at first glance appear to be sentimental is actually something much more interesting.

If Dick Rogers were alive today, I’d want to continue our discussions about what art is and what it is for. Art or not, though, the children continue talking about these images, including their changing opinions about them and their ideas about other things they’d like to see in pictures. Meanwhile, young people who saw the exhibit continue showing up asking if they can take a class, or if Proyecto El Rincón could support a new community project. Municipal officials who saw the exhibit have given us the support requested for our projects. Without knowing what kind of aesthetic evaluation these photographs will receive from the world outside Malinalco, I find I’m satisfied with the ways in which they are useful both to the subjects themselves and to their community. I’ve found a direction for my photography that I can pursue with conviction.

Several of the children of El Rincón reviewed the photos I sent to June Carolyn Erlick for this issue of *ReVista*. They found it interesting to see themselves in black and white, but decided they like

I joked with friends that I was just the camera operator; it was the children who were the directors of photography. I found it fascinating to let them decide where and how they wanted to present themselves.

their pictures better in color. Anayeli confessed that she would prefer not to have a portrait we took together displayed in Malinalco, because it shows us wearing the famous locally-produced Mexican shawls called *rebozos* (“They’ll say we look like grannies!”) but said she wouldn’t mind it being published in a place as far away as Harvard. You can see color versions of some of these and other photos at <www.ElRincon.org>. If you visit our website, I hope you’ll tell us what you think of the photos and of our community projects: we will be delighted to hear your comments and ideas, and the children love getting messages from friends in other places.

Ellen Calmus graduated from Harvard in 1973 and received her MPA from the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs at Princeton in 1986. She lives in Malinalco, Mexico, where she is writing a book about the Salvadoran war and coordinating Proyecto El Rincón <www.ElRincon.org>, a barrio-based community project which includes an educational resource center and educational development projects for children, youths and adults.

Latinos and School Reform

Voice, Action and Agency

BY LOUIE F. RODRIGUEZ

RICARDO STOOD SHOCKED. HIS TEACHER WAS TELLING HIM, “You should drop out of school and go back to the Dominican Republic because immigrants are taking American tax dollars.” An 11th-grade student at Pérez High School, Ricardo thought to himself, “First of all, I was born here, second of all, that’s messed up.” While the above anecdote is not characteristic of all student-teacher interactions in U.S. schools, Ricardo, like many other Latino urban high school students, are often subjected to cruel treatment in school. The research shows that these experiences directly affect student attitudes and performance in school, yet there is little evidence that students have opportunities to voice such experiences and opinions. This article provides a snapshot of my work with Latino high school students in one urban classroom in an attempt to co-create that critical, yet absent, space to discuss their experiences, validate their perspectives and exercise their agency in analyzing and transforming their high school.

THE URBAN CONTEXT

Urban high schools, such as Pérez (a fictitious name for a Boston-area high school), often have high dropout rates, low test scores, high teacher turnover and are often lacking in resources. These schools operate in areas plagued by high poverty and poor social services. According to the 2000 census, Latinos tend to concentrate in these urban metropolitan areas. Such communities are also characterized by high rates of residential segregation. According to Gary Orfield, co-director of the Civil Rights Project at Harvard University, Latinos are experiencing the most rapidly growing rates of residential segregation among all U.S. racial groups, surpassing even those of African-Americans. High levels of residential segregation are often associated with poorly performing schools. In many ways, Pérez High School reflects these nationwide trends and Ricardo and his classmates (all names used in this article are pseudonyms to protect confidentiality) are experiencing their effects.

Despite widespread school reform efforts, urban schools continue to face these troubling realities. For decades, policymakers, researchers, educators, and various other stakeholders have tried to improve these conditions. Yet, there has been little change, especially for Latinos and other historically neglected groups. This widespread failure calls for new approaches to school reform. While students are most affected by school reform efforts, reformers have largely overlooked and ignored students themselves. However, an increasing number of studies incorporate students’ voices into the school reform equation. This process both empowers students and enlightens educators to make more informed decisions about policy, research and practice in the classroom. Yet, students are incessantly marginalized and made “objects” of reform, rather than active “subjects” of the process. Soliciting students’ input, training them to do research in their schools, and including them in the research processes that inform reform efforts, places students in the role of the “expert.”

As a doctoral student at the Harvard Graduate School of Education, I am working with Latino high school students to name, analyze, and understand their schooling conditions and to brainstorm ways to improve those conditions. Paulo Freire’s *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* describing his work with Brazilian peasants has been an inspirational force; we Harvard graduate students learned that to engage people in social change, you must start with the people, where they are, in their context. We used Freire’s problem-posing method (defining the problem, exploring the causes, outlining solutions). The students defined the problem and we trained these young people to conduct research in their own school and finally to present their findings to Pérez High’s administration and faculty. As my peers and I recognize that monumental school reform does not occur overnight, we provided the space and the students guided the process that transformed these Latino high school students from “objects” to “experts” of school reform, engaging and guiding them to exercise their agency as critical thinkers, researchers, and students.

CRITICAL STUDENT RESEARCHERS

A classroom of twenty Pérez High School students volunteered to “work with graduate students on addressing issues in school” in October 2002. The four graduate students were one African-American female and one male, a Caucasian female and myself, a Chicano. To begin the process, we provided students with a brief history of school reform in the U.S. We had them pay special attention to the lack of student voice in decisions affecting their lives in school. When told that adult decision-makers have historically determined what is best for them and their education, many students responded, “that’s the way it goes.” However, when we discussed reform at the school level, focusing directly on Pérez High, we struck a nerve.

At Pérez High—as in many large urban schools across the nation—reformers decided to break down the large school structure into more personalized small learning communities (SLCs). However, there is little evidence demonstrating how these SLCs actually work, especially from the students’ perspective. We began to ask about their experiences in these SLCs. We found that these students’ experiences directly challenged the literature on effectiveness of SLCs. The literature states that “smaller is better,” associating smaller school contexts with lower dropout rates, stronger student-teacher relationships, higher test scores, and lower rates of student absenteeism. However, Latino students at Pérez High—Mando, Jisely, Roberto, José, and Cristina, among others—say their experiences with SLCs is quite different.

This conversation led to a larger discussion about the school culture at Pérez High School. Jisely and Roberto complained of teachers who, “spent most of the class period discussing their trips to Europe” or described experiences when teachers let students “just sit there” for the entire class period without instructing them or assigning work. One day as we were finishing a lesson, an older White teacher entered the room and noticed me talking to Ricardo

about his aspirations to be a singer. As Ricardo left the room, the teacher turned to me and said, "I don't know why you are working with him. He is 18 years old, in the 11th grade, and is always absent. There's no point." I responded by saying, "Did it occur to you that he might be here today because we are here?" I walked away. This experience corroborated what the students were saying, "there is a culture of low expectations at this school."

Following Freire's method we had worked with the students to define the problem: "a culture of low expectations" existed at Pérez High. The next step was to explore the causes of this problem. In order for students to identify the causes, they needed some evidence of their claim. We discovered that in order to catch the eye of teachers, administrators, and possibly district office personnel, the students needed to speak in a language these decision makers could understand—the language of research. At the same time, we believed that students conducting research could lead other Pérez students to become involved in school issues.

Between November and December, we discussed research methodology. We taught students the method of interviewing, survey design and participant observation. We also discussed data analysis and ways of presenting findings. Through this process, students brainstormed and designed their own interview and survey questions, data analysis possibilities, and presentation techniques. Students learned that the problem was much larger than they thought. While most students seemed happy at school, only a very small percentage of students felt that their teachers cared about them. Another small percentage reported that teachers actually helped students with their work when a request was made. Students realized that the school overall, from the students to teachers to guidance counselors, reflected a culture of low expectations for students.

"When told that adult decision-makers have historically determined what is best for them and their education, many students responded, 'that's the way it goes.'"

The most powerful aspect of the experience was the student presentations to the student body and faculty, in which students discussed findings central to their inquiry as well as solutions to these problems. The student researchers created handouts, electronic media, and other visuals to present their findings. At one presentation to 10th through 12th graders, I asked a Latina in the audience about her thoughts regarding students doing research on their own schools. She said, "I think it's good. This gives us hope that we can actually do something about this." Another African-American male said, "I like this. This makes me feel that I can do this too, you know, research on my own school." It seemed that by students leading the research process and presentations of findings, a seed of hope and possibility was planted in the minds of students beyond the core research group. Presenting the work to their peers was dissemination of research findings at its best.

The second presentation was made to the school administrators, who surprised student researchers with their open and receptive attitudes. In fact, these adults seemed truly impressed by students' candid and direct articulation of their findings. I had indeed been pessimistic about their possible reaction, especially since the student-

conducted research was highly critical of the "culture of low expectations." One Latina student, Zania, explained, "we are the voices of students, we are here to speak out what we feel." Bobby's understanding of engaging in the process was "we are here to talk about what our school has that we need to get rid of." Later in the presentation, in an attempt to encourage the administrators to provide written feedback to the student researchers, Catalina said, "In order for us to understand you, we need to know where you are coming from. There are two sides to every story and we want both." Not only was 16-year-old Catalina very direct in her charge to the faculty, she was also suggesting cooperation and collaboration with them. In her words, she suggested a democratic process, to work with administrators to curtail the culture of low expectations at Pérez High. Later, Catalina told the administrators, "We know change will not happen over night. We need to know how administrators are going to help us. What resources you are going to provide. We can motivate students but we need the administrators to have our back." Catalina impressed upon administrators that collaboration on combating problems at Pérez High needed to be collaborative, while also pressuring administration to support students' efforts. At the close of another meeting in which students presented to the entire school faculty, the headmaster asked the faculty for volunteers to join a committee with students to address these issues. More than sixty faculty members signed the sheet in interest of joining the student-faculty committee. (Unfortunately, due to the depletion of our one-year budget, we did not follow up and our last contact with the school suggested that no committee was actually set up).

This experience provided students with a space to critically engage in issues directly affecting their lives as students while providing them with some valuable skills, which could be used beyond this experience.

In many ways, all we needed to do as adults was to ask students critical questions. Students' responses led them in various directions that eventually guided them in exercising their agency by directly engaging in the school reform dialogue. In many ways, and for a brief moment, these urban Latino

high school students were the "subjects" of school reform, rather than merely "objects." Taking advantage of this captive audience of Latino high school students in one classroom, the engagement of 20 students led to a discussion with more than a thousand students at Pérez High about the importance of student voice and action for true school change. It is our hope that adults heard the message. It was our intention that students' realized the critical and transformative nature of the educative process. As for me, the students taught me that education can and should be about voice, action, and liberation. We followed the perspective of Eileen de los Reyes, a critical intellectual and former professor at Harvard who impressed upon her students to not only understand Freire intellectually, but to politically practice these ideas daily. Hopefully, if Ricardo is faced with a similar experience that introduced this article, hopefully he will name the problem, identify the causes, and initiate some solutions.

Louie F. Rodriguez is a fourth year graduate student at the Harvard Graduate School of Education. His research interests include urban education, Latino education, social policy, education reform, and the role of education for social and political change.



Academia Boston de las Artes

Transforming Education in Argentina

BY LINDA NATHAN

THE PEDRO GOYENA SCHOOL NO. 21 SITS ON A DUSTY STREET in the remote town of Charata in northwestern Argentina. The flat soybean fields in this region go for miles, and the heat can reach 120 degrees in the summer. The next town is 45 minutes away. I stepped out of a 1970s-vintage taxi onto the dirt sidewalk and walked into the school's courtyard, which also functions as a gathering place for exhibitions and performances.

I visited six public high schools, including Pedro Goyena, in Argentina last November. I witnessed a remarkable transformation taking place in collaboration with my own school, the Boston Arts Academy. Inspired by our success in creating an arts-intensive urban school that serves an enormously diverse group of students, a unique school reform project is now in its third year of implementation there. The project, funded by four local foundations and receiving support (but no extra funding) by the Argentine Ministry of Education, is known there as "Academia Boston de las Artes."

Pedro Goyena's principal Patricia Avila conducted a whirlwind tour for myself and a Boston Arts Academy teacher. We started in an excellent math class in which students were building a battery-powered Ferris wheel all with polygons and solving a jig-saw puzzle with algebraic formulas. From there we went to the "Multiple Intelligences Room," inspired by Howard Gardner's famous theory of learning, which also functions as a library with a collection of perhaps 100 books. This room, funded in large part by the project, is the centerpiece of much of the new pedagogy in the school. Here, students, teachers, and parents can use print resources to plan more arts-based lessons. Students were working on anthologies of their favorite poets and also writing their own poetry and stories, then sewing the books together and illustrating each page. The construction paper they used was not exactly of rare-book collection quality, but the pride with which the students showed me their work told me something special was taking place here.

The photography classroom had only a makeshift lab and a very limited chemical supply, but the students reported that they had already been hired by the municipality to work on a new town history. With enormous satisfaction they showed me photos they had taken of historical landmarks and houses in the town. They explained that this would be the first time any of their work would be published. "No one knew the history of any of these buildings. We are the first to really tell this story. See this building. There was actually a small theatre here over fifty years ago. Many people say that this town had more activity then. These pictures will go in a book. Then the story of Charata will be known. More of us will be proud to come from here." The teachers nodded as their stu-

dents spoke. "This is the kind of authentic work that makes the students really want to come to school." I asked if any of the students had thought about pursuing a career in journalism or photography after high school. "No," a lanky dark hair girl answered, "but I am going to try and go to college. I know I have good ideas. I didn't really know that before."

A sign on the wall of one classroom read "We are not responsible for the face we are given, just the face we put on." Almost everyone at Pedro Goyena told us the same story, about how the school district refused to put fencing around the school even after the well pump had been stolen three different times, leaving the school without fresh water. Avila had wanted to hire a night watchman, but there was no money. Yet there was an upbeat mood to the school. Students put on a wonderful show for us, of tango, mime and song. They were overjoyed that we had come to visit.

All six of the schools we visited serve students from poor and working-class families in urban, rural or semi-rural regions of the provinces of Buenos Aires, Chaco and Santa Fe. The project seeks to reduce student drop-out rates, increase student achievement and improve teachers' content knowledge. Each school is discovering its own way to integrate the arts into its curriculum, but all share a conviction that arts can transform student learning, teachers' pedagogy, family involvement and the very nature of the school culture and community.

The project evolves from the idea that the language of arts and culture allows students to experience alternative paths of learning

More than 4,000 students and 700 teachers have participated in the *Academia Boston de las Artes* project over the past three years.

and of demonstrating their knowledge. Teachers are equally affected. When exposed to different ways of thinking about teaching, they can change their own methods and even their long-held beliefs (often negative) about students. More than 4,000 students and 700 teachers have participated in the Academia Boston de las Artes project over the past three years. More schools are now being selected to be members of a larger vanguard of public schools in Argentina determined to bring arts back into education.

None of the schools we visited look very impressive physically. One is housed in a converted factory building (much like the Boston Arts Academy). Another sits on the outskirts of town in Santa Fe in a new building that is already bursting at the seams from overcrowding. Energy and life explode from every corner of this building. You can barely hear in the math classrooms because of the drumming next door. Theater rehearsals take place in a crowded classroom that is also used for academic classes. The Academia Boston de las Artes has enabled them to acquire some radio, video

Scenes from Argentina: dancing, making art, showing off drawings.

and photography equipment, theater supplies, music, newspapers and literary magazines.

All of us were moved by the way teachers and students at Pedro Goyena were able to achieve such a high level of artistic and academic understanding with so few resources, and by their obvious commitment to their work. At the end of the day we asked the teachers how the project had been going. They explained that they could not stay long to talk: they were “taxi teachers,” which means that they had to leave immediately to teach in another school 45 minutes away in order to earn their salary. But they stayed long enough to say that the arts had enriched everyone’s lives.

“Our students need to express themselves,” said one teacher, Lidia, “whether in song, in writing, taking pictures, or constructing shapes in math class. Our students feel that they belong here now and they will stay well after school is finished to practice their music or develop their pictures. And for us, our attitude has changed. The teaching situation is so bad in Chaco, but we have received professional development and learned that there are other methods that can be applied in the classroom. The use of art has helped us understand our students better. We now can see that they really do learn in different ways. Multiple intelligences do exist.”

At Hermoso Campo, a small and even poorer town in the same region as Charata, we found that students had painted murals on every possible wall, and everyone took real pride in the school’s tiny radio station. The windowless library that had been built as an annex to the main building had to be used full-time as a classroom, but the teachers were hoping that the district would allow them to build another building one day.

Estela, one of the original teachers in the project, showed me the books her students had written and illustrated. “I want to publish them,” she said, “but where will the money come from? The primary school in town has so few books. These could be the beginning of their library.” I had first met Estela three years before. She had been skeptical that anything good would ever come to her small town. Now she was looking to publish her students’ writing and seeking foundation support for the project.



School boys creating art.

We watched student videos at Hermoso Campo and were struck by their detailed research and storyboard skills, all done without a computer or editing equipment. The students were making a video about our visit, and they interviewed us on our way out. “What will you take away from our school?” a girl of about 16 asked me. “Your commitment to learning,” I said without hesitating. “I am impressed with how you all want to learn in new ways and how your teachers want to teach in new ways.”

In the province of Santa Fe, we visited a school with more than 600 students where everyone was showcasing their work. It was truly a whole-school exhibition. Students sat at desks with science projects, art projects, essays, poems, and all sorts of small-business ventures, selling bread, perfume, lamps, jewelry, soap. Art had become the focus of entrepreneurship classes. At the assembly, the entire school, along with parents and many babies (there are a number of single parents in this school), crowded into the multi-purpose room to hear the school band. Everyone knew the tune and chimed in, but the most compelling moment came when the drummer, Edwin, approached the stage holding a creased paper, his hand shaking. He began to read.

“Three years ago this room didn’t even exist,” he said. “This project has allowed us to build this room, and this stage, and bring music to our school. Three years ago I didn’t think I would even finish high school. Today I stand here before you, my teachers, and many parents and fellow students, and I tell you that I am changed. My class has changed. We have been able to express our creativity. We have been able to sing about what is important to us. We have been able to create something. I am finishing school. I am going to be somebody. I thank you, teachers, for what you have done.”

At every school, the project grant managers, district supervisors, school administrators, teachers, and students told me the same things: Classrooms were more alive now. Teachers took risks—we even visited a classroom where two teachers team-taught, a radical idea in Latin America. There was a better relationship between students and teachers, and between students and students. Arts had helped to break down social class barriers. The teachers, too, had begun to express themselves, and to believe in their own potential for creating better schools.

Everyone talked about how school now felt like something worth belonging to. Everyone talked about their pride in the art that students were creating. Everyone talked about the involvement of parents and the community. No one felt like the work was over. Economic troubles, low pay scales, natural disasters, and, in the urban schools, all the complex problems that accompany city life, threatened to wipe out the hard-earned advances these six schools had made. But everyone was committed to continuing.

I hope to return to Argentina in three years and to find many more schools involved in the project, with local artists contributing and more foundations and private citizens working to improve the public schools. For now, at least, Academia Boston de las Artes is alive and well in Argentina.

Linda Nathan is the founding headmaster at Boston Arts Academy a pilot high school in the Boston Public School. She can be reached at <lnathan@boston.k12.ma.us> or 617-635-6470. She is also a Lecturer at Harvard Graduate School of Education.



Poverty is not Destiny

Academically Successful Latinas

BY AIDA HURTADO

A RECENT STUDY BY THE AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF UNIVERSITY Women Educational Foundation (2001) made national headlines as it documented that Hispanic women had the highest dropout rate from high school (30 percent) in comparison to Blacks (11.1 percent for males and 12.9 percent for females) and whites (9.0 percent for males and 8.2 percent for females). The following article from *The Monitor*, a South Texas newspaper, was not unusual in attributing the high dropout rates of Latinas to “cultural values.”

Schools must do more to recognize cultural values that saddle Hispanic girls with family responsibilities, such as caring for younger siblings after school, that take away from educational endeavors . . .

“Many Latinas face pressure about going to college from boyfriends and fiancés who expect their girlfriends or future wives not to be ‘too educated’ and from peers who accuse them of ‘acting white’ when they attempt to become better educated or spend time on academics,” the study said.

The reports of this study failed to mention or recognize in their analysis of Latinas’ “school failure” the poverty of many families, inferior schools with overcrowded classrooms, poor teaching and the constant threat of violence many poor students have to nego-

Despite poverty and cultural differences, many Latinas thrive academically.

tiate on a daily basis. By relying on a cultural explanation for the school failure of Latinas, the reports appearing in newspapers fell prey to what the anthropologist Virginia Domínguez calls “culturalism,” that is, over relying on “cultural” factors in attributing causation and ignoring other equally powerful structural influences like poverty on Latinas’ behavior.

This report also inadvertently blames Latino parents for their children’s school failure and fails to distinguish different parenting styles within poor, Latino communities. In rushing to judgment and blaming Latino culture as transmitted by parents, it does not allow for the examination of educational success even among the poorest Latino residents in this country.

Let me tell you two stories taken from my book *Voicing Chicana Feminisms: Young Women Speak out on Sexuality and Identity* (New York University Press, 2003) that refutes these views of Latino families and give us a powerful portrayal of what social psychologists call “resilience” in children. That is, that in spite of considerable barriers like poverty and cultural differences between home and school, many children thrive and are able to perform academically and succeed in life.

ALICIA GRANILLO

Alicia Granillo was born in Los Angeles, California, to Mexican immigrant parents. Her parents were so poor that when Alicia was born, her mother took her home from the hospital to their home in East Los Angeles on the bus. Alicia’s mother immigrated to Los Angeles from Durango, Mexico, in 1970 with four children;



Girl in window

C. ZISSIS <CZ313@NYU.EDU>

she eventually became pregnant with Alicia. Alicia’s father was a farmworker. Her parents separated later and Alicia and her mother moved to Las Vegas, Nevada, when Alicia was

fifteen. Alicia’s siblings were already grown. At the time I interviewed Alicia, she was 26 years old and had received her bachelor’s degree in business from the University of Nevada, Las Vegas. Alicia’s mother, who was sixty-five years old, was a dishwasher in one of the casinos in Las Vegas. Alicia was in graduate school and she saw the contradiction between her class background and her classmates who when talking about their parents would say “My mom’s a professor or teacher,” even a teacher’s assistant or truck driver. It’s like, ‘Oh, my mom’s a dishwasher,’ because she doesn’t have the language skills.”

RUTH N. LOPEZ TURLEY

Ruth was 24 years old when I interviewed her and had received her bachelor’s degree in sociology and Spanish from Stanford University. She had grown up in Laredo, Texas, a border town in the southern part of the state. Ruth’s mother had been orphaned as a

child and homeless in Nuevo Laredo, Mexico. Laredo and Nuevo Laredo (the city on the Mexican side) are connected by a bridge, which Ruth’s mother simply crossed one day and found herself being picked up by the authorities in the United States and placed in an orphanage in this country. Her mother eventually left the orphanage and married Ruth’s father. Neither of Ruth’s parents had very much education but Ruth excelled in high school and ended up being admitted to Stanford.

Aside from similar cultural, language, and social class backgrounds, what do these two Latinas have in common? They were both graduate students at Harvard University. They had overcome enormous hurdles to enter and complete their graduate training. Alicia Granillo (a pseudonym picked by her) obtained a master’s in education and Ruth López Turley a doctorate in sociology. Both attributed their educational success to a combination of factors: their mother’s encouragement and sacrifices (both came from single-head of households), educational programs designed for students of Color (Ruth had attended a summer program at Harvard University during high school), mentorship by teachers and peers who knew more about college than they did, and most importantly, financial assistance directed at students of Color and poor income students. In other words, academic success is dependent on a variety of factors, including parents, but not entirely so. Their stories of success also indicate that institutions of higher education can have a proactive role in attracting talented students of Color and can help them overcome structural barriers such as poverty and geographic isolation.

Many Latino parents want what is best for their children, including education. However, many of Latino students are the first in their families to attend college, and many times, the only ones to

Newspaper reports relied too much on “cultural” factors in attributing causation and ignored other equally powerful structural influences like poverty on Latinas’ behavior.

finish high school, so parents are at a loss of how exactly to enforce their commitment to educational achievement. Alicia and Ruth’s stories show that poverty is not destiny and even though “querer es poder” (where there is a will is a way), such values have to be undergirded by special programs and by proactive institutions of higher education.

For more examples of the different educational trajectories of Latinas, see *Voicing Chicana Feminisms: Young Women Speak Out on Identity and Sexuality* (New York University Press, 2003) based on interviews with a national sample of 101 Mexican descent Latinas attending institutions of higher education. *Aida Hurtado*, a native of South Texas and the first in her family to attend college, is Professor of Psychology at the University of California, Santa Cruz. She is the author of *The Color of Privilege: Three Blasphemies on Race and Feminism* (University of Michigan Press, 1996) and co-editor of *Chicana Feminisms: A Critical Reader* (Duke University Press, 2003). Her next book *¿Quien Soy? (Who am I?) ¿Quiénes Somos? (Who are we?): Chicana/o Identity in a Changing U.S. Society* will be published by University of Arizona Press, April 2004.



Journey of Remembrance

Children's Art Inspires Renewal

BY BARBARA EDWARDS AND MOIRA GANNON

THE SPANISH-SPEAKING IMMIGRANT CHILDREN IN NORTHERN Virginia busily draw what home looked like. Their vivid drawings give us a sense of the environment with which they feel comfortable, a physical space informed by nature.

A group of seventh and eighth grade English to Students of Other Languages (ESOL) students from Central and South America who attend Herndon Middle School in northern Virginia's Fairfax County recently participated in a "Journey of Remembrance" to help explore how psychological research can inform interior design. The goal was to help create a more aesthetically inviting and efficiently designed interior of a social service center in Washington D.C.

The children's pictures enrich the design project and are a vital aspect of it, precisely because of their expressive nature and unrestricted use of the elements of design in evoking the reality of their homeland.

With their drawings, the children vividly showed us that immigrants do not disconnect from their native environment. Although physically separated from a particular landscape, its reality co-exists as if it were with their new environment. It even intrudes and imposes itself in myriad ways upon the workings of their lives. Young immigrants do not readily forget their native land.

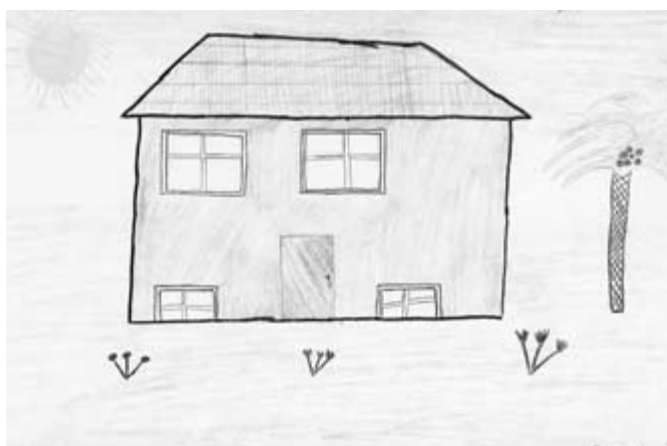
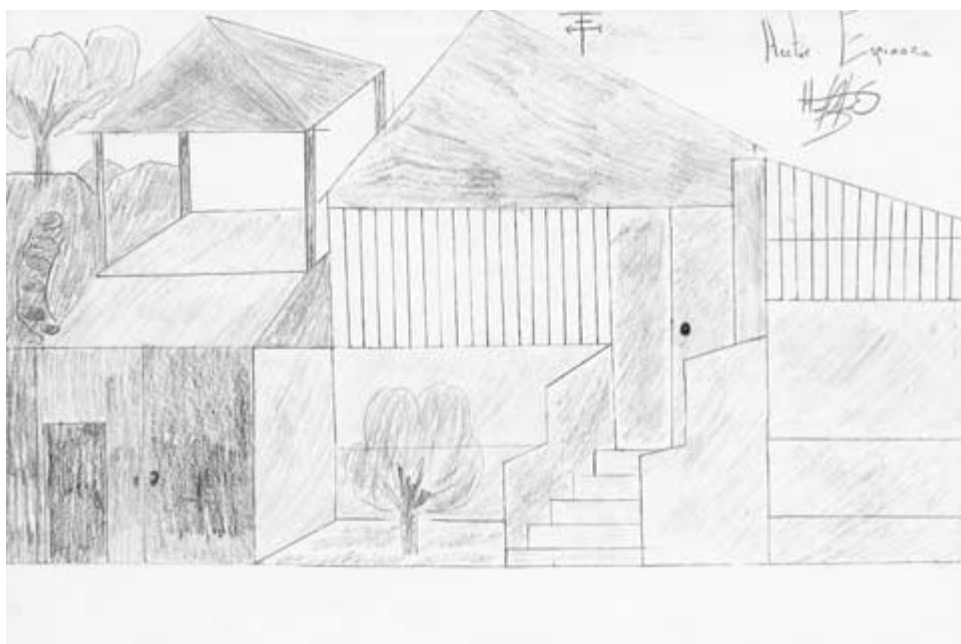
In their "Journey of Remembrance," the children drew a memory of "home" in their native land. The children produced pictures, which, although particular to their place of memory, convey a world where nature and the works of man do not merely co-exist: they intertwine. The children created pictures in which houses grow from the landscape and are one with the mountains, roofs are extensions of the trees, and the space for animals accommodates living space for a family. The glorious colors of the environment are the palette for the student artist; the territory is delineated by horizons, whether they are gardens, paths, fences, trees, or flowers—living organisms make room for man-made edifices. The exterior leads the viewer to the interior, to the hearth of the house.

The drawings also invite the viewer to imagine a world, a vision, that while not physically present to them, is actually alive and dom-

inant in the immigrant's journey of discovery in this new world. These images help students to cope with the loss of their native surroundings and give them hope to embrace the future "place" in their lives. They validate the "homes" of their parents, grandparents, and relatives. They create pictures to be guarded and cherished, not disregarded nor considered as outdated, insignificant, or obsolete. Although the students live in a cement city, the recollection of their native environment is not diminished. On the contrary, it is magnified so that the smallest detail evokes great emotion. Consequently, the need to be connected to that recollection is vital.

By illustrating these memories, the students' images reach beyond the individual to the community in an attempt to help other immigrants on their journeys. The drawings formed the basis of a methodology employed in a Graduate Interior Design Thesis Project for the community center design. Mainly Hispanic immigrants will use the center. Originally, the drawings were intended to complement the methodology of interviewing adult immigrants who use the center's services. The goal was to look for information in both the adult verbal interviews and children's drawings that would yield cultural elements and symbols applicable to the interior design. What became apparent was the overwhelming influence of nature captured by the children in their artwork. The adult interviews also revealed that nature is an innate element in their lives and one that they miss in their present situation. However, the language deficiency of the adults could often not convey what the drawings of the children so vividly expressed. The children had no inhibitions or expectations with their drawings; their recollections are open, free from restraint or the threat of adult censure. The adults seemed constrained by formalities—real or imaginary—and even blighted memories.

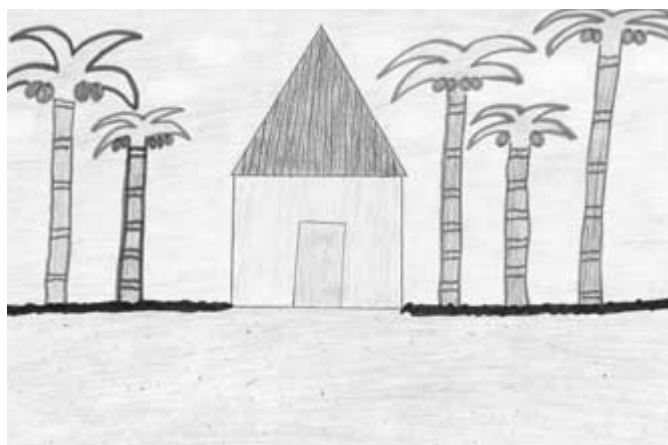
The focus on nature in the children's perceptions thus necessitates its inclusion in the design process. Nature serves as both a catalyst in the development of the design concept and a metaphor to help reach tangible design solutions. The applications of natural and "environmentally friendly" materials are part of a broader inten-



tion to explore the restorative aspect of nature on users within the interior environment. In applying materials that are less harmful to the environment, people will suffer less toxicity. By incorporating nature-inspired design elements, stress is reduced, physically and psychologically. This social service center is a place of renewal, where immigrants restore the loss incurred by unemployment, receive med-

ical and dental assistance, seek guidance on immigration status, and benefit from educational programs.

The workers at the center are the true guides to restoration, but they can benefit from an environment that assists them on this journey. Nature fills the landscape of memory and past journey; now it should mediate the voyage in this new world where immigrants hold



the riches of their past and renew the dreams for their future.

Barbara M. Edwards is a 7th and 8th grade ESOL Teacher at Herndon Middle School, Fairfax County Public Schools in northern Virginia. Moira P. Gannon is a graduate student in the Department of Interior Design, Marymount University, Arlington, Virginia.

Previous page: left: Bianca/Honduras; right: Danitza Vásquez/Bolivia; This spread, top row (left to right): Janifer Orellana/Guatemala, Daniel Ramírez/El Salvador, Reina López/El Salvador, Adriana Velásquez/El Salvador; middle row (left to right): Héctor Espinoza/El Salvador, Ricardo Hernández/El Salvador, Mayra Díaz/El Salvador; bottom row (left to right): Favio Mendoza/Bolivia, Danitza Vásquez/Bolivia, Diana Karen Gamboa Rico/Mexico, and Adán Ojalora/Bolivia

Collaborating with Amigos del Aprendizaje

Towards Academic Success for Disadvantaged Children in Costa Rica

BY CATHERINE SNOW AND ANDREA ROLLA SAN FRANCISCO



ADA Tutoring at the España School

THREE OUT OF EVERY 10 CHILDREN THAT ENROLL IN SCHOOL in Costa Rica will drop out before completing primary school. Moreover, only two of those remaining seven children will graduate from high school on time. International research on reading has found a strong relationship between reading difficulties in the early grades and later school dropout. In the U.S., for example, children not reading at grade level by the end of third grade are at high risk for not finishing high school.

Grade retention is also a strong predictor of school dropout. In 2002, 15%, or 13,806 children, repeated first grade in Costa Rica. Research suggests that simply repeating a grade does promote children's success. Retention in grade only helps if it gives children access to remediation or a different instructional approach. Poor children are at a disproportionately high risk of being retained in a grade and consequently at a higher risk of dropping out of school.

Until recently, it was thought that children arrived at first grade as blank slates, ready (or not) to learn to read. New research shows that reading is part of a complex developmental process that begins before first grade with oral language skills and early literacy skills and culminates in a child with a rich vocabulary; a sophisticated understanding of the functions of print, knowledge of the specific sounds and letters that make up words, and language comprehension skills. While some children develop these skills at home, many do not, which puts them at risk for reading difficulties and for retention in first grade. Children of parents who have not completed primary school, or of families living in poverty, are at a particularly high risk of reading difficulties, falling behind, and dropping out of school. However, recent studies indicate that targeted interventions to develop early literacy skills among economically disadvantaged preschool-aged children can make a significant difference

in their academic performance in first grade and beyond.

Developmentally appropriate teaching practices can stimulate young children, these studies indicate. Reading aloud and discussing children's literature, engaging in rich conversations about interesting topics, and involving children in activities using letters and written words motivate interest and support later competency in reading.

In 2002, Amigos del Aprendizaje (ADA, or Friends of Learning), a Costa Rican non-profit association, approached the authors of this article to collaborate with them and the Costa Rican Ministry of Education, to design and implement a program targeted at developing early literacy skills in kindergarten children. Currently, the impact of three distinct strategies for intervention: tutoring, family involvement, and classroom instruction is being evaluated through a study of 230 public school preschoolers.

ADA promotes early reading skills among "at-risk" children in Costa Rican elementary schools to prevent grade retention and school dropout. Through its involvement of volunteer tutors and sponsors, ADA also promotes a culture of social responsibility and fosters partnerships between the public and private sectors. The design of ADA's methodology takes advantage of the latest empirical research on the relationship between early literacy instruction and the prevention of difficulties in reading—it focuses on developing a familiarity with the basics of reading for early school success.

The ADA-Harvard collaboration will also result in the 2004 piloting of two additional program interventions to support development of critical early literacy skills among preschool children in "at risk" communities. These will emphasize teacher professional development and the increased involvement of families. Preliminary results indicate that the interventions have been effective in strengthening disadvantaged Costa Rican kindergarteners' early literacy skills.

ADA's program strives to meet the following overall objectives:

Among kindergarteners: Promote early literacy skills among preschool children in at-risk communities; improve success in reading among first grade children in these communities; and reduce first grade retention.

Among tutors and sponsors: Promote a culture of social responsibility among high school and other volunteers; involve the private sector in a meaningful partnership to improve early school success among young at-risk children in their communities.

Catherine Snow is Henry Lee Shattuck Professor of Education at the Harvard Graduate School of Education. Andrea Rolla San Francisco is a doctoral candidate in Language & Literacy at the Harvard Graduate School of Education. They wish to thank Renata Villers and Melissa Arias, their ADA collaborators in Costa Rica, who have been instrumental in the development and implementation of this work.



Child Labor in Argentina

Scars of poverty

BY CHRISTOPHER SMALLWOOD

A TINY BOY NO MORE THAN EIGHT YEARS OLD WALKS ALONG ranks of stopped cars at Plaza Libertad in Buenos Aires. Face and hands dirty, hair disheveled, he asks for spare change. One window lowers, a hand stretches out to drop the requested gift into the boy's palm. The light changes. The cars drive on.

Several blocks away, newspaper interns and business executives lunch at *El Inmigrante*, a no-frills restaurant on Azopardo where you can order a sizzling steak and watch a soccer game or the latest political developments on television. Children make the rounds here, too, visiting the various tables, selling pens, stickers, bookmarks. *Dos por un peso*. It is almost impossible to spend an entire lunch break without having to play through the scenario at least once.

Nightfall brings an end to the restaurant and street-begging operations, but as they say, this is a city that never sleeps. Between 1 and 4:30 a.m., eight blocks to the west, a truck manned by four teenagers, Luis, Carlos, Luis Alvarez, and Cristián, becomes the destination for dozens of *cartoneros*. The collectors busily trudge in with shopping carts and burlap bags of full of sorted paper products extracted

from the city's garbage cans. About one in ten of those who emerge from the shadows is not more than four feet tall.

The story repeats, over and over again, across literally thousands of other intersections, restaurants, cafés, subway stations, alleys. Children juggle, wash windows, sell cheap batteries, vend tissues, bicker and beg outside grocery stores, tag along with their parents collecting garbage.

The program is also trying to change a cultural idea that working to help out parents is good and normal.

Child labor in Argentina is largely informal. By law, the practice is banned. There are no children's sweatshops, no factories where children manufacture footballs or sort through used syringes. There are, particularly in the Argentine countryside, a number of areas where exploitation of children is just as grave. Child prostitution, declared by the International Labour Organization (ILO) in 1999

Cartoneros unload their sorted paper products.

to be one of “the worst forms of child labor,” has been found to be a real problem in northeastern Argentina. In addition, children who work in occupations like tobacco fields in the northwest face serious dangers. With their smaller height, they are forced into more direct contact with harmful pesticides than their adult counterparts.

However, the vast majority of child workers are the beggars and jugglers and garbage collectors—more than a million of them—who toil right in and around urban areas like Buenos Aires.

The UN’s International Labor Organization (ILO) estimates some 1.5 million children are working in Argentina. That’s six times as many as 1995, when the United Nations Children’s Fund (UNICEF) estimated 252,000 child workers. The new statistics come with a particular sting, considering the country by many other indicators has a lot of potential for development comparable to the United States or Europe. Argentina boasts a 97.1 percent literacy rate, and holds a vast abundance of natural resources.

Argentina’s political and monetary crisis in December of 2001 and the subsequent 2002 peso devaluation contributed heavily to child labor. However, as early as August 2000 the National Ministry of Labor, Employment, and Social Security had already seen enough need in the area to launch the National Commission for the Eradication of Child Labor (CONAETI). Movicom BellSouth

inability to perform well in school. Carolina Abrales, former grade-school teacher and current CTERA administrator, put it quite bluntly: “A child that works will never learn as well as the child that only comes to school and then goes home.”

Solutions are equally complicated, but there seems to be hope at least, with a host of organizations and programs working to reverse

The program is also trying to change a cultural idea that working to help out parents is good and normal.

the situation. UNICEF evaluates, “As a paradoxical consequence of the financial crisis in Argentina, public opinion and civil society organizations have become more aware of children, especially the poorest among them.” According to UNICEF, government social programs receive a combined annual budget of 1.23 million dollars. The largest of these programs is the Heads of Household Plan, granting subsidies to unemployed parents.

For the World Day Against Child Labor, June 12, the Ministry of Education in conjunction with UNICEF also launched a program that grants scholarships to children to attend school. CTERA, as well, is making an effort to raise its awareness of child labor, participating in a two-year initiative with the ILO to help teachers become better prepared to deal with the problem.

In the private sector, programs such as Proniño provide scholarships and offer children resources in education, health and activities to fill free time. The program is also trying to change a cultural idea that working to help out parents is good and normal. It seeks to create work opportunities for the parents of at-risk children. Although Proniño is small in scope with only 1590 beneficiaries, only 1.3 percent of children enrolled in the program has dropped out of school, well below the projected average for school dropouts.

With or without programs, somehow the poor of Buenos Aires do go on carrying some version of hope, and even if hope on the rational level is impossible. A street vendor named Walter perhaps put it best. Now 21 or 22, he said that he began working as a four-year-old. Both his parents, and maybe one of his siblings, were dead before he reached his teens.

Never having had the chance to complete school, he continues to live on the brink of poverty, selling batteries. But he doesn’t disdain the life he leads, and even appears to be very grateful for it. “I like living, I like working. I like soccer,” he said, faintly smiling at a new ball he had picked up downtown earlier in the afternoon.

Christopher Smallwood is a junior in Eliot House, and a 2003 DRCLAS grant recipient. Last summer, he spent two months in Argentina writing for the Buenos Aires Herald.



Luis, Gustavo, Carlos, Cristián and Luis Alvino pose for the camera

launched a private program of its own, Proñino, in November 2000. The Confederation of Educational Workers of the Republic of Argentina (CTERA) even goes so far as to place the blame clear back in 1976, with the implementation of “neoliberal socio-economic programs” by the last military dictatorship.

Whatever the causes, however, the effects are clear. In the last few years, drastic numbers of youth and children are working full time in addition to attending school, or are abandoning school altogether.

Children who work suffer from fatigue, and consequently an



D. ELIE <ELIE@FAS.HARVARD.EDU>

Top row (left to right): Checkers girl, boy, Isabella; Middle row (left to right): children with kite, Isabella, kids, Bottom row (left to right): drinking girl, table soccer, and soccer boys

Children of the Favela

Adults within the Body of Children

BY DOMINIQUE ELIE

IN RIO DE JANEIRO, I SPENT MY TIME WITH CHILDREN OF THE favela, both on the streets and at the community center Espaço Criança Esperança created by Viva Rio serving the Cantagalo/Pavaão/ Pavaõzinho favela. These images gather up cultural icons that I feel define Rio; the graffiti, the favela, the fishing docks, the botequim, the Catholicism, Corcovado, the street beggars, and the newsstand—all part of my everyday surroundings. The children I photographed all belong to the lower class, most of them living in the nearby favela. The exception here is the one girl that comes out repeatedly in my photos: Isabella; the daughter of my host family's maid. However, all of these children share a similar particularity in their character. To me they all seemed like adults trapped within the bodies of children. They were extremely open

to being photographed and even directed me more than I did them at times. They all possessed maturity and a lack of innocence that's common in children from their backgrounds. They took to me easily; a complete stranger with an intimidating machine in my hands at all times. I think the first photo I took, the one of the girl drinking from the sink, is a perfect example of this; she looks straight at the camera after knowing me for only twenty minutes and reveals so much about herself with a single stare.

Dominique Elie is a sophomore History and Literature concentrator in the North America and Latin America department. She received a DRCLAS internship grant to work with the NGO Viva Rio this past summer located in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.

Living on the Border

What the Camera Captured in Barahona

BY DANIELA HELEN TARTAKOFF

ONE OUT OF EVERY THREE CHILDREN IS AN ORPHAN HERE. THE non-profit Proyecto Para Ninos Huerfanos, Inc. on the outskirts of Barahona, Dominican Republic, is both a street outreach program and orphanage. Since 1984 the project has worked with the street children of barrio Palmaritos as well as with the children of two rural mountainous regions close to the Haitian border, the Montenita and Griteria. The project feeds approximately 150 children at each site daily, provides rudimentary medical attention to those in need, and coordinates a school where basic math and reading skills are taught. The majority of the children have poor parents who are unemployed or don't have enough money for food.

This summer, I worked at the project, teaching both children and adults. I witnessed the unspeakable plight of a people's struggles with profound poverty and meager resources. In this desert-like southwestern corner of the Dominican Republic, salt mines and a large sugar refinery serve as the primary sources of employment. A significant Haitian population has drifted into the area, driven to cross the border as a result of political unrest and a fight to survive against all odds. Teaching math and reading to the children at the Montenita and Griteria, teaching English to interested adults in the barrio, and coordinating an arts program for the street children of Palmaritos was a powerfully humbling experience.

Silenced by the profundity of every individual's story, I strove to enable these kids to foster their own creativity through their artwork, their games, and their own narrative accounts. In a place with such few resources, chalk and rope became the most useful and versatile of supplies, whether for teaching, playing, or creating.

The streets have become both home and playground for hundreds of poor and orphaned children in the barrio Palmaritos. Few of the children attend school regularly. I hope to return to this site in the years to come and establish a structured arts program to get these children off the streets, continue to shape dreams together, and create new avenues of discovery in their lives. The accompanying photographs speak for themselves—the willingness of these people to open themselves to the camera carries an unparalleled outcome. These individuals want their stories to be remembered and heard. Hopefully a small photo project like this one can begin such an account.

Daniela Helen Tartakoff is a senior VES concentrator in Eliot House and co-founder of the REACH program that serves children with special needs in Greater Boston. She hopes to pursue studies in Social Work and Public Health and eventually work with disadvantaged youth, primarily through the arts. She received a DRCLAS summer research grant to conduct her photography project.

Scenes from Barahona: the streets have become both home and playground for children.



D. H. TARTAKOFF <TARTAKOFF@HARVARD.EDU>





Nós do Cinema

The Role of Cinematography in Social Change

BY LETICIA BRAGA

FILM STILL FROM THE CITY OF GOD

HALF A DOZEN ADOLESCENTS WITH INDIGENOUS FEATURES AND urban garments entered the Rio movie theatre, peering curiously all around at the movie posters and filmgoers. This would be the first time that these Brazilian youth would watch a movie in a theater. They came from near and far— from as close as a tribe in the state of Rio and as far away as the Amazonian rainforest.

Following behind the teenagers were others, both adults and teens, who seemed hesitant to disrupt this experience. A young man with a camcorder brought up the rear. I walked over and introduced myself to the gathering, which included Alexandre Rodrigues, an actor who portrayed Buscapé in the movie *City of God*.

This was the beginning of the most interesting movie theater experience in my life to date.

It was not a chance meeting. As a Harvard Graduate School of Education doctoral student on a DRCLAS internship grant in Brazil, I'd arranged to meet Nós do Cinema (We in Cinema) members here. The group was hosting indigenous youth to watch the documentary *Paulinho da Viola – Meu Tempo é Hoje* (My Time is Today).

For many Brazilians, contemporary composer and singer Paulinho da Viola is a national cultural icon. For these youth, the outing served as an introduction to both the movies and the singer. For me, it was also an introduction. I had only heard of Nós do Cinema, an organization comprised of youth who, just a few years ago, were more likely to be pegged as social problems than as agents of social change.

Based in Rio de Janeiro, Nós do Cinema originally aimed to train cast members for the *City of God*, which offers a portrayal of the rival drug factions in the city. I had met Katia Lund, the movie's co-director, at a DRCLAS presentation last spring. She was trying to obtain donations for Nós do Cinema to continue training youth from various *favelas* in Rio in all aspects of filmmaking.

I was especially intrigued by the Nós do Cinema's fundraising talks at private schools in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. As a result of interest generated in *City of God*, youth from the project went to these schools to debate issues of class and race, both central themes in the movie. This unprecedented forum provided equal space for adolescents from some of the poorest communities in Rio and adolescents from elite society to voice their opinions and to meet each other as people, not as stereotypes. Eventually, Nós do Cinema intends to expand these talks to more schools in the city, including those

that cannot afford monetary contributions to the organization.

A scene from City of God

Luis Nascimento, a leading young member of the organization, provided me with opportunities like the theatre outing to help me understand the group's mission better. He told me that he wanted to establish links through the Internet and possible exchanges with students in the United States who are interested in visual media. Nascimento sees the field of cinematography "as an instrument for education and a fan that opens into various careers" rather than an end unto itself for these youth.

My final experience with Nós do Cinema consisted of meeting a young man known as "BR" who represented the organization at the 2003 International Festival of Short Films in São Paulo. Included in the movies screened was *Sapukay*, a documentary film that Nós do Cinema wrote, filmed and produced. The film documents an indigenous tribe located close to Angra dos Reis in the state of Rio de Janeiro, a city known both for its tourism and for being home to the only nuclear power plant in Brazil. It follows the process of a satellite dish installation on the tribe's land, put in so that members can access the Internet and cut out the middleman when selling their crafts to the public. Internet access is also meant to connect different tribes as a means of preserving their indigenous heritage.

There is a long way to go before Nós do Cinema becomes a well-established institution and before the youth's work is respected beyond its connection to *City of God*. After watching the films and participating in the workshops, "BR" touched upon the ideological divide he sees between cinematographers who start grassroots projects and the participants, saying cinematographers "don't need to try and show reality, they have to try to change reality." In being exposed to these young men and women's professionalism, passion, and love of cinematography, I left the festival and my internship experience with Nós do Cinema filled with hope for the future of the organization and its charismatic youth.

Leticia Braga is a second year doctoral student in Human Development and Psychology at Harvard Graduate School of Education. She is studying Brazilian immigration to the United States, and the role community organizations play in youth's adaptation and identity formation. She can be contacted at <bragale@gse.harvard.edu>.

Booting Up Amid Flattened Frogs

Building a Computer Lab, Poco a Poco

BY EDWARD B. COLBY

I HAVE BARRICADED MYSELF INTO THE SWELTERING MARBELLA computer lab to write, on the day of my *ReVista* deadline. The light bulb doesn't work, and little children keep interrupting me, but it will do. The next time we use the computers in class, the resident *sapo* (toad) will have left another present on the keyboards, a *compañera* will kindly kill a scorpion spider for me, and the resident bat will dart around as it pleases. Two of the five computers will refuse to function—but the fact that my elementary school simply has a computer lab in mid-November, as my year as a volunteer English teacher in Costa Rica draws to a close, is in itself a victory.

I arrived in Marbella—a small, remote town on Guanacaste's Pacific coast—in February with a seemingly simple task: finish the computer project that my predecessor Jeff had started. Nine computers had been donated to Marbella's two schools; I would need to track down spare parts and get them up and running. But, like many things in Costa Rica, it hasn't been easy—the project has been time-consuming, a project that I thought would take a few months somehow turned into a yearlong effort, testing my patience and resolve.

The original title of this piece was going to be “Bringing Marbella Online,” but at some point “online” became a dream deferred—Harvard productivity giving way to Costa Rican reality. At first it sounded so easy: A guy in San José had donated some keyboards; a foundation, Omar Dengo, could give me Microsoft Office, Encarta, and an Internet connection; and I would need to do some electrical work. Burying a cable in a small ditch in the schoolyard sounded daunting, but step by step, I figured, I would be able to make progress. I picked up the keyboards, but only after two months did a contact at a promising program, Intel Educar para el Futuro, return my phone calls, saying “better late than never.” She had exciting news: If a Marbella teacher took a 60-hour computer course given through Omar Dengo, we would get copies of Word and Encarta, plus possibly a Windows upgrade and even mobile networking. I urged my school director, Trinidad, to take the course over our *quince días* vacation in July, and to write to Omar Dengo to request an Internet installation. When I came back from vacation, Trinidad had not taken the course (having fallen sick), and was now talking about getting the computers in use before the end of the year. *Quince días* had been our original goal. I needed to act. Jeff had left an impossible legacy to match: he had built a basketball court, he had given away hundreds of pairs of shoes, he had acquired the computers. I was devoting more time and energy to teaching, but in Marbella that didn't matter. What had I *done*? The computer project needed to be finished.

In San José I bought the keyboards, mice and power cords that we needed. With instructions from Jeff's uncle, I put the computers on a network. And I signed myself up for the only other course Intel was offering, one that would take place on Saturdays for 10 weeks, only to be told later my school wouldn't necessarily receive software for the course after all. Several times I made the 75 km, 3-hour journey to Cartagena, only to find that the keys could not be found and class was canceled. Time was running short. Trinidad



Children learn on computers in Marbella.

was seriously injured in a car accident and told the new director that we weren't to use the computers because work to properly enclose the *kinder* room still had not been done. Fortunately, I was able to convince the new director otherwise, and around the start of October we used the *maquinas* in class for the first time.

All we had were some children's stories on CD-ROM, an old version of Word and little else, but the kids were amazed. Many of them, especially in the younger grades, oohed and aahed the first time I booted up. Double-clicking a mouse was (and still is) a difficult task for the children. A nifty drawing program, Crayons Paint Studio, brought endless joy, as did a Tonka Construction CD. In the glittering eyes of Blasita and Jaime and Diego, the computers were magic.

My Intel course finally ended, and after some pestering, the organization finally came through with copies of Office XP, Microsoft Publisher and Encarta in Spanish. I covered the computers with a new impermeable cloth, and now I troubleshoot the inevitable operations problems (at both the *escuela* and the *colegio*) as best I can. Once a week each grade gets a turn on the computers—and each day, without fail, at least half the school asks me, “Ticher, vamos a computo hoy?” “No,” I'll reply, groaning, “Solo una vez por semana.” José Antonio or Gloria or Daniela will pout: “¡Ticher es malo!” And, in a never-ending effort for respect, I will maturely reply, “No soy malo.” I constantly remind them that I am primarily an *English* teacher. But it is somewhat nice to be a victim of my own success. Our lab isn't much, but in Marbella—where flattened frogs (well, actually squished *sapos*) dot the roads and the nearest city is “afuera”—the computers give my kids a glimpse into a world they wouldn't otherwise know. Even when I'm losing my cool and things are breaking down around me, that makes it worth it—day by day, poco a poco.

Edward B. Colby, a former DRCLAS publications intern, was a WorldTeach English teacher in Marbella, Costa Rica in 2003. A former executive editor of The Harvard Crimson, he plans to pursue a career in journalism—and not computer repair.

Teen Life

In Latin America and the Caribbean.

BY CYNTHIA TOMPKINS

WHAT IS LIFE LIKE FOR TEENS IN LATIN AMERICA AND THE Caribbean? That's a question I set out to answer when I was approached by Greenwood Press to co-edit *Teen Life in Latin America and the Caribbean*, with Kristen Sternberg [Connecticut: Greenwood Press, forthcoming Spring 2004]

I was not only concerned with understanding Latin teens, but also with promoting, through the book a better understanding between teens in the United States and their counterparts. In fact, the pen pal addresses included at the end of each chapter would actually allow them to interact.

One of the things Kristen and I quickly discovered is—that with the exception of English speaking countries in the Caribbean—the term “teen” is meaningless in the region. The differences are those of class and community, not necessarily those of age. Overarching

factors such as social class and ethnicity are set against the increasing impact of globalization and Neoliberal policies.

We take a look at teens in Argentina, Brazil, Colombia, Cuba, Chile, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Jamaica, Mexico, Peru, Puerto Rico and Venezuela. “Teens at the Border: for a Politics of Representation,” is an adaptation (and my translation) of an article by Mexican researcher Rossana Reguillo Cruz, one of a very few to show a focused agenda on youth culture in the region. Reguillo Cruz examines issues of migration arising from the State's failure to meet basic needs such as health care and education. Against the backdrop of a deepening socioeconomic crisis, the vacuum left by family, school and Church increases the difficulty of integration. Deprived of the opportunity to either work or study, some turn to drug trafficking. However, they face police brutality. Youths bond by looking for transcendental meaning in new religious movements, such as Mexican “*Raztecas*” (Raztecs) and Puerto Rican “*rastainos*.” The market, organized around styles such as Punk, Surf, Sport, Rastafarian, Neo-Hippie, Rap and Heavy Metal offers a chance to belong. Gangs, however, serve the same purpose. Reguillo Cruz concludes with a call to action, demanding urgent attention to the predicament of teens.

Topics about teenage life—typical day, family life, traditional and non-traditional food dishes, schooling, social life, recreation, entertainment, religious practices and cultural ceremonies—try to find common threads among teenage life, even if teenage life is a somewhat misleading construct in Latin America and the Caribbean. We also included a list of resources to give the book more relevance. We organized the structure of the book to facilitate comparisons, but had most authors write about their countries of origin. We included interviews with teens of the respective countries. Though all contributors address culture/ ethnicity, race, class, and gender issues, some like Jason Pribilsky, focus primarily on the daily lives of indigenous teens in Ecuador. Others, such as Aída Pierini and Gustavo Geirola, who write about Argentina, stress paradigmatic differences. They argue that if teens in the 1960's were anti-American, anti-capitalist, socialist and committed to solidarity, today's teens are defined by pro-Americanism, capitalism, efficiency, individualism and personal success.

Given the paucity of resources in the market, *Teen Life in Latin America and the Caribbean* meets a dire need. As an Argentine, I strongly believed in the need to include the views of a Latin American researcher, therefore, I am deeply grateful to Rossana Reguillo Cruz for having granted permission to include an adaptation of her work.

Cynthia Margarita Tompkins is an Associate Professor of Spanish and Women's Studies at Arizona State University.



A boy parks cars in Mexico City.

C. ZISSIS 5CZ313@NYU.EDU

Learning to Walk in Someone Else's Shoes

Robert L. Selman, *The Promotion of Social Awareness: Powerful Lessons from the Partnership of Developmental Theory and Classroom Practice*, Russell Sage Foundation, 2003

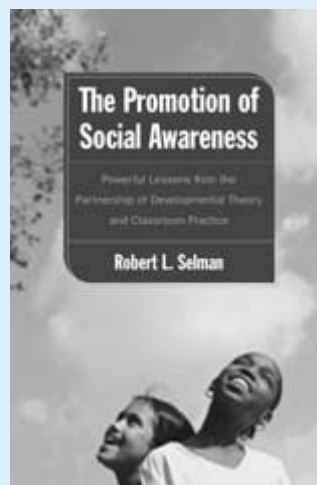
A REVIEW BY RICHARD MORA

WHEN PICKED ON, SOME children choose to fight and others choose to walk away. What accounts for these different responses? This is just one of the many questions that Robert Selman, an accomplished social development theorist and practice-based researcher, explores in his highly engaging book, *The Promotion of Social Awareness*.

Selman's work is as much a narrative about effective collaborative work and the on-going process of testing theoretical notions as it is about the social development of children. Early on in the book, Selman introduces himself to the reader, letting us know where he has been throughout his academic journey so that we can appreciate the contexts that underlie his ideas. For example, we learn that he has spent more than thirty years examining

or relationship," and that this is what bridges the gap between thought and action (45). With the help of his colleagues, Selman's insight into the relationship between action and thought led to the Risk and Relationship Framework that is presented in this book.

Moreover, Selman and his colleagues refined their theoretical framework by putting it into practice, which they were able to do as part of the Group for the Study of Interpersonal Development. Through their partnership with Voices of Love and Freedom, Inc. (VLF), an organization geared towards helping teachers facilitate better social relationships between children, they conducted research in the Boston public schools. The research team found that in order for students to learn social perspective skills their teachers have to be competent and committed to



world complexities that lead to the reformulation of the social developmental theory discussed in the book.

One of the most attention-grabbing sections of the book is Part IV. In this section, the chapters are essentially an ethnographic case study of how Angela Burgos, a fifth grade

his intention to advocate for a particular educational approach. Yet, he makes no qualms about the fact that he and his colleagues believe schools must help children become "socially literate." He states:

Instead of avoiding socially charged themes like fairness, prejudice, and justice, as many educators, policymakers, and test designers might have us do, we embrace them. We would never endorse a test for 'correct' opinions on these issues, but we think social concerns need to be part of education and therefore part of learning assessment (242).

Based on my own ethnographic observations of middle school children, I agree with Selman that social literacy is important, if for no other reason than the fact that fairness matters a great deal to preadolescents and adolescents.

The Promotion of Social Awareness is teeming with information and ideas that practitioners and researchers, among others, should reflect on and discuss. Not only is this book worth reading, it necessitates a close reread in order to grasp the many subtle insights that Selman puts forth regarding social awareness, risk behavior, collaborative work, and more, as he elaborates on a decades-long "circular research-based practice/practice-based research enterprise" (4).

Richard Mora is a graduate student in the Sociology and Social Policy Ph.D. program at Harvard University. He contributes frequently to ReVista.

In order for students to learn social perspective skills, their teachers have to be competent and committed to promoting social awareness.

"the coordination of social perspectives—how children come to identify their own needs, wants, and feelings, understand those of others, and act to manage differences and conflicts, as well as closeness, within relationships" (2). Selman goes on to tell us that, after conducting therapeutic work with troubled children, he now comprehends that at different developmental stages children possess different personal meanings regarding "the risks involved in a social interaction, incident,

the endeavor of promoting social awareness.

With this in mind, Selman traveled to Iceland, where he and his colleague, Sigrun Adalbjarnardottir, worked with a group of teachers who were teaching their students social competence and, thus, were able to re-examine their theoretical notions. In the chapters devoted to his work in Iceland, wherein Selman describes the process of going back and forth between practice and theory, he meticulously presents the real

teacher, made use of one of the VLF books and its social literacy curriculum. Selman presents excerpts from six weeks of video collected by the research team's camera crew. These excerpts, as the author himself suggests, allow the reader to examine both Burgos' teaching practices and the manner in which her Spanish-English bilingual students wrestle with prejudice and discrimination as they acquire social awareness skills.

According to Selman, it is not

Behind the Laughter: “Black Humor” in Brazil

Donna M. Goldstein, *Laughter out of Place: Race, Class, Violence, and Sexuality in a Rio Shantytown*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003

A REVIEW BY TARAYN GRIZZARD

THE PERSONAL LIVES OF THE poor and disenfranchised are often not examined by researchers concerned with political and socio-economic forces that make their impact on poor communities, and with good reason. The debate about how to appropriately approach the culture of poverty from the personal perspective have left researchers, particularly in the social sciences, without a clear understanding of how to objectively represent the most vulnerable populations without effectively victimizing them at the expense of academic discovery. Adding to these difficulties are the inherent psychological, class, and economic distinctions of academia which can prevent researchers of all types from creating solidarity with their subjects, a problem yet to be solved in many fields where research often tends to center on subjects more similar—at least in socio-economic status—to those studying them. Yet re-personifying the poor and understanding the true impact of political economy on those most affected by it is of undeniable value for those choosing to work in such communities and for re-centering the social sciences, especially anthropology, on the life and work of “the common man.”

Negotiating this academic and ethical debate to uncover that which is definitively representative of and the forces which contributes to the status of the poor is the goal of Donna Goldstein, an anthropologist at the University of Colorado and Harvard alumna (M.Ed. in Counseling Psychology

1995), in her ethnography on the shantytown-dwelling poor of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. Far from timid, Goldstein boldly chose to directly address the class differences that often separate researchers and their subjects by focusing on perhaps one of the most ethnographically dense subjects, humor. With humility and appropriate personal commentary, Goldstein leads the reader through a series of humorous stories and jokes told by her study subjects, an Afro-Brazilian family and its social and economic network living in the fictitious *favela* (shantytown) Felicidade Eterna in Rio. The jokes—many of which shock and mystify the reader—serve as a guide to Goldstein's exploration of the economic, historical, and political forces that have shaped the *favela*, this family, and the humor that they use to cope with life in it. Rather than explaining the jokes themselves, Goldstein instead

Particularly impressive are the ways in which Goldstein challenges the usual assertion that Brazil is “different” that is, a racial democracy. In the chapter “Aesthetics of Domination: Class, Culture, and the Lives of Domestic Workers,” Goldstein examines the class and racial divisions inherent in domestic workers’ relationships with their employers and the paternalism seen in them, including an intricate comparison of modern day employer-worker relations and those found under slavery. Most intriguing about this chapter is the no-holds-barred inclusion of interviews with employers of both middle and upper classes and their perspectives on the lives of their employees, which are unblinkingly presented alongside Goldstein's own experiences as an employer of domestic workers.

Likewise, Goldstein also examines as another holdover from



financial providers) on the economic prospects of poor black and mulatta women. Goldstein also briefly explores the self-hatred seen among poor black women for typically African physical characteristics and desire for whiteness as another motivation for interracial relations, alongside a fascinating expository of the history of “whitening” campaigns in Brazil.

The book on the whole is

This book with its well balanced ethnographic analyses explores the issues of race and class in Brazil.

challenges the reader to use the information given to question his or her own values and to understand the issues and situations which create (to the reader's perspective) “distasteful” humor.

What results is a masterful exploration—reminiscent of Scheper-Hughes’ *Death without Weeping*—of the complex forces of race and class that help produce the inequality and hardship in the lives of Glória and her family and others like her in Brazil.

master-slave relationship roles of black and mulatta women, particularly the idealization of the “hot mulatta” in the chapter “Color-Blind Erotic Democracies, Black Consciousness Politics, and the Black Cinderellas of Felicidade Eterna.” The chapter also gives an unapologetically feminist exploration of the reality of interracial sexual relations in Brazil and their intimate relationship to class standing including the role of *coroas* (white male sexual liaisons and

deeply engaging in part due to the compelling, emotionally gripping and personal subject matter and also as a result Goldstein's remarkable writing abilities that makes the book read almost like a novel. Using fluid, accessible, and remarkably direct language Goldstein also provides a brief overview of pertinent recent work and local history for each ethnographic analysis that help to enhance the scenarios presented, helping to balance the book's

almost excessive breadth, perhaps the one weakness of the work on the whole. Goldstein also unabashedly details anecdotes from her experiences working in Brazil which showcase her own personal journey from an employer to a *filha branca* (literally, white daughter) to Glória and a part of the Felicidad Eterna community. Many authors would not choose to include such details, but Goldstein's openness in discussing her personal journey aids the reader in understanding of the world of the *favela* and human-

izes her presence in the lives of her subjects.

Finally, this book, with its well-balanced ethnographic analyses and thorough dissection on the politics of race and class, makes an important contribution to Brazilian studies, where committed exploration of race and class is still relatively rare and where, as Goldstein noted, further work is desperately needed in order to begin to unravel the roots of inequality in a country that is home to some of the world's most dramatic socioeconomic disparities. The details

of Goldstein's personal journey as an anthropologist and cultural outsider—how eventually she learned how to “get the joke” and laugh alongside Glória and her family—is also of great value as a guide to those seeking to study poor and disenfranchised populations from a personal perspective. Perhaps most importantly, however, *Laughter out of Place* sets an important precedent by giving a voice to the residents of Felicidad Eterna and other *favelas*, whose lives are often acknowledged only in statistics and news reports, leaving for others in

her own and other disciplines a legacy of social consciousness and solidarity with the poor.

Tarayn A. Grizzard is a 4th year medical student pursuing a combined MD/MPH program at the Harvard Medical School and the Harvard School of Public Health. A recent intern at the Universidad de Chile's CEMERA (Centro de Medicina Reproductiva y Desarrollo de la Adolescencia) clinic in Santiago, her research interests include adolescent sexuality and cultural aspects of women's health in Latin America.

Abortion, Divorces and Gender Equality

Mala Htun, *Sex and the State: Abortion, Divorce and the Family Under Latin American Dictatorships and Democracies*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

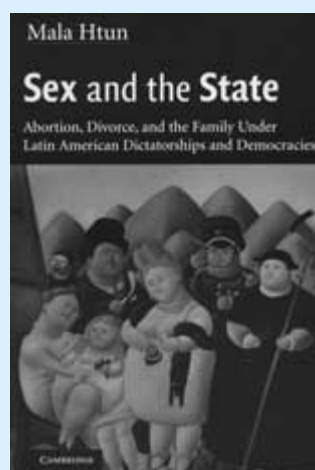
A REVIEW BY LISA BALDEZ

ABORTION, DIVORCE AND gender equality in the family are three of the most controversial policy issues that Latin American governments have faced in the twentieth century. Yet for too long, policymakers, academics and ordinary citizens have assumed that these issues pertain exclusively to women and families, a view that has contributed to their marginalization. In *Sex and the State*, Mala Htun reframes these issues to highlight their relevance to politics more generally. She asserts that the failure of governments to regulate these issues effectively affects not only the status of women; it also reveals a fundamental weakness in the state's ability to protect vulnerable citizens. Ultimately, this constitutes a troubling limitation to the consolidation of democracy.

Sex and the State argues that distinct logics guide the outcome of policy debates on gender-related issues. Drawing from careful historical research and interviews with hundreds of policy makers in

Argentina, Brazil and Chile, Htun provides a fresh analysis of these enduring policy debates. She invokes three factors to explain variation in policy outcomes. First, the issues themselves vary in terms of their salience and how much passion they arouse. Civil code reform is a “technical” issue that can be resolved far more easily than the “absolutist” issue of abortion. Second, outcomes vary in terms of the institutional venue in which decisions are made; the more public the discussion, the more difficult it will be to resolve. Finally, gender-related issues hinge on the degree of opposition from the Catholic Church and the influence that the Church wields in a particular context.

The first two chapters introduce these theoretical concepts but they are also substantively very rich. The material these chapters cover is broadly relevant to all kinds of political issues in Latin America; they illustrate important trends in Latin American intellectual history and warrant being read by a large audience. A section on Latin Amer-



ican legal systems explains the particularities of the civil law system for a common law audience, emphasizing the “thick normative content” of legal systems in the region. Sections on Catholicism, liberalism, feminism and socialism provide a nuanced genealogy of each of these strains of thought and demonstrate the ways in which they shaped debates about gender equality. The analysis of feminism is an excellent primer for those unfamiliar with recent scholarship.

Each of the four main chapters focuses on a particular puzzle. Chapter Three examines why conservative military governments in all three countries adopted policies that expanded women's equality within the family. Htun explains this in terms of the technocratic approach that military leaders took to achieve their goal of modernizing the state. Military leaders delegated the task of reforming the civil code to teams of expert civilian lawyers. The process of deliberation took place behind closed doors, which insulated the more egalitarian lawyers from the socially conservative leaders who appointed them, and led to unintended policy outcomes.

Stating this argument in slightly different terms leads me to challenge Htun's position, although the evidence she provides is sufficiently rich to suggest an alternative explanation. The book maintains that military leaders accepted outcomes they opposed because they were bound by the institutional arrangements they had put in place to generate

those outcomes. But dictators do not necessarily behave this way; a penchant for capriciousness is what makes them dictators. Perhaps civil code reforms succeeded in Argentina and Brazil because the policy preferences of military leaders in those countries closely

relationship between the state and the Catholic Church. In Brazil, the military regime passed a divorce law to punish the Church for its opposition to the government, opposition rooted primarily in its stance on human rights. In Argentina, the democratic government passed a

to reduce restrictions on abortion contrasts not only with the more liberal policies of most countries in North America and Western Europe, but also with the far more liberal policies that Argentina, Brazil and Chile had in the early twentieth century. On the one hand,

support of reform. Therefore, the key to the abortion issue lies in the moral hypocrisy of the ruling elites. This boldly stated argument is likely to arouse controversy, but ultimately may reframe the debate in productive ways.

Sex and the State reveals a deep understanding of the complex array of factors that have shaped these debates in the Southern Cone. These analytically important findings provide clear policy prescriptions and speak to important debates within the literatures on legal reform, gender and politics, public policy and democratization. Intriguing puzzles, substantive breadth, well-executed research and provocative findings make *Sex and the State* one of the very best books available on gender and politics in Latin America.

Lisa Baldez is Associate Professor of Government and Latin American, Latino and Caribbean Studies at Dartmouth College. She is the author of Why Women Protest: Women's Movements in Chile (Cambridge University Press, 2002)

Sex and the State reveals a deep understanding of the complex factors shaping gender debates in the Southern Cone.

matched the preferences of the lawyers whom they appointed. In Chile, Pinochet's views on women's rights diverged dramatically from those of the reform commission members (this issue received widespread media coverage at the time), so the reform effort stalled. Gender issues were also more salient in Chile because a highly mobilized constituency of conservative women provided a fundamental source of legitimacy for Pinochet.

Htun's second puzzle is why Chile remained one of a handful of countries in the world that forbid divorce. She explains this in terms of differences in the rela-

divorce law to punish the Church for its support of the military government. In Chile, Pinochet supported the Church's view on divorce, and a close alliance between the Church and the democratic government prevented the passage of divorce legislation until very recently. After the transition, progressive politicians declined to endorse a divorce law out of deference and gratitude to the Church for the critical role it played in protecting human rights during the dictatorship.

The chapter on abortion is the most provocative of the book. The failure of Latin American countries

Htun argues that the outcome of debate on abortion reflects the deeply personal views of individual policymakers and thus defies efforts to develop or test general theoretical claims. Thus, abortion politics are unique because of the highly charged moral nature of the issue. On the other hand, Htun highlights the economics of abortion. For middle-class women, abortion is de facto guaranteed because they can afford to pay for illegal abortions safely performed in private clinics. Restrictions on abortion primarily harm poor women, but their poverty makes it difficult for them to mobilize in

Lynchings in Guatemala: A New Look

Carlos Mendoza and Edelberto Torres-Rivas (editors) *Linchamientos: ¿barbarie o justicia popular?* Colección Cultura de Paz, 2003, Guatemala.

A REVIEW BY DINA FERNANDEZ

IF YOU HAVE STUMBLED ON ONE of those news stories telling how an angry mob turned a suspected criminal into a human torch in Guatemala and wondered how such medieval violence can take place in the 21st century, here is a book you can't miss: *Linchamientos: ¿barbarie o justicia popular?* (Lynchings: barbarism or popular justice?).

This book, edited by economist Carlos Mendoza and sociologist Edelberto Torres-Rivas, is the most comprehensive analysis of a social

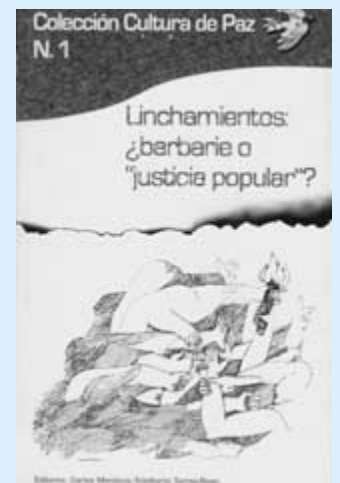
pathology that has puzzled Guatemalans and Latin American scholars for almost a decade.

Since 1996, when the peace accords officially ended Guatemala's 36 years of civil war between Marxist rebels and military regimes, more than 400 lynchings have occurred in this Central American country, claiming the life of at least 215 people.

The authors go beyond the two standard explanations: that Guatemalans have taken "justice" into their own hands because they

do not trust the judiciary system or that lynchings are yet another legacy of the bloodiest dirty war in Latin America.

While recognizing some truth in these explanations, Mendoza and Torres-Rivas demonstrate that lynchings are a very complex phenomenon that demands more in-depth research and analysis. They have assembled a collection of eight essays that explore the social and cultural context that has fueled lynchings and look for new theoretical tools and even possible solutions.



The result is a wealth of information. Argentine political scientist Carlos Vilas shows, for example, that lynchings are not exclusive to Guatemala's violent post-war society: they have also happened in other Latin American countries, like Mexico, Brazil, Haiti, Ecuador and Bolivia.

Vilas meticulously describes 103 lynchings in rural Mexico, in a region that is similar to the Mayan highlands. To stir clear of any assumptions he statistically dissects where lynchings occur, how they start and who takes part in them. He also studies who the victims are, how they were attacked and what happens to them and whether the police shows up.

Vilas also interprets his data. He theorizes that this kind of collective violence explodes in societies where the State is weak and

lacks legitimacy. In the case of Mexico and Guatemala, the scenario is further complicated by multiculturalism and the existence of conflicting legal systems: an indigenous form of justice administration and the State's institutions, from which most rural, Indian population feels excluded.

Another article that deserves special attention is the one written by sociologist Angelina Snodgrass Godoy. Based on her ethnographic research in the Guatemalan highlands, she shows that this new version of vigilante "justice" is modeled on the war's atrocities, which were not only aimed to destroy entire communities, but also their social universe.

Besides comparing 1980s massacres by the Guatemalan army with modern-day lynchings, Snodgrass focuses on the often ambigu-

ous feelings of participants and witnesses. She tells us that crowds may watch in horror someone being lynched and still feel glad that their town will be safer. The author shares poignant testimonies that bring to life the nuances, paradoxes and complexities of life in rural Guatemala. She points out, for example, that many of her informants don't approve the use of violence in politics, but they accept it when it comes to criminals. Thus, Snodgrass states that the human rights community must reconsider the way it addresses lynchings. Looking at past human rights abuses is not enough anymore. Scholars and activists must start to "look ahead" and face how reality is challenging their theoretical and political paradigms.

She asserts that human rights activists do not know how post-war

societies must tackle new forms of violence, such as lynchings. In another essay, Spanish anthropologist Julián López-García echoes Snodgrass' preoccupation, charging that bureaucrats, politicians and activists have been extremely ineffective in their proposed ways to eradicate lynchings. Awareness campaigns and human rights workshops have failed to stop these new forms of violence.

So what are we to do? López-García says that we should not study lynchings from afar, but engage in an active dialogue with the social protagonists, "to understand first, rather than to transform." This book is definitively an attempt to do just that.

Guatemalan journalist **Dina Fernandez** was a 2002-2003 Nieman Fellow at Harvard University.

States by Force

Diane E. Davis and **Anthony W. Pereira** (editors), *Irregular Armed Forces and their Role in Politics and State Formation*, Cambridge University Press, 2003, 419 pages.

REVIEW BY MERCEDES SOLEDAD HINTON

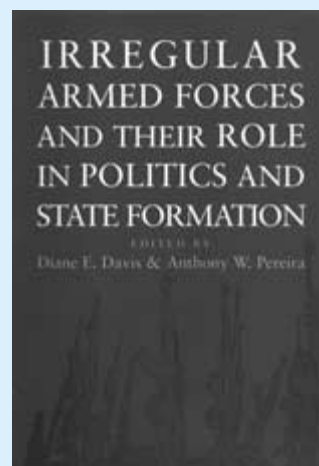
AS I SAT IN HEAVY TRAFFIC IN the back of a police car during rush hour in the grimy northern zone of Rio de Janeiro, I studied the faces of drivers in neighboring cars, wondering what they thought of the machine guns pointed outwards by two of the policemen I was traveling with. In scores of interviews conducted as part of my research on police and state reform in Brazil, police officers had asserted that the role of the police was to "defend the state's monopoly over the legitimate use of force." Visible displays of force were one way of sending this message. Having visited some of Rio's meanest *favelas*, where drug traffickers in military fatigues toted automatic

weapons, I could not help but wonder whether it was a question of defending a fading monopoly or establishing one in the first place.

The construction of the Weberian ideal of the state's monopoly over the legitimate use of force is an idea central to the new book, *Irregular Armed Forces and their Role in Politics and State Formation* edited by Diane E. Davis and Anthony W. Pereira. Literature deriving from the Western European experience of state formation has tended to see external wars and traditional armies as main points of departure. Davis and Pereira, through the 13 case studies of this illuminating volume, seek to more accurately reflect the historical and indeed contemporary importance

of "irregular" armed forces—paramilitary groups, personal militias, mercenaries, guerrillas and warlords—to an understanding of the origins and preservation of state authority and legitimacy.

Charles Tilly, a renowned scholar of state formation, sets the stage for the case studies by providing a survey of the Western European experience since 1650. Princeton sociologist Miguel Angel Centeno then traces the very different Latin American experience. He argues that Latin America stands in stark contrast to the "total wars" of Western Europe, in which weak states vanished, because the Latin American historical experience with external war has been, by and large, confined to "limited wars."



Following from Tilly, Centeno argues that in Europe, total wars, despite the massive death and destruction they caused, ultimately served as a socializing and state-building experience. They forced the state to increase extraction of resources for the war effort and to prioritize national needs over regional identities and loyalties, while mobilizing the population in the process. By means of an overview of Latin America's experience with external war, he highlights the fact that in the

region traditional enemies have been “internal – the poor, the Indian, the black” noting that from the perspective of national leaderships, “to arm the populace to fight a different national elite with whom one shared ideological, culture, and economic interests was sheer insanity.” The historical struggle to fight such internal enemies, he concludes, has fomented perpetual division rather than the greater cohesion that resulted from the Western European experience of defending the nation against external aggressors.

The destructive consequences of prolonged internal armed conflicts are readily observed in Mauricio Romero’s essay on paramilitary groups in Colombia. He depicts a central state that is in control neither of its territory, nor of its security forces. The web of violence used by a multiplicity of guerrilla groups, paramilitary organizations, rogue elements in the armed forces, landowners, self-defense leagues, and drug traffickers, calls into question the relevance of the state and its laws as a means of adjudicating disputes among the population or as a means of patterning behavior. Exacerbating the

situation, Romero argues, have been recent efforts at political decentralization in Colombia. While aimed at strengthening municipal governments to speed the democratic transition and liberalized economy, they have in fact contributed to further disintegration of the state and widespread use of violence to secure the fruits of electoral competition.

A historical essay by Laura Kalmanowiecki focuses on Argentina’s efforts over the period 1888-1945 to further consolidate central state power. By establishing a federal police force with wide powers and jurisdiction in all provinces, successive governments sought to weaken and control regional interests, worker organizations, anarchist groups and other social movements that might challenge the supremacy of the federal government. The struggles and tensions between central state and subnational authorities are also evident in Lizabeth Zack’s essay on the municipal police in France, which depicts the many false starts and reversals of efforts to centralize the means of coercion.

Like Zack’s essay, the remaining chapters of the book, while not

directly related to Latin America, speak to the problems of the region. Several contributors look at the problems surrounding demobilization of troops and their political impact on post-conflict reconstruction in contexts as different as Japan, Greece, and the United States. William Reno’s essay on tribalism and warlordism in West Africa, in particular, vividly illustrates how leaders have tried to promote disorganization and deinstitutionalization at all levels, using vast personal security apparatuses as a means to hold onto patronage networks rather than as a means of providing any form of public security. The case studies conclude with a probing discussion by Ian Roxborough of post-Vietnam civil-military relations in the United States together with an analysis of the new challenges to external war making and domestic security in the context of a “global war on terrorism.”

Notwithstanding the breadth of the subjects touched upon in the book, perhaps missing from the analysis is a case study focused on the threats to the modern state emanating from criminal elements, both local and transnational. The

chapters in the volume also do not directly address the issue of the construction of a democratic regime. Nevertheless, the question of whether or not democratization is possible in the absence of a strong state capable of marshalling material and symbolic resources for a common project and of providing protection to its citizenry, are themes implicit throughout many of the chapters. As Anthony Pereira notes in the conclusion, coercion and violence are likely to “remain an intrinsic, important, and unavoidable aspect of human affairs.” Indeed, works such as this edited volume that offer new perspectives on armed conflict and use of force among and within nations, by traditional and irregular security forces, are important intellectual contributions to an understanding of politics, democratic or otherwise.

Mercedes Soledad Hinton is a Post-doctoral Research Fellow, in the Department of Law of the London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE). A graduate of Harvard College ('98), she received her doctorate in Political Science from the University of Cambridge in 2003.

FREQUENTLY ASKED QUESTIONS ABOUT REVISTA

HOW CAN I SUBSCRIBE TO REVISTA?

You may subscribe on-line at <<http://drclas.fas.harvard.edu/publications>> or by sending an e-mail to <drclas@fas.harvard.edu>. If you live nearby, feel free to drop by 61 Kirkland St., Cambridge, MA and fill out a subscription form.

HOW MUCH DOES IT COST?

ReVista is free to anyone in the world who wishes it. Libraries and schools are encouraged to subscribe. However, we welcome donations and patrons. Suggested donation for students and seniors, \$15 yearly; others, \$25 yearly. Patrons: \$300 supports *ReVista* for a university classroom in Latin America; \$150, a U.S. university classroom; \$100, three Latin American library subscriptions; \$50, three U.S. library subscriptions. Become a patron now! Send checks made payable to Harvard University to the attention of June Carolyn Erlick, DRCLAS, 61 Kirkland St., Cambridge, MA 02138.

I WOULD LIKE TO WRITE FOR REVISTA. WHAT'S THE PROCESS?

ReVista, the Harvard Review of Latin America, is published three times a year, and each issue focuses on a different theme. Themes for 2004-2005 will be announced in the spring. We welcome queries from students, professors (Harvard and non-Harvard) and community members, but most article assignments are made by invitation. Potential book reviewers are also welcome to express their interest. Queries to <jerlick@fas.harvard.edu>.

WHY DON'T YOU PUBLISH IN SPANISH AND PORTUGUESE?

We'd love to, but space and economic factors prevent us from doing so at this time. However, we are publishing as much as possible in those languages on the *ReVista* website at <<http://drclas.fas.harvard.edu/publications>>. You can also find longer and footnoted versions of some articles on the website, as well as some additional articles.

Reader Forum



I recently landed upon the Human Rights issue of *ReVista* and I was truly impressed. Consisting of a diversity of perspectives, the candor and depth of the articles make the magazine something that should be available in every newsstand so that the many voices of Latin America may have a place to be heard in the North.

Are back issues available? If so, I would like to have them, especially the issues on cities and on Colombia.

Sincerely,

ADAM COBLE
CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS

Thanks for your nice comments, Adam. Back issues are indeed available for as long as the supply lasts. While they are free, we do appreciate a suggested donation of \$5 per copy, payable to Harvard University.

In this day and age of the disappearance of an independent journalism in this country it is doubly important to provide alternative sources of information.

JEAN QUATAERT
STATE UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK
AT BINGHAMTON

Había deseado escribirte hace rato, pero el tiempo no me lo había

permitido. Deseaba decirte que disfruté inmensamente del número de *ReVista* acerca de Colombia, me abrió los ojos a un número de cosas que desconocía, pero también me despertó la nostalgia y la tristeza por esa patria que se sigue desangrando día a día. Espero seguirme informando más respecto a Latinoamérica a través de vuestra publicación. Recibe también mi felicitación por este esfuerzo, y muchos éxitos.

MARIA MERCEDES LEVY
PURDUE UNIVERSITY
WEST LAFAYETTE, INDIANA

Las ONG ofrecen mil modos de recordar la dignidad humana a los gobiernos y las sociedades. Las dos experiencias que esbozo en esta nota reflejan algunas de las estrategias asumidas por organizaciones del movimiento de derechos humanos.

El 27 de agosto de 2003, murió asesinado en Venezuela Joe Castillo, joven defensor de los derechos humanos, quien trabajó bajo el amparo de la iglesia católica acompañando los reclamos de tierras de pueblos indígenas y los refugiados. Así se cruzó otro umbral imperdonable: por primera vez se mató en Venezuela a una voz de los que no tienen voz.

Los colegas de Joe se comunicaron con las organizaciones de derechos humanos de la capital, con las autoridades de la iglesia y con las instancias de investigación criminal del Estado. Horas más tarde, recibí un llamado telefónico en mi oficina en Washington, DC. Así también ocurrió con otras organizaciones internacionales, la Comisión Interamericana de Derechos Humanos, el Alto Comisionado de Naciones Unidas para Refugiados, entre otros. Las organizaciones venezolanas se reunieron

para responder al unísono repudiando el asesinato y pidiendo justicia. Contactaron a los medios de comunicación, a varias autoridades, se reunieron con el vicepresidente, se preocuparon por poner énfasis en los mecanismos que permitirán impulsar la investigación penal de los hechos.

El 26 de agosto fue un día negro para los que conocimos a Joe Castillo. En la tarde del 28, en un gesto de repudio a la sinrazón, la Comisión Interamericana emitió un comunicado de prensa condenando su asesinato. Las organizaciones internacionales contactadas nos pasamos la voz, enviamos cartas, hicimos cientos de llamados para acompañar a los colegas venezolanos y compartir estrategias desde la distancia; impulsando a las gestiones de autoridades del Estado; llamando la atención del tema a los medios; y expresando nuestra solidaridad con la gente que desarrolla el trabajo en la zona de frontera.

Ese mismo día, a miles de kilómetros, la Comisión de la Verdad y Reconciliación del Perú presentaba su informe. Otra nación del continente cruzaba un umbral más luminoso: el de sentar las bases de la verdad y la memoria para que los hechos trágicos del pasado que dejaron el triste saldo de más de 69.000 víctimas de violencia no vuelvan a ocurrir. Allí también estaban representadas distintas iniciativas de defensores de derechos humanos que documentaron los hechos más atroces en épocas donde ello les podía costar la vida o la libertad: gente que creativamente consiguió sensibilizar a la opinión pública a favor de la dignidad humana; luchadores y líderes de movimientos sociales, abogados, artistas, psicólogos, sociólogos, periodistas, filósofos,

que actuaron en contra de la injusticia desde su especialidad o espacio; en ese importante momento estuvieron acompañados por algunos de los que desde afuera los alentaron, apoyaron, impulsaron, escucharon en la lucha contra el horror y la infamia.

Estas historias de sombra y luz ilustran la diversidad de la comunidad de derechos humanos de América, sin agotarlas, así como la variedad de estrategias en los diferentes países, de los distintos colectivos, en diferentes circunstancias históricas. Ellas demuestran las posibilidades y las realidades de coordinación, consulta e intercambio de experiencias a nivel regional en la construcción de alianzas y agendas. Las organizaciones han utilizado a favor de la dignidad humana la capacidad de sorprender, de coordinarse, de refrescar, de enardecer, de convocar a la población bajo sus banderas, de usar la institucionalidad, el derecho y aún la diplomacia.

Viviana Krsticevic es la Directora Ejecutiva del Centro por la Justicia y el Derechos Internacional (CEJIL). Harvard Law School, LL.M.'93.

Letters to the editor are welcome in English, Spanish or Portuguese! Please send your comments, suggestions and complaints to: June Carolyn Erlick <jerlick@fas.harvard.edu> or DRCLAS, 61 Kirkland St., Cambridge, MA 02138. <<http://www.drclas.fas.harvard.edu>>

THE CHILDREN



EDITOR'S LETTER

by June Carolyn Erlick

GUEST INTRODUCTION

The Children by Carol Bellamy

THINKING ON CHILDREN

Children and Globalization by Fernando Reimers

About Children by Felton Earls and Maya Carlson

A Literary Look at Childhood by Doris Sommer

The Global Child by Cindi Katz

HEALTH AND COMMUNITY

Changing the Untenable

by Jody Heymann, M.D. and Francisco Flores-Macias

Grassroots in Rural El Salvador by Rebecca Sawady

Fostering Child Wellbeing

by Myron Belfer with Raul Mercer and James Perrin

Where the Patient Still Thinks...

by Tarayn Grizzard

Photography and Citizenship

text by João Kulscar with photography and subtitles by the children
of The Photography and Citizenship Project

CULTURE AND EDUCATION

Through the Eyes of Children by Ellen Calmus

Latinos and Social Reform by Louie F. Rodríguez

Academia Boston de las Artes by Linda Nathan

Academically Successful Latinas by Aída Hurtado

Children's Art and Their Environment by Barbara

2 Edwards and Moira Gannon 45

Education in Costa Rica by Catherine Snow and Andrea
Rolla San Francisco

3 48

Child Labor in Argentina by Christopher Smallwood

3 49

Children of the Favela by Dominique Elie

51

On the Dominican Border by Daniela Helen Tartakoff

52

The Role of Cinematography in Social Change

4 54

by Leticia Braga

Booting Up Amid Flattened Frogs

10 55

by Edward B. Colby

12 **Teen Life** by Cynthia Tompkins 56

BOOK TALK

Learning to Walk in Someone Else's Shoes by
Richard Mora

17 57

Behind the Laughter: "Black Humor"
in Brazil by Tarayn Grizzard

24 58

Sex and the State by Lisa Baldez

27 59

Lynchings in Guatemala: A New Look

by Dina Fernández 60

Irregular Forces and the State

by Mercedes Soledad Hinton 61

READER FORUM

63



Harvard University
David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies
61 Kirkland Street
Cambridge, MA 02138

PRST.STD
U.S. POSTAGE
PAID
PERMIT NO. 55
PLYMOUTH, MA