OPPORTUNITIES FOR COLOMBIAN YOUTH IN VIOLENT PRONE URBAN AREAS: AN EXPLORATORY RESEARCH CONCERNING CAPABILITY SATISFACTION PROVIDED BY COMMUNITY-BASED PROJECTS

By
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This thesis is submitted for obtaining the Joint Master’s Degree in International Humanitarian Action. By submitting this thesis, the author certifies that the text is from her own hand, does not include the work of someone else unless clearly indicated, and that the thesis has been produced in accordance with proper academic practices.

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Abstract

This thesis focuses on children in urban violent-prone areas and organizations that attempt to offer them chances to break the negative cycle of violence. I explored whether the organizations align with children concerning which capabilities and opportunities they deem most important for the children to stimulate their development. For this, I resorted to the capability approach as a theoretical framework and research methods which are in line with this theoretical framework. The capability approach aims to research how individual development and well-being is stimulated within a society in order for the whole society to improve through the individual skills of its people. In this thesis, I will focus on the thoughts of children who are beneficiaries in five organizations based in Bogotá, Cali or Barrancabermeja. My exploratory research aims to pin down which capabilities are valued the most by children, how they relate their capability access to the organizations and how the organizations approach the children.

**Keywords:** capability approach, Nussbaum, children, education, Catholic church, community service, identity trajectory, *el Código de la Infancia y la Adolescencia*
Writing this thesis has been a great journey during which I met many amazing people and got to experience the generosity and kindness of the Colombian people. I started with this process in the summer of 2016, and I could have never imagined that so many people would open up to me and would be willing to help me. I have been amazed by the contradictions in Colombia, in positive and negative forms. But most of all, I experienced a country with strength and resilience, one that is eager and proud of all the things it has to offer. I am glad I didn’t have to make this journey alone, and that I had friends to share my experiences with on a daily basis. Therefore I want to thank Krista Sojo and Esmee de Haan for their support, good laughter and Spanish support where my own Spanish skills fell short. My experiences in Colombia wouldn’t have been the same without them.

I also want to thank my thesis supervisor, Prof. Jacques Zeelen for all his good advice and Colombian contacts. Even though he had many obligations to meet, he came through for me as a supervisor and I hope it shows in this thesis. Next, I would like to thank his friend MSc. Miguel Arturo Fajardo Rojas, who opened up his home to me and helped me with getting further in my research. I also want to thank Prof. P. Valenzuela, who showed us around Bogotá, Pontificia Universidad Javeriana and helped me with multiple Spanish translations. I would also like to thank all the people from Pintando Caminos, ADC MJ, SJR, CDCS, CDPMM and ENSCR for their support. I cherish the opportunity to visit these organizations and am humbled by their efforts to make my research possible. From organizing sittings for the children to fill in surveys to taxi arrangements and arranging translators: the organizations have been extremely helpful in every way. I’ve learned a lot and I hope I’ve done them justice with this thesis.

Last but not least, I want to thank my family for their support and love. Even though we are far apart sometimes, I know I always have a loving home to go back to.
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<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Full Form</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ADC MJ</td>
<td>ADC Merquemos Juntos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BACRIM</td>
<td>Bandas criminales emergentes en Colombia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BCB</td>
<td>Bloque Central Bolívar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CDCS</td>
<td>Centro de Desarrollo Comunitario de Siloé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ELN</td>
<td>Ejército de Liberación Nacional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ENSCR</td>
<td>Escuela Normal Superior Cristo Rey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ERIC</td>
<td>Ethical Research Involving Children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FARC</td>
<td>Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FARC-EP</td>
<td>Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarios de Colombia- Ejercito del Pueblo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GDP</td>
<td>Gross domestic product</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HDCA</td>
<td>Human Development and Capability Association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IDP</td>
<td>Internally displaced person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INGO</td>
<td>International non-governmental organization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MICROCON</td>
<td>A Micro Level Analysis of Violent Conflict</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NGO</td>
<td>Non-governmental organization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CDPMM</td>
<td>Corporación de Desarrollo y Paz del Magdalena Medio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SRJ</td>
<td>Servicio Jesuita a Refugiados Colombia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WOLA</td>
<td>The Washington Office on Latin America</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1. Introduction

Colombia is at a pivotal moment in history. The Colombian government, under president Santos, managed to conclude peace-talks with the largest guerilla force in the country; the *Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarios de Colombia- Ejercito del Pueblo* (FARC-EP). After decades of war, Colombia is working towards establishing peace. Since 2012, negotiations have taken place in Havana (Cuba) between the two parties. On September 16th 2016, the FARC and Colombian government signed a historical agreement which was supposed to end the conflict (WOLA 2016b). However, the Colombian citizens surprisingly rejected the terms of the accords in a referendum which led the two parties in another stream of negotiations. Even though the outcome of the referendum caused difficulties for the peace accords, both parties remained committed to work towards a post-conflict situation. These efforts led to a second ratification of the agreement on November 24th 2016. Thus, the two parties currently agree on paper and are negotiating how to initiate the implementation of the agreement (WOLA 2016a). Protests do start as the population does not fully support the agreement and the government seems to be ineffective in taking over FARC territory (Maas 2017).

Thus, a downside of this situation is the power vacuum that erupts in rural areas where the FARC once had control. The FARC is actively working towards demobilization and has made solid agreements concerning their former recruitment and training of children (Casey 2016). However, the groups that see an opportunity to take over their territories did not make these promises and continue to recruit and train children. Moreover, these groups do not solely focus on rural areas: they already have ties in urban settings and are more similar to gangs than guerillas (Downing 2014). An example are the groups associated with BACRIM (*bandas criminales*). This is a collective name for drug trafficking organizations that was coined in 2006 by former Colombian president Uribe (McDermott 2015). Growing evidence suggests that BACRIM affiliated organizations have increased their child recruitment (Downing 2014). One should be aware that the demobilization of the FARC does not account for the eradication of children in gangs and violent organizations. Therefore, the Colombian government should continue to actively seek out and penalize violent groups that made no promises to let go of young recruits. However, this situation is further complicated by the voluntary enlistment of children in these violent groups. For a long time children were perceived as passive victims who were forcefully recruited into violent organizations. However, multiple qualitative studies with former child soldiers reveal that children more
often choose to join for various reasons such as longing for a better life, seeking adventure, family ties and status (Bjørkhaug 2010; Brook et. al. 2003; Rosenau et. al. 2014). This knowledge is crucial in the formation of an approach towards children who are prone to voluntarily join violent organizations.

Additionally, even though many children have voluntarily decided to join violent groups, qualitative studies show that these children often join groups without a clear image of their participation in the group. As a result, many children attempted to defect or remained out of fear for reprisals (Bjørkhaug 2010). Once they enter a group, children are subjected to physical and mental abuse that negatively impacts their opportunities and capabilities for the future. In relation to the Colombian desire for peace, it is crucial that the next generation has the opportunity to grow up with minimal contact to conflict. Therefore, humanitarian organizations, development organizations and the Colombian government ought to target children who are prone to join violent groups in order to assist them in making choices and creating opportunities to reach their full capacity in the Colombian society.

As these children have proven to be active agents in the formation of their own choices with regard to armed forces, it is crucial to understand why children voluntarily choose to join in order to address these factors in their lives. In line with the acknowledgement of a child’s agency, I will apply the capability approach to examine which functionings the child desires and which deprivation of capabilities leads to their seemingly autonomous choice to join gangs. Functionings in this context refer to the realization of actions as an active outcome of a choice made. The capability approach focuses on the diverse set of factors that empowers a person’s personal development and freedom (Ibrahim & Tiwari 2014; Nussbaum 2013; Wells n.d). In relation to children, the capability approach acknowledges children as agents of their own development, thereby portraying the child as an active member in society instead of a passive victim of surrounding circumstances and events (Biggeri et al. 2011). By actively working on the empowerment of internal, societal and environmental conversion factors of children, the assumption is that they will be less tempted to seek their empowerment in organizations that will only harm their current and future state.

In order to assess this assumption, multiple concepts and cultural traits ought to be described thoroughly and applied accordingly throughout the thesis.
In this thesis I will highlight five organizations in three urban settings that currently work with children in situations of capability deprivation and violent contexts. Their names and whereabouts are displayed below.

Table 1. the visited organizations and their whereabouts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City</th>
<th>Organization</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Barrancabermeja</td>
<td>Servicio Jesuita A Refugiados (SJR)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Escuela Normal Superior Cristo Rey (ENSCR)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bogotá (Cuidad Bolivar)</td>
<td>ADC Merquemos Juntos (ADC MJ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pintando Caminos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cali (Siloé)</td>
<td>Centro de Desarrollo Comunitario de Siloé (CDCS)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.1 Purpose and Research Questions

The study is directed at exploring how well the design of programs for children in high-risk violent neighborhoods complement the capabilities that these children themselves find most important. This is based on recent research in Colombia that displays that children are often treated as victims of groups while many of them say that they chose to join violent groups. The children list different reasons for this decision, such as: family ties to armed groups or gangs, the desire for more excitement, or the desire for a better life (Arjona & Kalyvas 2008; Downing 2014; Human Rights Watch 2003; Rosenau et. al. 2014). In relation to this seemingly autonomous choice to join armed forces or gangs, there ought be a shifting view on the agency of the child and its participation in the community. In order to assess the position of the child in organizations and the child’s perception of its own capabilities and accessibility to capabilities, I formed the following research question:

**To what extent do the researched organizations provide support to children in violent prone urban areas based upon the capabilities that children themselves deem most important for their well-being and development?**
In order to assess this research question, I formulated three sub questions which need to be examined:

1) What are the characteristics of the organizations and how do they approach children?
2) Which capabilities do children find most important and to what extent do they capabilities apply to their own life?
3) To what extent do children feel that organizations help provide access to the 14 predetermined capabilities?

The research is exploratory. It allows for more flexibility concerning data collection, open mindedness concerning collected information, and descriptive passages concerning observations and literature that is collected. The research accounts for an attempt to understand the researched children and the programs that aim to help improve their well-being (Stebbins 2008).
2. Theoretical Framework

During the theoretical framework I focus on the capability approach. After a general introduction of the theory, the chosen specification of the theory is discussed. Thereafter, the specified theory further narrows its scope on children. After discussing these scopes, *El Código de la Infancia y la Adolescencia* is elaborated upon in line with the capability approach for children. *El Código de la Infancia y la Adolescencia* represents the Colombian law regarding the treatment of children. After these theoretical considerations, this chapter concludes with the connection between the theoretical framework and the research.

2.1 Capability Approach

The capability approach is a human development approach that focusses on what individuals can do and be in their societies; hence, this approach offers an individualized and culture-sensitive method to assess and compare improvement in a country without solely highlighting a country’s GDP (Nussbaum 2013). Through this focus, the capability approach enables academics to examine a detailed account of individuals and communities’ quality of life without being led by the general material improvement of the country the individual or community resides in (Nussbaum 2013). Instead, the theory emphasizes on what humans value in their life instead of on what hard resources we need for mere survival (Nussbaum 2013). The capability approach was founded in the 1980s by the Indian economist and philosopher Amartya Sen (Wells n.d). His approach is widely used in the human development sector and has a specific focus on the concept of individual freedom and practical implementations that can improve one’s freedom and self-determination (Nussbaum 2013; Wells n.d). Another important academic for the development of the capability approach is Martha Nussbaum. While these two academics agree upon the foundation of the approach, Nussbaum emphasizes more on the respect for basic human dignity and qualitative data instead of individual enhancement and practical implementations. In line with the subject of child soldiers, which is a violation of both international law and Colombian law, I will focus on Nussbaum’s explanation of the theory and her interpretation of key concepts and implementation.
2.1.1 Key Concepts of the Capability Approach

In order to comprehend her interpretation of the capability approach, the key concepts will be explained. The capability approach is based on the development of capabilities. Capabilities represent the actions an individual can undertake or what kind of person he/she can be through available opportunities and free choices. Capabilities themselves can be divided into three interrelated divisions. Basic capabilities represent the innate capabilities of a person that structure his/her development and training possibilities. Internal capabilities are a dynamic set of capabilities that are trained and developed during one’s life. Combo capabilities are a person’s internal capabilities in combination with his/her specific economic, social and political situation (Nussbaum 2013). In relation to the internal and combo capabilities, one need to realize that this set is in a continuous evolving process (Biggeri et. al. 2011). The interrelated set of capabilities collectively represent a person’s full capability set.

While this capability set represents the available choices one can make, functionings represent the active realization and outcome of these choices. Functionings are tightly connected to one’s freedom, as one might possess the capabilities to act but instead might choose not to act upon them. Thus, functionings are voluntary acts based upon one’s capabilities.

Notwithstanding, in this case where the capability approach is applied to children there is some room with regard to voluntary choices in the light of their possible underdeveloped agency. For example, a child might not voluntarily choose to go to school, but this functioning ought to be promoted in order to strengthen the development of the child (Nussbaum 2013). Moreover, functionings will not be widely discussed in this thesis because they focus on a particular outcome which represents the good life while capabilities examine the different choices one can make to achieve the life that he/she desires (Robeyns 2006).

The success and development of capabilities and their following functionings depend on conversion factors. Conversion factors represent the resources that enable one to convert commodities and circumstances into an opportunity for oneself. These factors can be internal (sex, skills, intelligence and talents), societal (public policies, institutions, rules, traditions, gender norms and power relations) and environmental (climate and infrastructure). In relation to children, these conversion factors have great importance as they are often still subject to parental/communal rule (Biggeri et al. 2011). However, while there are certain adjustments that need to be considered in order to apply the capability approach and its reasoning to
children, multiple factors in the approach can also be heavily influenced by children. Hence, the capability approach will promote active participation of children in society and acknowledges their agency.

In relation to agency and children, the introduction of the concept identity trajectory is pivotal to comprehend the connection between the concepts mentioned above and their importance for the development of the child. Identity trajectory refers to the dynamic nature of identity and an individual’s capacity to change its identity (Biggeri et. al. 2011). To a certain extent one’s identity is set in static representations such as internal capacities, family and biography. However, through intersubjective dynamic relations an individual can become an active member in changing his/her self-definition apart from the static identity (Biggeri et. al. 2011). This idea is based on Sen’s notion that identity is largely a question of choice; it is the consciousness of this fact that allows an individual to make choices according to the person he/she desires to be (Biggeri et. al. 2011). However, when children can formulate a type of person they desire to be, they are still largely grounded in the static base of their identity through caretakers, environment and peers. After conducting a research project amongst Peruvian children in 2006, Biggeri and associates concluded that without sufficient parental, communal and peer support, children do not develop a feeling of self-worth which hinders their consciousness about their agency and results in a lack of development (2011). Thus, the lack of conversion factors hinders the development of capabilities and the individual’s freedom to form his/her own identity; however, without freedom the child will be “stuck” in a static representation of itself reflected upon him/her by the immediate environment.

2.1.2 Specific Influence of Nussbaum on the Capability Approach

Nussbaum argues that the capability approach works towards the construction of basic social justice in line with fundamental political entitlements (Nussbaum 2013). Her approach emphasizes on the large responsibility of the state to promote certain conversion factors for its citizens in order to explore their full capability set in society. Nevertheless, Nussbaum’s threshold concerns the protection of areas of central freedoms that cannot be removed without stripping people of their basic human dignity instead of aiming for one’s full potential (Nussbaum 2013). Therefore, Nussbaum drafted a list with 10 central capabilities that ought to be addressed for individual persons and cannot compromise each other. Table 2 displays these 10 central capabilities of Nussbaum.
<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. <strong>Life</strong></td>
<td>Being able to live to the end of a human life of normal length.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. <strong>Bodily health</strong></td>
<td>Being able to have good health, reproductive health, nourishment and shelter.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. <strong>Bodily integrity</strong></td>
<td>Being able to move freely from one place to another, secure against violent assault (including sexual and domestic), choice in matters of reproduction.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. <strong>Senses, imagination and thought</strong></td>
<td>Access to education, the right to use imagination and express it through religion, literature, music, etc.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. <strong>Emotions</strong></td>
<td>Freedom to love and grieve whom you want, and to live without anxiety and fear.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. <strong>Practical reason</strong></td>
<td>Being able to engage in a critical reflection of one’s life.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. <strong>Affiliation</strong></td>
<td>Being able to engage in various forms of interaction and feel self-respect. Nondiscrimination based upon race, sex, sexual orientation, religion etc. is also included.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. <strong>Other species</strong></td>
<td>Being able to live in relation to animals, plants and the world of nature.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. <strong>Play</strong></td>
<td>Being able to laugh, play and enjoy recreational activities.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. <strong>Control over one’s environment</strong></td>
<td>Being able to participate effectively in political choices, being able to hold property and being able to work on an equal basis as others.</td>
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</table>

Nussbaum received some critique on this list, most prominently from her colleague Amartya Sen. The critique is directed on the claimed universality of the list, and that this claim would lead to a generalization of the multiple different groups that inhabit this earth (Biggeri et. al 2011). In response, Nussbaum argued that the list is necessary to create critical notions to which we can hold institutions responsible. Moreover, she argues that her list can help construct a concrete conception of social justice (Nussbaum 2003). This list does not mean that there are no other capabilities that should be emphasized. The list is an abstract that may vary according to the demographic group, environment, community etc. (Robeyns 2006). It is a mere starting point for the consideration of important capabilities that can be easily adjusted.
according to local/national values. For certain, the minimum amount of these 10 capabilities that should be available for one’s population depend upon the countries constitutional law (Nussbaum 2013). This notion is based upon the heterogeneity of cultures and values in different countries and the level of economic resources available (Nussbaum 2013). Moreover, Nussbaum does not propose that these central capabilities are a guide for life. She merely discusses the abstracts of these capabilities in the field of politics in order to provide loose guidelines for politicians to provide their citizens with at least the minimum amount of human dignity. She explains:

*The ten capabilities [...] are goals that fulfill or correspond to people’s pre-political entitlements; thus we say of people that they are entitled to the ten capabilities of the list. In the context of a nation, it then becomes the job of government to secure them, if that government is to be even minimally just. In effect, then, the presence of entitlements gives governments a job to do, and a central job of government will be to secure the capabilities to the people* (Nussbaum 2005, p. 169).

Moreover, she emphasizes that policy-makers should always keep in mind that citizens should be able to make choices with regard to the central capabilities; no taken choice may be forced upon them (Nussbaum 2013). An important concept interrelated with this goal is the necessity for capability security in line with the 10 central capabilities. Public policy ought to be designed in a sustainable manner through which the population can enjoy the capabilities without fear for the future as that could negatively impact their choices (Nussbaum 2013).

### 2.1.3 Important Notes For the Application of the Capability Approach to Children

Nussbaum’s list is not designed for children; regardless, many of the capabilities are relevant for a child, may it be to a different extent than for a full-grown adult. An important overlapping capability is education, which should be offered with high-quality and great diversity. Nussbaum wrote the following concerning the importance of education within her central capabilities:

*the emphasis of [educational] interventions has been on basic literacy and numeracy; and it is surely right to think that when these skills are absent many avenues of opportunity are closed. It is important, however, not to confine the analysis of
education and capabilities to those skills. A true education for human development requires much more. [...] The skills associated with the humanities and the arts—critical thinking, the ability to imagine and to understand another person’s situation from within, and a grasp of world history and the current global economic order—are all essential for responsible democratic citizenship, as well as for a wide range of other capabilities that people might choose to exercise in later life. (Nussbaum 2005, p. 155-156)

Nevertheless, one also needs to acknowledge that a child is not a mere small adult, but a person in itself with different needs and capabilities that demand special care (Biggeri et al. 2011). This notion is important as it highlights that children as an “independent” group should be granted basic standards of human dignity according to Nussbaum’s understanding of the capability approach (Biggeri et. al. 2011). With regard to Nussbaum’s list and the awareness that children do value other domains as well, a multidisciplinary team drawn from the HDCA Thematic Group on Children’s Capabilities formulated a preliminary central capabilities list for children (Biggeri et. al. 2011). Table 3 demonstrates this preliminary list.
Table 3. Preliminary list of capabilities for children (all capabilities should be considered with regard to the age and maturity of a child)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th><strong>Life and physical health</strong></th>
<th>being able to be born, be physically healthy and enjoy a life of normal length</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td><strong>Love and care</strong></td>
<td>Being able to love and being loved by those who care and being able to be protected</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td><strong>Mental well-being</strong></td>
<td>being able to be mentally healthy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td><strong>Bodily integrity and safety</strong></td>
<td>being able to be protected from violence of any sort</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td><strong>Social relations</strong></td>
<td>being able to be part of social networks and to give and receive social support</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td><strong>Participation</strong></td>
<td>to participate in and have a fair share of influence and being able to receive objective information</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td><strong>Education</strong></td>
<td>Being able to be educated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td><strong>Freedom from economic and non-economic exploitation</strong></td>
<td>being able to be protected from economic and non-economic exploitation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td><strong>Shelter and environment</strong></td>
<td>being able to be sheltered and to live in a healthy, safe and pleasant environment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td><strong>Leisure activities</strong></td>
<td>being able to engage in leisure activities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td><strong>Respect</strong></td>
<td>being able to be respected and treated with dignity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td><strong>Religion and identity</strong></td>
<td>being able to choose to live or not according to a religion and identity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td><strong>Time-autonomy</strong></td>
<td>being able to exercise autonomy in allocating one’s time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td><strong>Mobility</strong></td>
<td>being able to move</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This list can again be adjusted to specific cultural and demographic contexts. Moreover, the researchers stress the importance of the dynamic nature of these capabilities. A 9 year old child will have a different emphasis on these domains than a 15 year old child. Holding this in mind, this particular list will be used and contested during the research itself. However, before
discussing the methodology, it is important to grasp the theory’s approach towards children and the capability approach’ opportunities and limitations when researching children. To commence, it is important to acknowledge children as active agents and co-producers of their capabilities. Without this acknowledgement, one cannot actively engage children in projects and decisions about their future without risking the prejudice that children solely are victims of circumstances. The following example from Ingunn Bjørkhaug's research for MICROCON demonstrates the agency a child can practice situated in Colombia, early 2000s. Bjørkhaug made contact with a former ELN (Ejército de Liberación Nacional) Colombian child-soldier, who on paper is referred to as Anna. Anna grew up in a village where multiple armed forces were present, including guerrillas and paramilitaries. She was curious about the lifestyle of insurgents, asked many questions and eventually asked them if she could join.

"Her family had tried to prevent this from happening, she had other options. She was enrolled in the school and moved to her grandparents for protection. She needed to consider what she wanted to do. Five days later she called them and scheduled a time and place where they could pick her up. She packed a few necessary things and left the house without saying goodbye. Her only fear was that her grandparents would discover her plans and stop her. Anna was looking for action, and life as a child soldier seemed like a chance to move away from her loneliness. To what degree a fourteen year old girl made this choice voluntarily is debatable. She had three other siblings who did not join the guerilla; they were married and had their own families. Anna was more attracted to the insurgency and followed her dream of becoming a child soldier. (Bjørkhaug 2010, p. 12-13)

Multiple factors eventually influenced Anna’s decision to join the ELN against her family’s wishes. There were many societal and environmental conversion factors outside her family’s reach which influenced her tolerance and curiosity towards violence, such as the constant presence of armed forces in the village she grew up in and the lack of infrastructure for Anna to leave the village by other means. But more, her decision was influenced by internal conversion factors as she felt bored and lonely; thus, the further lack of societal conversion factors triggered her to seek the fulfillment of her capabilities through means not available in the village (Biggeri et. al. 2011).
Anna’s story also exemplifies the limited agency a child should practice. Anna did have access to education; nevertheless, she chose to look for adventure because at that time she did not understand the importance of education: most probably due to a lack of communication between her and her caretakers. Thus, it should be emphasized that a child can have the freedom to make choices (even though caretakers might not allow it), but that these choices may not always serve the child’s capability set as they may value short-term satisfaction of temporary priorities over sustainable development. Moreover, children may lack the ability to revise and evaluate choices once they are made. This is why communication, cooperation and awareness are important concepts when adults work and interact with children (Biggeri et. al. 2011).

By recognizing the partial agency of a child, one can actively engage the child in society while being aware of influential conversion factors and/or lack of conversion factors that inspire the child’s reasoning and aspirations (Biggeri et. al. 2011). Here, it is crucial to emphasize that capabilities are a social construct: the existence of capabilities is the result of a mixture of conversion factors (Biggeri et. al. 2011). Therefore, in order to successfully engage the child in society one needs to promote conversion factors that provide tools for the child to express itself. Moreover, by emphasizing on the social construct of capabilities one can monitor the absence of crucial conversion factors (such as loving, educated guardians and education) and attempt to change this structure. Since conversion factors are social constructs and fundamental for the creation of capabilities, one can assume that the lack of crucial conversion factors, being malnourished for example, can prevent the child from having access to many other conversion factors. Malnourishment in this case has a negative effect on children who go to school (Biggeri et. al. 2011). Weak educational results will most likely lead to a low-income job, which prolongs the malnourishment of the beneficiary. This in turn can lead to inter-generational poverty within a household, as no one has access to the crucial conversion factor that could lead to a cumulative process of factors. Thus, offering one child a conversion factor that was lacking before can create sustainable development for generations to come, which highlights the key position of children in society (Biggeri et al. 2011). Moreover, it also highlights the impact that a supportive program can have on generating a different future. This links back to Nussbaum’s emphasis on government responsibility and basic human dignity. Therefore, the relevance and implementation of Colombian law concerning children will be discussed after the discussion of the research in order to match this examination to the outcomes of the research. This will create a narrow understanding of
the situation of children in relation to powerful institutions that are largely responsible for their well-being and choices in the identity trajectory.

2.2 El Código de la Infancia y la Adolescencia and Children in Urban Areas

El Código de la Infancia y la Adolescencia is the Code for Children and Adolescents, which is the document that contains all relevant law articles concerning children from the ages 0-12 (children) and 12-18 (adolescents) in Colombia (Art. 3). It was ratified as law 1098 in 2006. This law sets forward a set of very idealistic goals, where article 1. already states:

Este código tiene por finalidad garantizar a los niños, a las niñas y a los adolescentes su pleno y armonioso desarrollo para que crezcan en el seno de la familia y de la comunidad, en un ambiente de felicidad, amor y comprensión. Prevalecerá el reconocimiento a la igualdad y la dignidad humana, sin discriminación alguna.

This article translates in:

This code aims to ensure children, girls and adolescents their full and harmonious development to grow within the family and community in an atmosphere of happiness, love and understanding. Knowledge prevail to equality and human dignity, without discrimination.

This article shows a clear emphasis on the devotion towards the development of children and their human dignity, which is in line with Nussbaum’s ideal image of what a law should offer its citizens. Nevertheless, this article represents a distant goal rather than the current reality in Colombia.

On paper, el Código de la Infancia y la Adolescencia manages to specifically mention all 14 capabilities which are present on the preliminary capabilities list for children. Thus, on paper the law offers children every opportunity to ensure their basic human dignity in Colombian society. Table 4 displays which articles of the discussed law actively represent which capability. Indirect references were not included, as well as the duties of state institutions as they do not document child rights and opportunities but obligations for adults regarding these rights and opportunities.
Table 4. References to the 14 capabilities in *el Código de la Infancia y la Adolescencia*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Capability</th>
<th>Direct Reference in the Article</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Life and physical health</td>
<td>1, 6, 7, 10, 14, 17, 18, 20, 27, 29, 32, 34, 39, 41, 45, 52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Love and care</td>
<td>1, 10, 14, 17, 22, 23, 29, 39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Mental well-being</td>
<td>1, 6, 7, 10, 14, 17, 18, 20, 27, 29, 32, 34, 39, 41, 45, 52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Bodily integrity and safety</td>
<td>1, 6, 7, 10, 14, 17, 18, 20, 27, 29, 34, 39, 41, 45, 52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Social relations</td>
<td>1, 10, 14, 22, 23, 25, 30, 31, 32, 39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Participation</td>
<td>2, 6, 15, 22, 25, 26, 29, 30, 31, 32, 39, 41, 203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Education</td>
<td>2, 14, 15, 17, 20, 28, 29, 31, 32, 34, 39, 41, 42, 43, 44, 52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Freedom from economic and non-</td>
<td>1, 6, 7, 10, 14, 17, 18, 20, 35, 39, 41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>economic exploitation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Shelter and environment</td>
<td>1, 7, 10, 14, 17, 20, 24, 39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Leisure activities</td>
<td>1, 14, 17, 30, 32, 39, 41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Respect</td>
<td>1, 6, 7, 10, 14, 17, 18, 20, 25, 26, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 39, 41, 52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Religion and identity</td>
<td>1, 7, 14, 23, 24, 25, 26, 30, 31, 32, 39, 41, 52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Time-autonomy</td>
<td>6, 14, 30, 32, 33, 39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Mobility</td>
<td>2, 6, 14, 21, 30, 32, 33, 39</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
This overview demonstrates the state’s awareness about the importance of the enablement of capabilities for children. Especially life and physical health, mental well-being, education and respect were mentioned often. Moreover, article 202 which addresses the objectives of public policies, specifically mentions that the state should enable a supportive economic, social, political and cultural environment to enable the development of capabilities for children. Thus, this article discusses the state’s share in creating conversion factors through which capabilities become possible.

Additionally, gender differences, the diverse definition of what a child is and can do, and disabilities are not specifically mentioned in the preliminary capability list; nevertheless, the capability approach itself has a large emphasis on an individual approach to the amount of conversion factors one needs to reach an equal level of access to capabilities. While I will not focus on children with disabilities here due to a lack of time and space, the gender perspective and the role of the child in his/her community does hold importance in this research. Article 12 of the examined law acknowledges the heterogeneous circumstances surrounding the larger concept of childhood:

-Se entiende por perspectiva de género el reconocimiento de las diferencias sociales, biológicas y psicológicas en las relaciones entre las personas según el sexo, la edad, la etnia y el rol que desempeñan en la familia y en el grupo social. Esta perspectiva se debe tener en cuenta en la aplicación de este código, en todos los ámbitos en donde se desenvuelven los niños, las niñas y los adolescentes, para alcanzar la equidad.

This article translates:

It is meant by gender recognition of social, biological and psychological relationships between people based on gender differences, age, ethnicity and the role they play in the family and social group. This perspective should be taken into account in the application of this code, in all areas where children, and adolescents develop, to achieve equity.

Article 12 hereby supports the capability approach’s theory that the concept of childhood does not have one meaning, and that its meaning is dependent upon many different surrounding environmental, internal and social conversion factors (Biggeri et. al. 2011). Moreover, it
emphasizes that one child might need more support to achieve the same capability set than another child (Biggeri et. al. 2011)

Thus, the examination of el Código de la Infancia y la Adolescencia purely based on its theoretical value displays a positive outcome with regard to diversity, participation and guidance with regard to the development of capabilities. However, when linking this document to the outcome of the research, one will likely develop more reserved thoughts towards the implementation of it.

2.3 Linking the Theoretical Framework to the Research

The capability approach is based on a qualitative approach as it focusses on the individual circumstances of one subject. Moreover, the capability approach acknowledges the complexity of the circumstances under which an individual forms its identity and own sense of well-being. These considerations make this theory suitable for an exploratory research as it offers the opportunity to approach individuals on different levels, namely: societal, environmental and on an intrinsic motivational level.

The methodology and considerations of the research concerning the capability approach are discussed in chapter 3. This ensures the presence of the theoretical framework in the research, which will become evident in the discussion of the three sub questions in chapter 4, 5 and 6. El Código, which is discussed in subchapter 2.2, will be a part of the research for chapter 4 concerning the characteristics of the organizations, in order to explore whether the organizations are in line with the law regarding this subject. Lastly, chapter 7 will tie together the research and theoretical framework through reflections on the connection between theoretical concepts and qualitative findings.
As mentioned during the introduction of the thesis, the research is exploratory. This allows for a flexible stance and thus a greater level of adaptability to the field and the collectable data. Exploratory research allows the researcher to explore a situation and data which is largely unfamiliar to him/her in order to create a better understanding of the situation (Stebbins 2008). My research is based on the following research question:

**To what extent do the researched organizations provide support to children in violent prone urban areas based upon the capabilities that children themselves deem most important for their well-being and development?**

This research question is divided in 3 sub questions:

1) What are the characteristics of the organizations and how do they approach children?
2) Which capabilities do children find most important and to what extent do they capabilities apply to their own life?
3) To what extent do children feel that organizations help provide access to the 14 predetermined capabilities?

I will explore the answer to these questions by using multiple research methods, namely: mixed method surveys, semi-structured interviews, a narrative, observations and document analysis. Before I discuss these methods and their value in the research, I will highlight certain methodological considerations concerning the capability approach and how I gained access to the field in order to conduct my exploratory research.

### 3.1 Methodological Considerations Concerning the Capability Approach

The application of the capability approach in practice remains a difficult task due to multiple choices one ought to make in order to narrow down the research. To capture one’s dynamic set of capabilities the researcher has to make distinct choices in order to grasp the agency of an individual and the complex interrelated set of constraints that an individual faces in his/her lifetime (Ibrahim & Tiwari 2014). With regard to the limited time in Colombia, the research is
built on primary data abstracted from mixed quantitative/qualitative methods designed to obtain subjective indicators for a micro-level analysis on a grassroots level.

Due to the complex set of influential conversion factors and the importance of peers and family in relation to children in this particular topic, the research will aim for collective levels of application in order to be able to form recommendations during the final stage. The choices indicated above were formulated according to Ibrahim & Tiwari’s guidelines on how to transform the capability approach from theory to practice (table 5).

Table 5. Typology of grassroots exploration in relation to the capability approach according to Ibrahim & Tiwari

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Characteristics</th>
<th>Contributions</th>
<th>Limitations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>- Primary data</td>
<td>- Identifying not only functioning but also</td>
<td>- Findings are difficult to generalize</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Micro-level</td>
<td>- human capabilities and choices</td>
<td>- Data are too contextualized</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Local and/or grassroots</td>
<td>- Respecting the role of people as agents and informants</td>
<td>- Limited national/international comparability</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Qualitative data</td>
<td>- Generating new data</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Subjective indicators</td>
<td>- Helping to explore causality</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Capturing the dynamic process of capability</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>achievement</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These methodological guidelines provide assistance for the formation of questionnaires. In relation to the formation of a context-sensitive survey, Robeyns also provides a few key points in order to prevent generalization and non-reduction in research connected to the capability approach (Robeyns 2003). Her key concepts emphasize the following:

1) "explicit formulation; the theory the researcher chose should be able to be defended by the researcher and discussed with others."
2) methodological justification; the method of selecting capabilities should be clarified and defended.

3) sensitivity to context; the researcher has to be sensitive towards cultural, environmental and social values.

4) different levels of generality; the researcher has to take the empirical application of the research into account.

5) exhaustion and non-reduction; the researcher has to make many choices regarding choosing capabilities. However, he/she needs to make sure that no important capabilities have been forgotten.” (Ibrahim & Tiwari 2014; Robeyns 2003, p. 64).

These points are taken into account while conducting the research in the field.

3.2 Access to the Field

Due to my limited time in Colombia, it was important to reach out to local organizations immediately. Moreover, I searched for personal contacts who could connect me with Colombian citizens who are active in the field. I knew I preferred to solely focus on urban areas to limit the scope of the research. After a month, I established contact with two organization through my own initiative and contact with one supportive organization through a contact of my thesis supervisor, Prof. J.J.M Zeelen.

The organizations I contacted independently were found on the website of globalgiving.org. I filtered organization on their goals and environment and contacted them whether they were willing to let me come to their organization. After extensive email and phone contact concerning my research and conditions, I was allowed to come to the two organizations in order to observe the situation and conduct my research. The first was Pintando Caminos in Bogotá and the second was CDCS in Cali. My contact persons at these organizations, my visitations and their contribution to the research can be seen in table 6.

Prof. J.J.M Zeelen brought me into contact with MSc. M.Fajardo Rojas, director of the Center for Studies in Solidarity Economics of the Universidad de San Gil. I met with him in Bogotá where we discussed my research and his ability to help. He then gave me the contacts of Ubencel Duque Rojas, the director of Corporación de Desarrollo y Paz del Magdalena Medio(CDPMM). I contacted him in order to explore any opportunities to visit the region and organizations that focus on children in violent prone areas. He invited me to their office in
Barrancabermeja, where I met with J.E Martínez Rueda -a program director at CDPMM- and two interns who could translate between English and Spanish. After this meeting we went to Mr. Rojas to discuss my options. He provided several organizations in the city which were partially supported by CDPMM, after which he proposed to visit these organizations with me in order to ask their permissions and ideas concerning the research. During this visits, I connected with SJR and ADC MJ, as can be seen in table 6. the connection with ENSCR arose more spontaneously, as I was supposed to visit a project of CDPMM with J.E Martínez Rueda; however, that project was canceled and Mr. Martínez Rueda then proposed for me to come to this school. The results of this visit are also documented in table 6.

While the cooperation with organizations at times arose spontaneously, all organizations do possess a set of criteria which made them eligible in order to create a cohesive research. Next to the urban settings, the organizations actively had to have a set of goals to keep children away from violence through their projects. The presence of violence within the neighborhood of the organizations should also be evident in order to assess whether there was an actual necessity for the programs of the organizations. Also, it had to be possible for me to converse with children in the programs. While I initially desired to focus on a demographic group of the ages 10-15, I did alter this criterion. Eventually a more diverse age group provided the opportunity to explore differences and similarities between age groups with more responses.
Table 6: Information Concerning the Collection of Data

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pintando Caminos (Ciudad Bolívar, barrio Potosí, Bogotá)</th>
<th>Alexandra Tamara V. (Leader of the program)</th>
<th>Help from:</th>
<th>E. de Haan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>12 children</td>
<td>7 girls</td>
<td>5 boys</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 – 17</td>
<td>1 – 14</td>
<td>1 – 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 – 12</td>
<td>2 – 11</td>
<td>3 – 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 – 9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>10-08-2016</td>
<td></td>
<td>15-09-2016</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>La Escuela Normal Cristo Rey (Carrera 28 No. 53-08 10- Barrancabermeja)</th>
<th>Sandra Luz Herrera Navarro (Psychologist)</th>
<th>Help from:</th>
<th>J.E Martínez Rueda</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>18 children</td>
<td>14 girls</td>
<td>4 boys</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 – 18</td>
<td>1 – 17</td>
<td>10 – 15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7 – 16</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>19-08-2016</td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ADC Merquemos Juntos (Barrios Nororientales, Barrancabermeja)</th>
<th>Ubencel Duque (Director of PDPMM) - Jose Nivelso Arias Martinez contact person ADC</th>
<th>Help from:</th>
<th>P. Shantz</th>
<th>J.A Vodniza Pardo</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8 children</td>
<td>4 girls</td>
<td>4 boys</td>
<td>5 adults semi-structured interviews</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 – 19</td>
<td>2 – 18</td>
<td>1 – 15</td>
<td>2 – 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>20-08-2016</td>
<td></td>
<td>03-09-2016</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Servicio Jesuita a Refugiados (Barrancabermeja , Cr 15 # 50-30)</th>
<th>Diana Marcela (project leader)</th>
<th>Help from:</th>
<th>J.A Vodniza Pardo</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>18 children</td>
<td>8 girls</td>
<td>10 boys</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 – 18</td>
<td>2 – 17</td>
<td>5 – 16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 – 14</td>
<td>1 – 12</td>
<td>1 – 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7 – 15</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>20-08-2016</td>
<td></td>
<td>03-09-2016</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Centro de Desarrollo Comunitario Universidad de San Buenaventura (Silóé, Cali)</th>
<th>Diana Carolina Marin Giron (Director)</th>
<th>Help from:</th>
<th>C. Sante</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8 children</td>
<td>4 girls</td>
<td>4 boys</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 – 12</td>
<td>2 – 9</td>
<td>5 – 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5-09-2016</td>
<td></td>
<td>7-09-2016</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total</th>
<th>64 children</th>
<th>37 girls</th>
<th>27 boys</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 – 19</td>
<td>4 – 18</td>
<td>12 – 16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4 – 17</td>
<td>18 – 15</td>
<td>2 – 14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 – 13</td>
<td>5 – 12</td>
<td>4 – 10</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4 – 9</td>
<td>5 – 8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5-09-2016</td>
<td></td>
<td>7-09-2016</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.2.1 Sampling

The sampling used for the surveys and the semi-structured interviews is opportunistic sampling. This means that the researcher makes decisions about the sampling during the process of collecting data. It occurs when the research has limited information about the situation and uses events and recently acquired contacts to reach subjects for the study. It is often used for field research. The method accounts for flexibility and allows the researcher to explore new contexts which were not calculated prior to conducting the research. It is helpful when little is known about a subject beforehand and information can be best collected in the field (Palinkas et. al 2015; Cohen & Crabtree 2006). This method complements exploratory research and my relationship with the Colombian organizations, as I conducted the surveys on one day which made me dependent on how many children would show up that day and whether they were willing to participate. The results of this method are documented in table 6.

With regard to the semi-structured interviews, this decision was made during a meeting with my contact person at ADC MJ and the director of CDPMM. During this first meeting, I also had the opportunity to hear the narrative of the founder of ADC MJ. This narrative provided valuable information about the history of the organization, the social context and the reasons for starting ADC MJ. The semi-structured interviews were organized by the organization, as the organization itself reached out to former members to see whether they would be willing to conduct a small interview. Hence, the opportunity to hear the narrative and conduct the semi-structured interviews arose suddenly and they are a valuable contribution to the collected data as it offers personal experiences related to the organization and to the violence present during their childhood.

3.3 The Mixed Method Surveys

The structure of the mixed method surveys is constructed through an adjusted model of the operational procedure from David Alexander Clark and based upon the preliminary list of capabilities for children as documented on pages 14-15 (Clark 2005). Clark’s original model consists out of 4 stages; stage III in table 7 was added in order to assess the impact of the programs on the children’s understanding of their access to the capabilities. The remaining 4 stages adhere to his original intent.
**Stage I** Progressive focalization. Refers to the child’s general opinion about values and well-being without any other influence of the researcher. Here, the child answers general questions about one’s life and starts to think about what he/she deems most important in life for a child to succeed. Moreover, the child ought to list what he/she wants to become when they grow up. These are open questions; thus, without influence of the researcher the child ought to formulate the answers to these questions.

**Stage II** Internal focalization. Refers to the questionnaire with the listed 14 capabilities, which the child has to rate according to his/her own experiences. In this survey, 10 refers to full satisfaction of the capability in the child’s life and 1 refers to a complete absence of the capability in the child’s life. As mentioned, **stage III** is added to the existing model in order for children to think about the role of the participating organizations in satisfying the child’s capabilities.

**Stage IV** moves towards a general understanding in order to place the specific capabilities within one’s own environment. Here the children need not to reflect on the presence of capabilities in their lives but rather on the overall importance of the presence of a capability in a child’s life.

**Stage V** represents the concluding subset of capabilities which is the outcome of the reflections made in the first 4 stages. As this questionnaire has different layers, it tends to deal with an initial bias and leads the children through cognitive, subjective and collective thought processes which results in stage V (Biggeri et. al. 2011).

---

**Table 7. The adjusted stages, based upon the model of David Alexander Clark**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stages</th>
<th>The process of the survey</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stage I</td>
<td>Progressive focalization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stage II</td>
<td>Internal focalization of specific domains</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stage III</td>
<td>Awareness of the role of the organization with regard to the specific domains</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stage IV</td>
<td>General understanding of specific domains in relation to his/her community and age group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stage V</td>
<td>Creation of a subset of most important capabilities based upon the reflection process from stages 1-4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The surveys themselves were written in English due to my limited knowledge of the Spanish language. I attempted to translate the questions to Spanish myself in order to provide a first version for others to alter. The first alterations were made in cooperation with a Colombian female during my first visit to Pintando Caminos. During this session I simplified words for the children, revised the formulation of capability 8 (freedom of economic and non-economic exploitation) and removed grammar errors. The second alterations were made through peer review. During this revision the explanation of the capabilities for the children were slightly altered and the questions were formulated more informal. The third alterations were made by the contact person at the research university in Colombia: Prof. P. Valenzuela of Pontificia Universidad Javeriana. He altered the last grammar and language errors. In addition, the survey was discussed with every organization in advance in order to make alterations if the organization desired them.

3.4 The Semi-Structured Interviews

The semi-structured interviews with adults enrich the data that is provided through the surveys by children who are currently in programs. As the adults are not the main source of the research but an addition to the children who are currently going through the programs, the setting is quite informal and the interviews would not take longer than 30 minutes. Within this 30 minutes, all necessary information could be extracted from the interviewees who would talk freely; they were not aware of any timeframe for the interviews. Moreover, semi-structured interviews were chosen in order to have guidelines for the talks to certainly touch upon certain subjects, but to let the interviewee decide which information he/she desired to share.

The most important function of the semi-structured interviews is to receive another perspective on children in these social programs. One of the limitations of letting children fill in a survey is the uncertainty that they will answer the survey honestly instead of answering what they feel the adult in charge or the researcher wants to hear. As adults are less likely to answer according to a superior peer and are not in the program anymore, the answers will reflect the truth with more certainty. Moreover, the adults have had time to reflect upon their time in the program and what it has meant for their overall well-being. Therefore, the semi-structured interviews requires solely to obtain answers about ones involvement in the program, the voice of children in the program, childhood memories and the importance of the
program in the formation of one’s life. Additionally, the adults are given the chance to share whatever information they deem is important regarding social context and the organization itself.

The semi-structured interviews were constructed in different phrases. First, the narrative of the founder of ADC MJ familiarized me with the situation of the organization and the social-economic context in which it was founded. Moreover, it familiarized me with the work of ADC MJ and how the organization evolved over the years. In combination with a literature review, this provided the basis for constructing questions for the semi-structured interviews. After the construction of the questions, I attempted to reflect upon them in order to detect any bias or assumptions that could influence the answers given by the interviewees. This process of self-reflection in order to become aware of any bias is highly recommended in conducting qualitative research by numerous academics such as McCracken, Glaser and Strauss and Corbin (Piercy 2004). The questions were initially drafted in English and reviewed and translated into Spanish by Prof. P. Valenzuela. Thereafter, the questions were discussed with my translator J.A Vodniza Pardo, in order to be sure that he understood the questions and the incentive of the questions. This method to translate the question in advance limit the amount of bias that a translator can impose on a research by having to translate the questions on the spot. Moreover, it speeds up the process and increases the quality of the answers as the questions will be formulated the same to all interviewees (Planning Survey Research 2015).

3.5 Observation

Visiting all the organizations in order to take the surveys and interviews provided the opportunity to observe the environment in which the organizations reside, the interaction between staff and beneficiaries, and the interior of the organizations. Observations provide another dimension to the analysis of the organizations as it provides the opportunity to directly assess the practices from the point of view of the researcher instead of solely focusing on data about the practices (Flick 2002). Participant observation is used for this research, and is defined as followed: "[it is] a field strategy that simultaneously combines document analysis, interviewing of respondents and informants, direct participation and observation, and introspection" (qtd. in Flick 2002, p. 139).
Participant observation allows for participation from the point of view of a beneficiary while simultaneously being in the position to influence what is being observed and discussed (Flick 2002). This method of observation well aligns with conducting the surveys and interviews at the organizations. The observations are documented in field notes and account for descriptive and focused observation. Thus, the observations initially provide an orientation and non-specific descriptions (descriptive), and then become more specific towards the research question and sub questions (focused) (Mikkelsen 2005). According to Prof. James P. Spradley, an anthropology professor who has written much about participant observation and qualitative research, observations concerning social situations can be divided in nine dimensions. These dimensions provide more structure to the observations and collected information as it becomes more evident where the observer can focus on. The nine dimensions are:

1. Space: the physical place or places
2. Actor: the people involved
3. Activity: a set of related acts people do
4. Object: the physical things that are present
5. Act: single actions that people do
6. Event: a set of related activities that people carry out
7. Time: the sequencing that takes place over time
8. Goal: the things people are trying to accomplish

Even though incorporating participant observation into the research does provide valuable primary data, one ought to bear in mind that there was limited time with each of the organizations; thus, a limited observation of events and acts provides a limited observation of the situation as a whole.

3.6 Document Analysis

In order to formulate a context to complement the interviews and introduce the organizations I used first and secondary data in the form of documents. All organizations were asked to provide information concerning their organization and to share any contextual information they might have. Additionally, I searched numerous databases in order to find a diverse set of
data to represent the situation in the researched areas. Amongst this diverse set of sources are
documents of the government, municipality, reports, news articles and academic publications.
Multiple sources are written in Spanish as much information is solely available in Spanish. To
know more about the social context accounts for a better understanding of the survey answers
and results in a higher sensitivity towards the children and interviewees. Moreover, it is
crucial to know the objectives of the organizations in order to compare them with the
opportunities and needs the children in their organizations deem most important.

3.7 Entering the Field

The location of surveys was always on the location of the organization in order for the
children to feel comfortable and secure. I was invited to the organizations during their
scheduled time with the children which accounted for that the children did not have to come
to the organization solely to participate in the surveys.

3.7.1 Pintando Caminos

The surveys for the children were conducted during time in which the children were able to
work on homework and play games together. In order to provide help to the children as they
were fairly young and had never filled in a survey before, the programs director deemed it
best to let 3 groups of 4 children fill in the survey after one group finished. This enabled me
and E. de Haan -who accompanied me to the organization in order to help with translations- to
provide individual assistance to the children. The children themselves were able to come up to
us and say they wanted to participate in the survey. While the rest of the group played and
worked in the common room, the children who filled in the survey would sit with us in the
kitchen. An employee of the organization kept an eye on the situation sporadically in order to
see whether the children understood the questions.

3.7.2 ENSCR

The surveys for the children were conducted during school hours. The school psychologist
visited class rooms in order to gather children who would be willing to fill in the survey.
Since the children that participated in ENSCR were around 15/16 years old, personal
guidance was not needed. The children were gathered in a conference room on one big table.
They received the introduction from one of my contact persons at PDPMM, Javier Eduardo Martinez Rueda. After they started filling in the survey they could ask questions to me, Javier (who I familiarized with my research) and their school psychologist.

3.7.3 ADC MJ

The narrative with the founder of ADC MJ took place in an office of the organization. The semi-interviews were conducted in a conference room within the building of ADC MJ. During both days a translator was present. Since I do understand many answers given in Spanish but I am not sure about conducting myself in Spanish, the translators were there to give a proper representation of the information and ask the questions in Spanish. The narrative took 45 min. and the rest of the scheduled semi-structured interviews took between 20 and 30 min. Due to the warmth in Barrancabermeja, fans were on in the rooms which did make it harder to hear the interviewees talk. However, with the individual consent of all the interviewees the interviews were recorded and every piece of information could be traced back through the recordings. The recordings also made transcriptions possible and presented the ability to abstract Spanish quotes from the interviews. Next to the narrative on 20-08-2016, six semi-structured interviews were conducted on 3-09-2016.

3.7.4 SJR

The children filled in the survey during project hours of the organization. They were introduced to the survey by the volunteer of SJR who guides them and my translator in Barrancabermeja. The children were in a classroom when they received the survey and were able to ask help to me and my translator who was familiarized with my research before we entered the field.

3.7.5 CDCS

The surveys were conducted in the community center of the organization. The participating children conducted the surveys in 3 different rooms with a minimum of 2 volunteers in the room to help the children with any questions. This was necessary as the children in the center were the youngest to participate in the survey and did not understand the format at first. I walked around the rooms to help the volunteers with any questions and oversee the results. As
most of the volunteers did not speak English, the Italian intern at the organization -who was introduced to my research before the surveys took place- helped to translate their questions and my answers

3.8 Data Analysis

The data I collected supports the three sub questions. Before I discuss the data and the three sub questions, I will elaborate on how I analyzed the extracted data from the abovementioned research methods.

In the case of the mixed method surveys, I used Excel sheets to document the ratings of the children concerning the different capabilities and the responsibility of the organization regarding these capabilities. In the Dutch version of Excel, I used:

=AANTALLEN.ALS(criteriumbereik1;criteria1) to count how many times a certain rating appeared at the capabilities. Through this method distinctions occurred concerning which capabilities were rewarded with high frequencies of high ratings. This method is used for stage II, III, IV and V. Furthermore, certain quotes are extracted from the survey. Some remarks of the children come back as quotes and the last question at stage V -in which I ask the children to explain their top 3 capabilities- is also quoted multiple times. I selected the quotes according to their affiliation with my findings, their explanation of the answer and their remarkability. One has to bear in mind that the quotes do reflect the answers provided by the children, but that they are subjectively selected to specifically be mentioned in the thesis.

Concerning document analysis, I paid attention to sections in the documents concerning the goals of the organization, their employees, their norms and values and background. The observations were used in a similar fashion: I paid attention to the employees, the relationship with the children, the environment and how the goals and values of the organizations are communicated to the children.

The semi-structured interviews are transcribed in ATLAS.TI. I read the transcriptions several times and commenced with open coding in order to identify the categories that were relevant to the research and were recurrent in the five transcriptions (Piercy 2004). Open coding enables one to discover these categories in the transcriptions through quite literal concepts and their regrouping into recurrent categories (Flick 2002).
The second analysis involved axial coding, which led to a selection which is most promising for further elaboration in relation to the research question. During axial coding one emphasizes on exploring the relationship between recurrent categories. In order to initiate this stage, I inserted the themes and concepts into a network view within ATLAS.TI. Second, I connected the themes and concepts through the following relations:

- Is associated with
- Is part of
- Is cause of

The network view that is the result of this step is visible in figure 1. During the third stage, selective coding was applied to this network view. Selective coding is meant to identify one central category from the core categories which lead to one single central phenomenon. Thus, the researcher ought to identify one phenomenon and category from which connection is crucial for the maintenance of connections between other documented categories. Core categories within this network are opportunities, wishes community, connection to MJ and community service. The central category out of these core categories is opportunities. Opportunities in this network view reflect all subjects the interviewees mentioned as crucial factors that influenced their well-being as a child. Concepts that relate to this central category as being a part of the opportunities are travel, education, music, the mentioning of faith or church, children’s voice in the program and savings account. Findings displayed here will be discussed further during sub question 3, supported by selected quotes, based on the same manner in which the quotes from the surveys are chosen. Furthermore, these findings will be compared with the answers children have given in the survey and the document analysis of ADC MJ.
Figure 1. Network view of the semi-structured interviews.
3.9 Ethical Considerations

Ethical considerations are an important aspect of every qualitative research. The researcher ought to fully comprehend his/her research within a local context. In relation to this investigation, I turned to a guideline called ERIC (Ethical Research Involving Children). The guidelines that are provided in this document are the result of a collaboration between INGOs and universities, thus combining practical knowledge in the field with academic knowledge and theory. The document provides a set of critical questions for the researcher to reflect upon prior to the start of the investigation. The most important incentive of the document is to ensure the dignity of the child during the research. Furthermore, the document prepares the researcher for situations that might occur in order to think of a dignified response and limit the chance of surprises (Graham et. al. 2013). The critical questions and my answers are listed in the appendices. Additionally, I clarified to the children that their results would be anonymous; while many children did write down their name on the survey, I did not publicize them.

After reflecting upon these critical questions as preparation for entering the field, I made sure to continuously display my gratitude towards the children and the organizations for receiving me. However, I also emphasized on their own choice and that there would be no consequences if the child desired to retreat from the research or refused to fill in certain information. In relation to children, the permission of an adult was needed for them to participate in a research. With regard to the surveys, I needed to obtain the permission of the *loco parentis*: this is an adult who has temporary responsibility over the children during a specific activity for the children. For example, during school hours the teacher acts as a *loco parentis* for the children. Next to this, my academic email address was listed on the informational page for the children or *loco parentis* to ask me questions. Moreover, I promised the participating organizations to share my thesis once it was completed. The thesis is in English; however, most organizations do have access to a bilingual contact person who often also guided me through the language processes. If information remains unclear with the help of a third party, I will attempt to clarify the information in Spanish myself.

With regard to the semi-structured interviews, I received recorded autonomous verbal consent to use the interviews for the thesis. The questions posed to the interviewees are quite generic and depend on what the interviewee himself/herself desired to share. Even though it would be
enriching information to receive personal anecdotes concerning the violence they encountered as children, I did not push upon this subject as I was aware that this could be a sensitive subject.

3.10 Limitations

3.10.1 Limited Time in the Field

The research was conducted in 2 months. Every organization was visited twice -with the exception of ENSCR- in order to first observe the organization and the children and to follow-up with the surveys. While almost all the children in the target groups agreed to fill in the survey and some actively chose not to fill in certain information, one can argue that the children were conducting themselves according to what they felt was expected of them by the adults. Due to a limited presence in Colombia there was not enough time to build up large trust based relationships with the children. To actively attempt to tackle this limitation I made sure that most information was given by the organizations their staff and that I engaged a bit in their daily activities. Moreover, by actively expressing the child’s own agency in filling in the surveys I presented the opportunity to stop or withhold information if the child desired it so.

Moreover, since I depended on opportunistic sampling I could solely give surveys to the children present at one particular moment in one particular organization. While the most convenient days and times were discussed with the organization, not all children were present during these times. Therefore, the age range and the number of children that filled in the survey differs amongst the different organizations.

3.10.2 Limited Autonomy of the Child

Additionally, since children are the subject of the study it is feasible that the children themselves incorporated answers and thoughts that they learned in their environment through their family, friends or the organization of which they are beneficiaries. The risk remains that children only dare to open up about their own opinions through years of building a relationship with them in order to establish a high level of confidentiality and trust (Graham et. al. 2013).
3.10.3 Language Barrier

All the surveys and interviews were conducted in Spanish. During the explanation of the surveys and during the surveys staff members and translators provided support to the children. During the interviews translators were present in order to translate my questions and translate the answers. A translator can be a limitation in research due to a lack of impartiality, neutrality and independence (Oxfam 2012). However, this risk was severely limited since I do understand sufficient Spanish even though I do not speak it well. Thus, I could check whether my questions were properly asked and I could interpret specific information that the translators did not include in their translation of the answer.

3.10.4 Different Perceptions of Childhood

Childhood is a social construction which heavily depends on how a society treats children and accounts for different stages in a child’s life (Biggeri et al. 2011). In Colombia, according to legal terms childhood refers to children between 0-12 years old and children from 13-18 who are considered to be adolescents (Art. 3 2006). Even though this is the legal perception of childhood in Colombia, many children below 18 do not consider themselves to be children. In addition to this gap between legal and social perceptions, my personal perception of childhood was responsible for a misinterpretation of the role of some Colombian children in society. In my perception of childhood the child lives at home with their parents at least until they are 18, where they study, live a relatively careless life and help around the house part-time. However, I found that in the neighborhoods I visited a child can form his own family when he/she is as young as 14. From this point onwards, some of them have to provide for their own households and thus do not considering themselves as children in any way. In other situations, children are exposed to violence and poverty which results in them actively pursuing adults roles in the household by taking care of siblings or contributing economically. Hence, their perception of their own childhood and what childhood entails differ strongly from my initial ideas which I used to create the surveys. Ultimately, these different perceptions did not limit the core questions of the survey but solely concerned the first page of questions related to general information about ones whereabouts and family.
4. Characteristics of the Organizations and their Approach to Children

The first sub question to address is:
What are the characteristics of the organizations and how do they approach children?

In order to explore this question different sources of information are assessed. First, the social-economic context in which the organizations reside will be highlighted through document analysis. The organizations are active in three different cities in troubled neighborhoods with different social-economic circumstances. An overview of the problems that occur in these troubled neighborhoods will provide an image of the reality in which the organizations work. Moreover, the overview can highlight the necessity of the organization’s presence in these neighborhoods. Second, material provided by the organizations themselves will be analyzed. This includes reports, guidelines, websites, brochures and a narrative concerning the foundation of one of the organizations. These sources will provide information concerning the organization’s incentives, how they approach children, the organization’s history and their goals. Third, I made personal observations during visits to the organizations. This inclusion of the researcher’s personal view complements exploratory research and offers an insight to the practice of the organizations rather than solely examining their theory.

4.1 Barrancabermeja

Barrancabermeja is a town with approximately 230.000 inhabitants, located in the region Magdalena Medio within the department of Santander. The city consists out of 7 communities. The organizations which will be mentioned in this thesis are located in communities 2, 5 and 7. Barrancabermeja is labeled as the oil capital of Colombia due to its large oil refinery plants, and houses many work migrants that moved to the city in order to work in the plants (OECD 2014 ; Gill 2009). This natural resource has attracted numerous armed groups that wished to profit from the oil production during the last decades. Moreover, Barrancabermeja ’s position at the banks of the Magdalena river and the coca production in surrounding rural areas attracted groups involved in narcotrafficking. As a result, Barrancabermeja (also known as Barrancabermeja amongst Colombians), has been a battleground for guerillas, paramilitaries and gangs and suffered many losses due to the violence. From the 1980s until the early 2000s the city was under the control of guerillas
largely represented by the ELN. A local elder recalled during an interview that although the city was under control of the ELN, the chaos due to narcotrafficking was limited since the guerillas forbid inhabitants to use the substance. There were heavy punishments for those that did use drugs which could even result in death (G. Garcia Hernandez Duran, personal communication, August 20, 2016). However, under paramilitary control and the recent upsurge of groups related to BACRIM the town deteriorated as the use of drugs is allowed and even promoted in order to create gullible communities that are easy to control. The complexity of the situation in Barrancabermeja is the result of a violent history that challenges communities in Barrancabermeja to this day.

During the 1980s, the rural areas outside Barrancabermeja were under firm control of the ELN and the FARC, as many small farmers sought alliances with the guerillas to defend their small lands against big land-owners who aspired to acquire more of the rich lands in Santander to further expand their drug income. This strong presence of guerillas paired with their extortion techniques against the big-land owners motivated the big-land owners to finance the arrival of the paramilitaries in the region. The AUC arrived in the region in the 1990s and grew stronger in the early 2000s due to the financial aid it received through the Colombian military and plan Colombia, a US based plan that was designed to wipe out the guerilla movement in Colombia. Barrancabermeja long remained a haven for refugees from the country side, but by 1996 the AUC entered Barrancabermeja with one of its most powerful blocs: Bloque Central Bolívar (BCB) (Gill 2009; Reyes 2010). The paramilitaries left a deep scar in the community of Barrancabermeja with the May Massacre of 1998, when a paramilitary group not directly linked to BCB went into neighborhood El Campin to kidnap and kill guerillas. During a raid of 40 minutes at a community bazaar to raise money for a children’s dance group, the paramilitaries killed 7 community members and took another 25 whom they suspected to be guerillas. Eventually, while a large part of the kidnapped did not confess to be guerillas, they were all killed (Reyes 2010).

Many children in Barrancabermeja grew up with this troubled scene and were enlisted as soldiers, messengers or drugs traffickers. While there have been many local initiatives to prevent children from repeating this history, the presence of BACRIM in certain areas of Barrancabermeja is undeniable and their presence is highly motivated by the drugs (Ferrer 2013). It is a worrisome situation as many youngsters and children are involved in the business now. "If you are not using, you are selling. It is also widespread through schools.
And it’s hard to figure out how to counter it” (P. Shantz’ translation during personal communication with G. Garcia Hernandez Duran, August 20, 2016). Additionally, the prices of oil are very low and Barrancabermeja struggles with large unemployment and promised investments that have fallen through. As an effect of the growing unemployment rates and lack of job opportunities, many families face problems concerning consumption; in 2004 15% of the families struggled with hunger on a daily basis (Observatorio de Paz Integral 2014). The economic circumstances, paired with the resurgence of violence and the limited opportunities in Barrancabermeja create an environment in which a child can easily be persuaded to make a wrong choice. However, there are multiple organizations and educational institutions that attempt to counter these social-economic circumstances. In the following part I will briefly introduce the organizations that welcomed me and presented the opportunity to contact children that are currently beneficiaries of their programs.

Table 8. Organizations in Barrancabermeja and their whereabouts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Escuela Normal Superior Cristo Rey (ENSCR)</th>
<th>Comunidad 2</th>
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<tr>
<td>ADC Merquemos Juntos (ADC MJ)</td>
<td>Comunidad 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Servicio Jesuita A Refugiados (SJR)</td>
<td>Comunidad 7</td>
</tr>
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</table>

4.1.1 ENSCR

Escuela Normal Superior Cristo Rey is based in the Christian faith and turns to Christian humanism for its objectives and methods. The school and its teachers promote critical thinking, ethics, autonomy and research about how to improve one’s quality of life. Additionally, the motto the school lives by is: Ciencia, Virtud y Servicio (Science, Virtue and Service). This demonstrates the school’s emphasis on working in a community, for a community. Its focus on self-awareness and respect should enable children to transcend material needs and acknowledge humans’ mutual responsibility and equality on earth. Next to these largely academic and social objectives, the school promotes complementary and recreational activities such as sports and arts to enhance the further development of the child (Escuela Normal Superior Cristo Rey 2010). I visited the school on 19 August 2016 and met with Sandra Luz Herrera Navarro, the student psychologist.

Within the context of Barrancabermeja, the school continuously faces student drop-outs due to violent circumstances in the region. Moreover, the growing unemployment rate causes
families to migrate in order to find opportunities elsewhere. The school attempts to tackle both issues in order to keep providing education to the children and increase stability in the region. With regard to the violence, the school trains teachers to promote the transformation of violent social contexts into situations of peaceful coexistence on school, within families and within society itself. The school motivates teachers to question social problems and tackle these in the classroom with the children. In relation to the unemployment rate, the school promotes research concerning this phenomenon in order to help find solutions for affected families. They research possible economic opportunities mainly in the rural areas in order for families to settle here and become largely self-sustainable with a stable life in which the children can still enjoy education. Due to violence and malpractice in the rural regions surrounding Barrancabermeja, the attitudes of people towards the rural lands and settling here are negative. The school helps to strengthen community bonds here and opens up opportunities to make it more attractive for families to settle. The school’s efforts to demonstrate children other opportunities in life and their efforts to create social-economic opportunities for families help the population in Barrancabermeja to improve many aspects of their lives.

During my visit to ENSCR I visited several class rooms, offices and was able to observe the relationship between the beneficiaries and their relationship with the staff of the organization. I was accompanied by J.E Martínez Rueda, my contact person at CDPMM who arranged my visit at ENSCR. The school appears quite well equipped concerning technological equipment, leisure activities such as arts and sports and containing the heat. In the room in which the surveys were conducted, the walls were full with pictures of scientists such as Albert Einstein. Most of the children who walked around wore a school uniform or sports outfits and the older children were playing with smartphones, mostly making selfies. The children were very amicable towards each other and the present loco parentis, their psychologist Mrs. Herrera Navarro. They appeared very willing to help with the surveys; however, they were very shy towards me. I was told that this was due to my western appearance. Some of the children spoke some English and were cheerful to have the opportunity to talk English with me. In the room of Mrs. Herrera Navarro were homework assignments of the children in which they elaborated about themselves and their family history through colorful family trees including pictures. Mrs. Herrera Navarro was kind and loving towards the children which showed through informal comical conversations and hugs. She reacted enthusiastically concerning my research and handed me her business card for any questions I might have later on in the
process. Shortly after we finished the surveys and the talk, the school was out for the younger children from 6-12. Parents lined up to pick up their youngsters while we left the building.

In relation to *el Código* and the capability approach, on paper the school seems to embrace all opportunities children should have to encourage their identity trajectory. *El Código* emphasizes on respect, education and well-being: as well does the school. Their attention to families as a whole and improving social-economic circumstances directly contribute to improving environmental and societal conversion factors for children. Nevertheless, their strong emphasis on community and communal help limits children from actively choosing to engage in these practices. Regarding communal service the children lack functionings as they might not feel the freedom to choose to spent their time in other ways due to communal pressure. Thus, in relation to the capability approach, the children’s identity trajectory can be limited as they are stuck in the family’s and societal reflection of who they should be. It is questionable whether children in an environment that praises communal service and a self-critical attitude experience that they possess the right tools to express their individuality. Thus, while the school promotes opportunities and values that inspire a strong community, the children might lack the freedom to actively choose to be a part of such a community and all the responsibilities connected to it.

4.1.2 ADC MJ

ADC Merquemos Juntas was founded in 1992 as a local initiative by females from 11 families in community 5, *barrios* Nororientales. When men also joined the organization the name was changed to ADC Merquemos Juntos (L. Garcia Quintero, personal communication, August 20, 2016). The founder, Guillermina Hernandez, took the initiative after she observed that many families in the neighboring *barrios* had trouble with providing for their families and spent their money on unnecessary products. The initiative started with sharing small incomes to buy products in large quantities together, in order to save money. When this initiative was found to be successful, the partners discussed projects that could improve the lives of their children in terms of future perspectives and to keep them away from the violence. This lead to the student savings in 1997. Children could work at ADC MJ after school or before school, and their earnings would go into a savings account that would solely be used for their education.
[T]here was a condition. [...] Any student that was at high school or university level, it was forbidden for them to participate in one of the armed groups. [...] Our goal was to give our children opportunities that were not present here. Because here in this area, it was very easy to see a child of 9-12 year old carrying a gun. The violence here in this area was very, very strong. Our job was to safe our children. And we were able to safe many, by raising money for them to go to the university. Because there was nothing else to do here than join the armed groups [...] (P. Shantz’ translation during personal communication with G. Garcia Hernandez Duran, August 20, 2016).

By documenting these savings in a notebook free to access for all the children, a healthy competitiveness occurred concerning who could save the most, as the children could see what another child had saved already. This initiative was picked up by the CDPMM, who strengthened the savings account with 25 million pesos. This amount ensured school intuition for children of 26 families in the neighborhood. The next challenge however was that the children did not have proper uniforms and were sent home. The females in ADC MJ continued to support the education of the children by buying the fabric that was needed for the uniforms, including the shoes. They would sow the uniforms and families would be able to pay off the uniform and shoes over a longer period of time. This ensured education for a lot of children, and in 1999 the first 5 children who profited from the student loans were able to go to the university. The initiative continued with organizing activities such as performances and bake sales in order to strengthen the fund and open up this opportunity for more families in the neighborhood.

In 2004 the program received a donation of 60 million pesos from the Swiss embassy. With this amount, the organization was able to extensively broaden their reach and from 2004 onwards they have been able to help more than 500 children all over Barrancabermeja with their education. The organization’s dedication to provide education to children is necessary in order to show children other opportunities than violence. A quote extracted from a semi-structured interview with one of the former beneficiaries of ADC MJ proofs the necessity of education in the lives of children:

*He remembers that maybe 20 years ago the program was just starting, or maybe 2/3 years before that. He’s telling me that from 1996 to 2002 everything was surrounded by violence. It was a really violent time over here. But he focused mostly on his school.*
He was the best student of his class 2 years in a row. So usually he mostly did things about his study. But he met quite a few people that got inside the violence. But he was focused on his academics (J.A Vodniza Pardo’s translation during personal communication with J. Diaz Contreras, sept. 3, 2016).

Moreover, their participatory methods (the children raise funds themselves too through bake sales etc.) provide the children with responsibility, respect and autonomy. The opportunity for children to express themselves through the programs of ADC MJ is significant to change the negative cycle of violence which is still present in many parts of Barrancabermeja and the surrounding region. The value of this organization in its neighborhood is captured in the following quote:

He feels that the organization just by existing has helped the community as a life-changing experience. The program has been helping people to look at what they want in life, how they want to make progress. It helped the people to visualize themselves in a different future. In that way, MJ has opened up ways for people in this neighborhood (J.A Vodniza Pardo’s translation during personal communication with J.S Sajonero Badillo, sept. 3, 2016).

ADC MJ is situated in a three floor building in which they house a shop, a small bakery, offices, and rooms for meetings and activities. The rooms are well equipped with ventilation in order to regulate the heat, equipment for the bakery and shop, and are well organized concerning storing documents and goods. The walls of the building are decorated with religious art and aspects of the organization: their structure, mission, vision, awards, and cooperations with other organizations and donors. The organization has several employees who are all more than willing to talk to me about the effects of the organization on the community. During my second visit in order to collect qualitative data, there was not much room to observe how the youngsters conducted the survey and their interaction with each other. The organization scheduled the semi-structured interviews simultaneously with the surveys. Thus, my focus was on the interviews while Mr. A. Martinez assisted the youngsters with any questions they had about the surveys. Elder women would walk into the room regularly out of curiosity and to see whether they could help with anything. Two of them took a seat near the wall to observe the interviews and the surveys. This presented a quite chaotic situation in which I was not fully in control of all events in the room. Nevertheless, all
participating members and staff of the organization expressed to be happy with my presence. It marked international awareness of their situation and goals which pleased them greatly.

In relation to *el Código* and the capability approach, the organization provides a positive image. They enabled education for many; however, they also enable leisure activities for the children and encourage their participation in the organization. Leisure activities and participation which are not often mentioned in *el Código*, are important capabilities in a child’s identity trajectory. Through participation the child develops autonomy, and through leisure the child discovers interests and develops social relations. This becomes evident through the following translation during a semi-structured interview:

> *He [has] learned that you can built a lot of good things from scratch. Because [the] people that built this place and this community weren’t rich people. They didn’t have many materials, but once they founded the community, they build the organization together. [H]e has learned that you can build a lot from scratch if you can find the right beauty and motivation in a community* (J.A Vodniza Pardo’s translation during personal communication with R. Andres Herrera, sept. 3, 2016).

This is a point of improvement for *el Código*, but an evident part within ADC MJ. ADC MJ creates a strong community, influences societal and environmental conversion factors through their microcredit loans and emphasizes on working for one’s goals. They reward children with more responsibility and autonomy, which distinguishes them from ENSCR. Children who benefit in ADC MJ also learn about the value of communal service; however, they receive more freedom to make their own choices. While these children might still feel communal pressure to contribute, there is a larger emphasis on one’s individuality and thus more room for one’s identity trajectory. In this case, if a child continues to return to the organization it is more likely to be an active individual choice rather than a socially desirable choice.

**4.1.3 SJR**

*Servicio Jesuita a Refugiados* is the Spanish translation for the Jesuit Refugee Service. The Catholic INGO was founded in 1980 in Rome and officially registered in 2000. The organization is active in 50 countries where they serve the rights of refugees and IDPs. Their
main areas of work include education, emergency assistance, healthcare, livelihood activities and social services (JRS Office of International Communications 2016).

In Barrancabermeja, SJR started a program related to education and social activities for children in order to tackle negative cycles of poverty and violence. In their programs, they ought to see children as the dynamic force that can alter economic and social inequality. Their aim is to help children to rebuild their lives into decent lives with high regards for solidarity, equity and full exercise of their rights. SJR employs young volunteers, students, staff and interns in order to guide children and adolescents through trainings and cultural activities including sports. SJR views its members as young peacebuilders who can help to educate and guide local children and adolescents to become peacebuilders as well. The children are motivated to stand up against forced recruitment into gangs and armed forces and to renounce violent behavior in order to build up the municipality (Escuela de Formación de Jóvenes Constructores de Paz 2015). By holding a strong focus on rights during all their activities, SJR hopes to teach the children and adolescents to become critical thinkers who desire social change.

SJR works to achieve the objectives which are listed below:

1) To treat people with fairness, respect and to recognize their rights.
2) To recognize and respect the dignity of people with whom children and adolescents are in contact.
3) Nondiscrimination of others with regard to their work, race, gender, religion, color, national origin, status civil, sexual orientation, age, disability, political beliefs or social status.
4) To contribute to the process of reconciliation and reconstruction of the social fabric locally, regional and national from their own actions.

These objectives resemble the desired outcomes of SJR’s programs with the children and adolescents. In order to achieve them, their programs hold different components:

1) Training: this involves theoretical orientation of the young staff into the psychosocial aspects of the lives of children and adolescents in Barrancabermeja. They learn about rights, citizenship and democracy, conflict transformation, conflict analysis in Colombia, reconciliation and culture of peace.
2) The implementation of the project into different sectors of community in order to reach vulnerable groups and to be able to provide social services to everyone in need.

3) Advocacy: encourage young people to be active participants in the creation of programs and policies through political and public participation, which permit influence making relevant decisions that benefit, in the first instance to their community, and general society. Through activities such as campaigns and actions on field of young people, highlight and raise awareness of the problems that afflict community.

4) Integration: it is intended that young people engage in dynamic processes and different social sectors, to open participation spaces that generate welfare for both their community and the improvement of the socio-political circumstances.

Thus, SJR recognizes the negative cycle of violence which is present in Barrancabermeja and the surrounding region and attempts to tackle this through a combination of educational activities and leisure activities. The combination of these activities ensures physical and psychological release for the children and provides the opportunity for them to actively engage in the transformation of society.

The main building of SJR in Barrancabermeja is situated different from their project location. The main building of SJR had a sober appearance with solely the necessary furniture and tools for administrational purposes. The building in which they positioned their project was a part of a Catholic school and had a large anti-abortion banner outside. The classrooms were well equipped with vans and lights but have no further technological equipment. The children had little material possessions with them: none of them carried a bag and there are too little pens present for all the children to fill in the survey. Therefore, some children filled in the surveys with coloring pencils. The walls of the room are decorated with colorful drawings about historic figures, personal notes from the children, a poster with values the organization desires the children to live by, and religious quotes.

The notes of the children resemble inspirational quotes such as: "prefiero vivir y perder que no haber vivido nada," and "no importa si el camino es largo cuando tu destino es el corazon." These quotes translate in: I prefer to live and loose than to not have lived at all, and it is not important how long the walk is when the destination is the heart.
Values the organization promotes are: libertad, honestidad, tolerancia, justicia, amistad, agradecimiento, bondad, prudencia, paz, respeto, solidaridad, lealtad, laboriosidad, responsabilidad, fortaleza y perseverancia. These translate in: freedom, honesty, tolerance, justice, friendship, gratitude, kindness, prudence, peace, respect, solidarity, loyalty, hard work, responsibility, strength and perseverance.

The children were very prone to help each other if one didn’t understand the question. While the children were free to go home after the survey, most of them waited for each other to walk home together. One of the girls had an infant boy with her who easily walked to the rest of the children and played with them while the girl finished the survey. The children were more prone to ask questions to each other and Juan. SJR employs many Colombian students who work with the organization as part of a research or an internship. The female who acted as the loco parentis during the surveys also was a student from Bogotá, present there to complete an internship. She had a very amicable relationship with the children: she walked with the children to their homes and they jokingly communicated during this walk.

In relation to el Código and the capability approach, SJR does not have many direct commonalities; however, their goal is evident and does align with both the Colombian law and the practiced theory as all three aim for the full personal development of the child. El Código in general mentions many obligations for adults and institutions to positively influence the societal and environmental conversion factors for children’s capabilities. SJR in this project focusses largely on the obligations of the children themselves to change these conversion factors. This does not mean that they adhere to a completely different approach: in Art. 15 of el Código, it is stated that: "el niño, la niña o el adolescente tendrán o deberán cumplir las obligaciones cívicas y sociales que correspondan a un individuo de su desarrollo." Thus, in this article it is specifically mentioned that children and adolescents also have the responsibility to adhere to their civic duties and personal development.

SJR presents the children with a very challenging and idealistic program. While they do acknowledge the autonomy of the child, their goals for the project might put too much pressure on the children to change circumstances for which they currently do not have sufficient opportunities and tools. While it is honorable to teach the children to create a critical stance towards their community/society, the program might conflict too much with the
same community/society it attempts to change. Children are taught at home and in school to be respectful towards older generations, grateful towards family and society and to serve. These are also values SJR supports; however, in its program the SJR desires for children to stand up against this order and attempt to break the negative cycle of violence. Even though this is a noble strive, solely an after-school program will not offer enough tools for the children to influence their identity-trajectory and might merely put more pressure and conflicting thoughts upon the children.

4.2 Cali, Barrio Siloé

Siloé is a barrio located in community 20 in Cali, the third biggest city in Colombia and the capital of the department of Valle del Cauca. The city has approximately 4.8 million inhabitants. Siloé is placed against the mountain hills in the south-west of the city and is a marginalized area that suffers from ongoing gang violence (Pineda Parra and Rivadeneira Medina 1986). The culture of violence is embedded in the neighborhood and affects many young people. Gangs seem to arise spontaneously and very little incentive is needed to start of a war between two gangs. It is not uncommon to see children of 10 with daggers in their hands prepared to fight a rival gang. Moreover, the violence is not likely to halt soon; once one member of a gang gets killed, his brother, nephew, father or friend will want to take revenge. Due to this culture of violence, there have been 683 homicides in community 20 between 2010-2015 (Ospina 2016).

Community 20 has approximately 65,500 inhabitants. Amongst these inhabitants are many indigenous and peasants who fled the countryside due to the conflict in Colombia. Moreover, the offspring of those that once came to work in the mines near Siloé still reside in Siloé without opportunities to leave or either find decent work (Equipo desde abajo 2011). In this neighborhood children often contribute to the household income through informal jobs such as transporting materials and selling sweets as a result of the low minimum income in the neighborhood, which does not allow adults to provide for their whole family. The ratio minors and adults in community 20 is also very unequal: for every 100 minors below 15 there are 9 "adults" between 15-65 years old to take care of them (Universidad de San Buenaventura 2015). Due to this ratio and the long days adults have to work to provide for their families, children are often left without adult supervision. This can lead to socialization problems and health risks, for example due to a lack of hygiene or nutrition. Additionally, analphabetism
amongst adults has been a problem in the neighborhood which can lead to limited support for children regarding education. These social-economic factors contribute to the situation described in the previous paragraph. Nevertheless, there is improvement in the neighborhood due to local initiatives to tackle these problems (Pineda Parra and Rivadeneira Medina 1986). One of the initiatives is the Centro de Desarrollo Comunitario de Siloé.

4.2.1 CDCS

In Siloé I visited Centro de Desarrollo Comunitario de Siloé (community center for development in Siloé). This center is financed and founded by the Universidad de San Buenaventura in Cali, and operates according to the university’s morals and ideas. The Universidad de San Buenaventura is founded on the principles of Franciscan Catholicism. It devotes itself to the needs of society and defines its identity through the concepts of university, Catholicism and being Franciscan. The concept of the university reflects their respect for the intrinsic value of science and academics, a critical approach towards society and development and the interest in research and a societal transformation through knowledge. Catholicism reflects Christian principles, Colombian norms and values and the debate about faith, science and culture in Colombia. Being a Franciscan means that the university considers Jesus Christ as the center of the cosmos and as the symbol of brotherhood and creation. The Franciscan identity teaches students to create connections between the community in the city and the university community in order to increase feelings of kinship, to strive for justice, peace and freedom and learn about the service to others and one’s environment. Franciscan Catholicism preaches for sensitivity, the practical orientation of knowledge and leading a life centered around serving others (Misión y Visión).

CDCS operates according to these ideals. It functions as a community center which targets multiple different beneficiaries. It offers after school care for children from 4-6 years old, meetings with young parents to discuss parenthood, has media-rooms for the community to use computers and learn about current technology and provides afterschool educational support through playful-creative educational integration. This program is directed at developing cognitive, social and physical skills on the student’s own pace. It’s general objective is to provide recreational space to community members so they can properly use their leisure time and to enrich the environment through academic, artistic and sports
activities. Additionally, the organization offers environmental, psycho-social and pedagogical support (Universidad de San Buenaventura 2015).

The organization acknowledges the risks that exist for children before and after school as many children stay home without any adult supervision as parents often have to leave for work early and return late in the day. This creates circumstances in which children can easily be influenced by the violence on the streets or they can be seduced to start using illegal substances. As mentioned in the description of the social context in Siloé, gangs are very dynamic and exist strongly through social relations such as friends and family. Once a child encounters a gang member in its immediate environment, the chance of the child getting involved is very high. In combination with the limited opportunities for other leisure activities and educational support, a child can be triggered easily to explore their options within gangs. In order to limit the amount of time children can come into contact with gangs, the organization fosters the participation of children in healthy recreation and the integration of education. These activities are time consuming and help children to visualize a future outside of illegal practices by helping them see their full potential and by helping them to realize their capabilities. As a result, with regard to long-term impact the organization aspires to reduce the student’s dropout rate and children’s involvement with violent groups. Moreover, the programs aims to enhance school performances, relationships, senses of responsibility and self-esteem (Universidad de San Buenaventura Cali Y.U; Universidad de San Buenaventura 2015). By targeting these aspects, the organization helps the children to value themselves, their lives, their environment and their capabilities which will aspire them to explore their full potential outside of illegal practices.

The organization is located in Siloé and guarded with fences and big concrete doors. The building has three floors and open space with play material for the children. There are several class rooms for different age groups, a media room for community members, a small library, and a large common room for activities and plays. The class rooms are decorated with art from the children; at the time, the children were occupied with a project about the weather and the rooms were decorated as such. Cheap materials were used to craft a large tree in one of the classrooms, while in another the children had created clouds by gluing old cd’s together. The offices for the director of the organization and her secretary are spacious and clear with little decorations other than some religious art on the walls. The director is a former student of the Universidad de San Buenaventura in Cali and regularly visits the university in order to keep
them updated about CDCS. Moreover, the university continues to donate materials such as
television for CDCS to utilize.

The organization has recruited several students from the connected Universidad de San
Buenaventura and international students through the student organization AIESEC. The
international students stay temporarily for a voluntary internship. Also, local community
members are employed. I witnessed a lesson in which the employees and volunteers of the
organization worked with children who have difficulties with spelling. The children were
triggered to read books, spell out words and afterwards a small spelling game was performed.
The children got individual attention from the employees and volunteers. They appeared to
enjoy the game and express a quite informal relationship with the employees and volunteers.
During my second visit, the surveys were completed in the morning. Afterwards, the children
got the opportunity to swim in a pool the staff set up in a small square in the middle of the
organization. The children were very excited about this activity.

With regard to its connection with el Código and the capability approach, CDCS greatly
resembles ENSCR. Both organizations have a great emphasis on religion, academics and a
wider support for families and communities. Nevertheless, it is evident that CDCS has more
resources and is able to provide more tools to the community in Siloé. CDCS greatly adheres
to Art. 17 of el Código:

La calidad de vida es esencial para su desarrollo integral acorde con la dignidad de
ser humano. Este derecho supone la generación de condiciones que les aseguren
desde la concepción cuidado, pro-tección, alimentación nutritiva y equilibrada,
acceso a los servicios de salud, educación, vestuario adecuado, recreación y vivienda
segura dotada de servicios públicos esenciales en un ambiente sano.

This translates in: The quality of life is essential for integral development consistent with the
dignity of a human being. This right implies the creation of conditions to ensure them from
the care, protection, nutritious and balanced diet, access to health services, education,
adequate clothing, recreation and secure housing equipped with essential public services in an
environment healthy. CDCS offers a building with great security, where young parents learn
about nutrition and are able to get food and where children can enjoy additional education and
care. Solely health services and private homes are not covered by the organization. CDCS
possesses many material goods that offer conversion factors in order for children to reach for their full potential. Examples are the present technology which prepare children better for the future and the library where the children are free do read what they want. In relation to the capability approach, ENSCR an CDCS again face similarities; however, CDCS has a greater emphasis on leisure time and the personal development of the child apart from his/her community. Needless to say, the organizations share the religious incentive to start their programs. Thus, while CDCS can face the same difficulties as ENSCR regarding hindering the identity-trajectory of an individual child, the duties of the child in society are less emphasized by CDCS which provides the child with more perceived freedom to make his/her own choices (functionings).

4.3 Bogotá, Barrio Potosí (in Ciudad Bolívar)

Ciudad Bolívar is the largest informal settlement in Bogotá, with an undetermined amount of inhabitants which could range from 750,000 to 2 million (Echanove 2004). Bogotá consists out of 20 localities and Ciudad Bolívar is labeled as locality 19 (Castillo Pérez et. al. 2012). The locality grew intensively during the last decade due to a large influx of rural migrants who desired to escape the violence that occurred due to multiple paramilitary groups, guerillas, the military and recently the BACRIM. As a result, Ciudad Bolívar has a diverse and very young set of inhabitants with limited skills, education and opportunities who are not prepared to deal with their current situation. A research by DANE in 2007 showed that the average age in Ciudad Bolívar was 23, which was the youngest average of all 20 localities in Bogotá (DANE-SDP. Poblacion por Grupos de Edad, Segun Localidad. Cuadro 41). Also, the locality has the highest number of dependent children due to young age (DANE-SDP. Razon de Dependencia por Edad. Segun Localidad. Cuadro 43). Additionally, infrastructure is limited as the development of infrastructure cannot keep up with the growth of the community. While most of the settlers in Ciudad Bolívar are peaceful and strive for social and economic improvement in the community, the limited amount of opportunities, the lack of basic necessities and the crowded area do result in a high intensity of violence. In 2003, assaults were the first cause of death for people between 15-44 years old and the second cause of death for people between 45-59 years old (Echanove 2004). Additionally, in 2010 157 people were assassinated in the locality related to gang violence and informal markets (Cabrera 2010). These numbers highlight the excessive amount of violence and the dangers for children and adolescents within Ciudad Bolívar.
Many children face the violence and marginalization of the neighborhood as if they were adults. Due to limited jobs and low income, children often contribute to the household income which presents them with the same responsibilities and problems as the adults in a family. In 2008, a research from ICBF’s Trabajo Infantil amongst 253 children between 2-14 years old resulted in a conclusion that 67.9% of the children in Ciudad Bolívar worked for the household income. In addition, many children face beatings either at home or in their close environment. These poor circumstances increase a child’s chance to join a gang either as a means of income for their family or as a means of protection against violence in their environment (Castillo Pérez et. al. 2012). Once a child enters a gang, his/her encounters with illegal practices and violent methods will expand even further, minimizing other opportunities the child might have concerning education and a legal profession.

Within Ciudad Bolívar there are several UPZ’s: Unidades de Planeamiento Zonal. These can be seen as communities within the locality of Cuidad Bolívar. Barrio Potosí is within UPZ Jerusalén. In research conducted by DANE in name of the municipality of Cundicamarca, of which Bogotá is the capital, this UPZ has shown a fairly low living condition index number in 2005 namely 55.54 of a total of 100. Unfortunately, since the living condition index is based on context specific factors and this calculation fails to display an explanation for the outcome, the specifics of this result remain unclear (DNP-SPSCV 2005a). Another limitation goes for the Multidimensional Poverty Index which resulted in 66.98% for Jerusalén while 33.3% already displays a multidimensional poor environment. While this number is explained to a certain extent (the MPI is based upon 15 variables such as no health insurance, no access to water sources, illiteracy, etc.) the names of the locations that appear in the document appear to be quite random due to their size, location and name (DNP – SPSCV 2005b). Additional information that can be questioned but does display circumstances in Jerusalén was collected by the Instituto Nacional de Medicina Legal and published by the municipality of Cundicamarca. This information shows that in 2013 the homicide rate in Jerusalén was the highest in Ciudad Bolívar with 74.4 persons per 100.000 inhabitants (Oficina de Sistemas de Información Análisisy Estadísticas 2014). These numbers suggest that within an already violent locality which faces many challenges, the community in which Pintando Caminos is present is most dangerous and has one of the highest levels of poverty.

While this data concerning UPZ Jerusalén should not be regarded as the ultimate truth due to the lack of context, there is certainty about the marginalization of UPZ Jerusalén and its
barrios. Potosí itself means extraordinary wealth, which is quite contradictory to the situation in the barrio. In 2014, the barrio still had 8,000 people who did not have direct access to water, electricity, schools, health care telephones and transportation (Camacho-Ballesteros 2014). With still so many people lacking access to basic necessities and opportunities for personal and communal improvement, the upsurge of violence and the high homicide rate seem inevitable in this neighborhood. Therefore, the help and attention that Pintando Caminos can provide to the population is necessary in order to change the present circumstances which are a result of the negative cycle of poverty. As mentioned earlier, many people in this region do aspire change; however, they need initiatives such as Pintando Caminos to provide them with the tools in order to break this negative cycle and start exploring their full potential.

4.3.1 Pintando Caminos

Pintando Caminos started as a small initiative in November 2002 in order to feed children from low-income families in the south of Ciudad Bolívar. Less than a year after this initiative, the director desired to expand the program by providing activities that could positively impact the future of the children connected to the organization. The organization grew rapidly and legalized in December 2003. In 2005 the organization collected enough funds to start a program to guide children in their education. In 2007 they moved to their current location in barrio Potosí. In 2009, the organization already reached more than 200 children with different activities all designed to improve their future perspectives and break the cycle of poverty which is present in Ciudad Bolívar (Parra Riveros 2014).

In Pintando Caminos, the children learn skills in order to continue their education or get a legal well-paid job when they are old enough. Additionally, the organization emphasizes on the development and utilization of a child’s full potential and how to be a respectful citizen. Within this strife for personal and social development, the Christian faith is important and often turned to in order for children to learn respectable norms and values. Within Pintando Caminos, a few values are highly praised and taught to the children. These values are: respect for yourself and others, striving for excellence, honesty and discipline (Parra Riveros 2014; Pintando Caminos 2013). These values reflect the incentive of the director to start the organization as she articulated in an information video that the situation in Ciudad Bolívar does not solely reflect a material poverty, but a poverty of the soul (Leader 1:48-1:53 2010). The director honors this statement by providing love and attention to as many children as she
Next to teaching the children useful skills for the future and social norms and values, the organization provides time and materials for leisure activities and talks with the children about their projections of the future. The children have an informal connection with the staff of the organization. This is due to their familiarity with the staff: all the women who work in Pintando Caminos are mothers of children who are beneficiaries of the organization. Moreover, the taxi driver that drove me to the organization for both visits is the father of three children in the organization. Thus, the organization is community-based and driven.

Pintando Caminos is positioned in the middle of Potosí. The building has 2 floors: the ground floor has two rooms: one for the infants and one for the children, which includes the kitchen. The rooms are decorated with art from the children, quotes about praised values, Christianity and colorful drawings. There are colorful chairs for the children. The kitchen is grand and used to provide the children with snacks and lunches. The children helped with serving the portions and cleaning up their own dishes.

During the first visit I observed the activities and the interaction between the staff of the organization and the children. During this visit, I witnessed director Alexandra giving a speech to the children before the day commenced. Here, she emphasized on earning money through legal professions, how to treat one another and on the opportunities one has once one is willing to work for them. She would share her personal story concerning education, a profession and earning money without using violence. In addition, she displayed her wallet which was full with Colombian pesos in order to demonstrate the children more graphically what she has achieved through honest ways. She asked the children questions about the future, reflected upon them in the group and asked children to raise their hand if they felt the same way. In between the speech she showed individual attention to the children and reprimanded some older children present at the organization (15-16 years old) about skipping classes at school. She asked the older children what they felt personal responsibility meant and what they desired to become as adults. The boys did not answer her questions and Alexandra called upon their ignorance and the importance of attending school in order to escape the violence in the neighborhood. Due to the language barrier, I did not understood every question or answer that was given and received during this morning ritual. However, a Colombian female who visited the organization in order to explore a possible partnership was able to translate the story quietly during the activity.
Overall the children display respect for the employees of the organization and the director. The children were very curious towards me. They were not shy about asking me questions, asked me to read to them, talk in English, and play games with them. In comparison with the other organizations the children at Pintando Caminos were most confident in their approach towards me.

In relation to *el Código* and the capability approach, Pintando Caminos embodies important points from both the law and the theory. Pintando Caminos embraces the responsibilities and obligations *el Código* sets for both the children and the families by also reaching out to the families for taking care of the children while they are at the organization. Moreover, Pintando Caminos has helped with housing and nutrition which shows its affiliation with Art. 17 of *el Código*. Concerning the capability approach, Pintando Caminos actively works on certain capabilities such as love and care, life and physical health, leisure time and education. The children do receive some time-autonomy, as they get to choose how to spend their leisure time and on which homework assignment they would like to work. Discipline is also highly valued within the organization. While this does not necessarily relate to one of the 14 predetermined capabilities, it is an example of how adults can guide children into adulthood, as it is discussed that children cannot enjoy complete functionings due to their still growing sense of reason and lack of judgement concerning the consequences of their actions. Thus, Pintando Caminos seems to offer guidance to the children and they reason with children about the future. Moreover, they give the children the space to individually work on their identity-trajectory without too much judgment and expectations.

**4.4 Findings during the Assessment of the Relation between the Organizations and Children and the Presence of the Theoretical Framework**

What are the characteristics of the organizations and how do they approach children?

Even though the social context of the three cities differs, it is evident that all three cities have to cope with violent behavior that affects minors and increases the negative cycle of violence. Bogotá and Cali belong to the largest cities in Colombia; while the internal conflict in Colombia directly effects people in rural areas, the situations as assessed in Siloé and Potosí show that the violence infiltrates cities as well through the large amount of IDPs which are left with no other options than to flee to the cities. With limited space and opportunities in
these areas, tensions build up and illegal means infiltrate the *barrios*. With little supervision and support of state officials, children are easily introduced to these illegal means. Barrancabermeja is a significantly smaller city and it is more difficult to pinpoint troubled areas as nearly the whole city has been a subject to violence. Former paramilitaries and the BACRIM are gradually infiltrating the *barrios* of cities such as Cali and Bogotá; however, the presence of rebellious and illegal groups in Barrancabermeja has been a fact for decades. The struggle the city faced through the battle between paramilitaries and guerillas in the late 1990s/early 2000s, has left its mark on the inhabitants. Still struggling with the influence of illegal groups such as former paramilitaries and BACRIM, the inhabitants see an upsurge in violence in which children easily get involved.

All five organizations express strong concerns concerning the connection between children and violent means. Another strong linkage between the five organizations is their affiliation with the Catholic faith. ENSCR and SJR are founded by Catholic figures. Pintando Caminos, CDCS and ADC MJ express strong affiliations through the incorporation of Catholic values, art and biblical references. From these religious convictions also stems their emphasis on community service, gratitude and self-reflection. In their approach towards the children, all organizations resort to quite informal relations and most organizations resort to local inhabitants to run their projects. Solely SJR works with students from other part from Colombia who temporarily work with the children in the project. While CDCS also applies this method with foreign students, they do have a full-time local staff. Even though the staff of the organizations displays an informal attitude towards the children, it is evident that there is a high level of respect of the children towards their *loco parentis*. This again can be the result of their Catholic upbringing.
Which capabilities do children find most important and to what extent do these capabilities apply to their own life?

In order to explore this sub question, I resort to three sheets of the survey that the children filled in. First, I resort to stage II in which there is an emphasis on internal focalization. Second, I resort to stage IV in which the child moves towards a general understanding of the capabilities. Third, I resort to the concluding subset of capabilities in which the children can identify the most important capabilities without any limitations set by the researcher (stage V). This allows for an examination of the most desired capabilities and whether these capabilities are actually within reach of the child. Stage V then provides an extra dimension as the chosen capabilities are provided by the children themselves, paired with an explanation why the children find these capabilities most important. Thus, the combination of these three stages will provide an overview of which capabilities the children find most important and to which extent they feel that these capabilities apply to their life.

**5.1 Stage II: the Evaluation of the Capabilities Through Internal Focalization**

During this stage, the children ought to rate to which extent they believe the 14 capabilities apply to their own life. Graph 1 shows the results of this question of all organizations combined. Overall, the children who participated in the survey have a fairly high sense of satisfaction concerning the 14 capabilities. All capabilities are rewarded with a 10 at least 13 times. A score of 10 resembles that the children feel that they have full access to this capability through societal and environmental conversion factors. Education and shelter and environment receive the highest valuation. Out of 64 participants, 54 children reward education with a 10 and 50 reward shelter and environment with a 10. There are no significant differences concerning gender, age or location with the valuation of these two capabilities. While there is a significant difference with the other capabilities concerning the high valuation, the overall satisfaction of all capabilities is evident. The largest amount of differentiation in presented answers can be found for mental well-being, social relations, participation, and freedom from economic and non-economic exploitation. Of these
capabilities, freedom from economic and non-economic exploitation is rated the lowest. As a result, nearly 33.3% of the participating children communicated that they feel that they are either exploited economically or non-economically. There is a difference concerning gender: 26.3% of the girls expresses their lack of access to this capability while 46.1% of the boys expresses the same lack of access. This gender gap can be traced back to the traditional roles in Colombian society. Over 90% of the Colombians are Catholic. In Catholic Christian faith, the patriarchal family structure remains highly relevant despite a growth in gender equality. Marriage and respect for the traditional domestic structures are valued; thus, it is not unlikely that the boys are chosen over girls to provide for their family financially once the family is in financial need. The girls will be more prone to help fulfilling domestic tasks by taking care of siblings or the household (Blanch 2016). This valuation of the capability freedom from economic and non-economic exploitation could be connected to the capability of time-autonomy. This capability also receives a largely high valuation with 43.75% of the children stating that they have full access to negotiate with their parents/guardians what they desire to do in their own time; nevertheless, 20.31% of the children perceive to have insufficient autonomy concerning their own time management. A 15-year old girl from Barrancabermeja states in the survey: "[...] siento que no tengo tiempo para nada por la jornada unica," which suggests that she feels she does not have time for herself, solely for the tasks that are handed to her.

Graph 1: Evaluation of Capabilities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Evaluation of the capabilities</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td>6</td>
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<tr>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5.2 Stage IV: the Relevance of the Capabilities Through Providing a General Understanding of the Capability Within the Child’s Environment.

During this stage, the children temporarily abandon the individualist view and rate to which extent they believe access to a certain capability is crucial for the development and well-being of a child their age. Graph 2 displays the results of this survey from all participants. These results include the answers by the children in Cali. As explained earlier, the young children from Cali did not understand the difference between survey II and IV. Thus, they all sustained from filling in this sheet.

Education is rated as the most important capability for youth. 75.47% of the children who replied with a valuation of the capabilities rewarded this capability with a 10. A 10 reflects the absolute believe that a capability is necessary in order for a child to be happy and develop her/himself to his/her full potential. The second most important capability according to the children is shelter and environment with 66.04% rating it with a 10. The third most important capability according to the children is life and physical health with 64.15% rating it with a 10. The participating children valued the capabilities participation, respect, and freedom from non-economic and economic exploitation as least important for a child’s well-being. Participation and respect do receive high valuations other than 10; however, freedom from non-economic and economic exploitation received a valuation of 1 by 28.30%. A valuation of 1 resembles that the child feels the capability has no influence on the well-being of children at all. The valuations given in stage IV are very similar to the valuations given in stage II. This resembles that the children feel that there is sufficient access to the capabilities. The majority of the participating children directs accountability for this access towards the organizations of which they are beneficiaries. This premise will be supported by an examination of stage III.
5.3 Stage V: the Concluding Subset of Capabilities

During stage V, the children had the opportunity to list a top 3 of capabilities which they themselves find most important for the development of a child. They were not bound to the 14 capabilities previously mentioned in the survey sheets. Table 9 shows the mentioned capabilities based on frequency. As in stage II and IV, education is valued the highest with 44 mentions in the top 3. Participant 54 of the survey is a 16 year-old male who goes to ENSCR. He commented after filling in the top 3:

Desde la educación que comienza desde la familia, los niños tienen la oportunidad de adquirir valores y conocimientos que en la vida le ayudarán a obtener oportunidades que lo llevarán a ser alguien en la vida.

Education starts with the family. Through education children have the opportunity to acquire values and knowledge that can help them to get opportunities later on in life to really become someone.
Table 9: The Listed Capabilities in the top 3 of Stage V

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Capability</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>To study/education</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To be loved</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Help/support</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shelter</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To enjoy yourself/ have fun</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liberty/ freedom</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A dignified life</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nutrition/food</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friends</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>God</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work/ a career</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Respect</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sports</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peace</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Money</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Confidence</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Security</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opportunities</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technology/ math</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Science</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moral formation</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The story of participant 3, who is a beneficiary of Pintando Caminos, Bogotá, verifies the importance of education for a child.

Participant 3 is an 11 year-old girl. She was born in Ciudad Bolívar and is the youngest child in her family. She has two older sisters, one older brother and a mother and a father who both work to sustain the family. When asked what she believes are the most important opportunities for a child to become who he/she wants to be she answered with study, free time and to realize their dreams. In her case, she has a wide variety of dreams that she would like
to pursue in the future. She wants to become a singer, a gymnastics teacher, a doctor, a model or an actress. The wide variety of dreams mentioned in the survey suggest that the girl has a positive view on the future and on her opportunities to succeed in the future.

The answers provided on the survey regarding the satisfaction of capabilities in the girl's life reflect this positive attitude. In her opinion 6 out of 14 capabilities are fully satisfied including her health, bodily integrity and safety, her level of participation, education and shelter. As she mentioned education as one of the most important opportunity for a child, the full satisfaction of this capability is a good sign for the girl's personal development and well-being. Moreover, the girl mentioned free time as an important opportunity as well, in order for children to find their dreams and pursue them. She herself claims that this opportunity is completely satisfied thus relating back to her positive attitude. With regard to the other capabilities, the girl rated all of them as nearly satisfied. The lowest grade in the list is a 7/10 for freedom from economic and non-economic exploitation which still reflects a high level of satisfaction.

When asked about the influence of Pintando Caminos on this high level of overall satisfaction of capabilities, the girl remains very positive. She believes that the organization is fully responsible for the satisfaction of 6 out of 14 capabilities. She refers to life and physical health, bodily integrity and safety, education, shelter, leisure activities and time-autonomy. The organization is known to help families with shelter and promotes educational and leisure activities. During their time with the organization, children can do their homework but also express their selves through creative activities, games and sports. The girl her view of the organization suggests that the organization does a very good job on incorporating their theoretical ideals into practice. Her high validation of the organization continues in the rest of her answers, in which she deems the organization to be largely responsible for the rest of the capabilities. Solely for participation and mental well-being the girl did not know how to estimate the influence of the organization.

When the girl entered stage 4 of the general understanding in order to reflect on which capabilities were important for a child to develop him/herself, she rated 7 out of 14 with a 10. A few aligned with capabilities which were fully satisfied in her own life namely life and physical health, bodily integrity and safety, education, shelter and time autonomy. Two capabilities, which were not yet fully satisfied in her own life, she did value as most important in stage 4. These were freedom from economic and non-economic exploitation and social
relations. There is a high probability that the child has to help out around the house while she
does not always want to and that she aspires a larger social network. Nevertheless, the
differences between the applicability to her own life and her perceived ideal situation are
minimal and reflect the success of Pintando Caminos as the girl praises them in her
understanding of their role in her well-being.

Regarding stage 5, her concluding subset of capabilities resulted in the following top 3 most
important capabilities:

1. *Estudio* (study)
2. *Familia* (family)
3. *Apoyo* (help/support)

_Estudiar porque me enseña hacer alguien en la vida porque uno se vuelve inteligente y
aprendo cada día algo nuevo. Familia: porque me enseña a valorar a las personas que no
nos caen bien y valorarnos nosotros mismos. Apoyo: porque nos ayudan a salir adelante
y cumplir nuestros sueños._

The girl values studying because she can learn something new every day and become
someone in life through intelligence. This relates back to the mentioned speech of director
Alexandra Tamara V. in which she spoke to the children about earning money and making a
career on legal terms through education. She praises her family because they taught her to
value all people, even if you don’t like them on a personal level. She also mentions that her
family taught her to value herself and her own integrity. With her third listed capability she
acknowledges that every child needs the help/support of their environment in order to grow,
move forward and fulfill their dreams. Throughout her answers the girl highlights the
importance of family, support and social relations in the development of a child. This sense of
community is highly promoted within Pintando Caminos and the Colombian society as a
whole.

The story of participant 3 and the explanation of participant 54 both mention education and
family as connected capabilities. Both children note that education starts with a family;
therefore, family is an important conversion factor for children to aspire a further education
and for being able to see the importance of education for a child’s well-being.
The second highest valued capability in stage V, to be loved, was also one of the 14 capabilities mentioned in stage II and IV. Even though this capability was not rated within the top 3 in stage IV, it receives many mentions once the children have the opportunity to fill in capabilities themselves.

One participant who acknowledges the importance of love is participant 17, a 9 year-old girl who is a beneficiary of CDCS, Cali. She is an only child and lives at home with her father and mother. Only one of her parents has a paid job. When asked what is most important for a child, she answers that a child should study in order to go to the university and obtain a good job. When she grows up she wants to be a businesswoman.

In relation to the capabilities and how they apply to her life, she has provided diverse results from 4 to 10. Two capabilities are poorly represented in her life and were graded with a 4. These capabilities are: mental well-being and leisure activities. This means that the girl does not feel that she has the opportunity to talk with people about things that bother her and that she does not feel that she has the opportunity to play as much as she would like to. Fortunately, 6 out of 14 capabilities are graded with a 10; thus, according to her own judgment these capabilities are fulfilled. These capabilities are: bodily integrity and safety, participation, education, shelter and environment, respect and time-autonomy. When asked how much influence the organization has on enabling these capabilities for her, she is very positive. For 11 out of the 14 capabilities she answers that the organization is completely responsible. For the remaining 3 capabilities she answers that the organization is largely responsible. Two of these remaining 3 capabilities also represent the capabilities which she graded the lowest in the previous question form: mental well-being and leisure activities. Participation represents the 3rd capability. This could suggest that she feels a limited right to actively participate in the construction of the programs and that she would prefer more leisure activities in the programs rather than educational activities. However, since she still marks the organization as a very important positive influence and acknowledges the importance of education, this limitation seems insignificant.

When asked what she believes are the top 3 most important capabilities for a child in order to develop him/herself, she answers the following:

1. Amor (love)
2. Paz (peace)
3. Mucho cariño (much love)

"Porque gracias a las podemos entender la paz con nuestra familia." She praises the women who work in the organization because they have taught the children what the concept of peace entails within their family. Thus, the organization has provided help not solely to the girl but to her whole family. Even though participant 17 did not mention family in the top 3 during stage V, she does calls upon it in her explanation of the answers next to expressing her gratitude and love towards the women of CDCS.

Through the explanations provided by the children, one can observe the connection between the top 3 most mentioned capabilities in stage V. The children mention family as the foundation for their development and well-being, and as the conversion factor for both education, love and help/support.

5.4 Findings Concerning Stage II, IV and V and their Relation to the Theoretical Framework

Which capabilities do children find most important and to what extent do these capabilities apply to their own life?

The gap between which capabilities the children deem most important and how they assess these capabilities to apply to their lives is very small. This can be positive as it could mean that most of the participants feel that they do not face capability deprivation. Nevertheless, a significant gap would have represented a more evolved identity trajectory.

The identity trajectory should be the result of the individual being exposed to multiple conversion factors that continuously challenge the individual to grow and develop critical thinking. However, a comparison of the answers provided by the age group 8-12 and the age group 17-19 reflects a meager presence of this process of critical reflection. In the age group 8-12, bodily integrity and safety and shelter and environment received the highest valuation while in the age group 17-19 life and physical health, bodily integrity and safety and education receive the highest valuation. In the age group 8-12, education was also highly valued which displays that the priorities of the children differ little even though they are in
different phases of their life. While it is possible that the children value the same capabilities and their importance for their well-being and development, the meager differences in answers suggest a lack of critical reflection in which the children have the opportunity to create their own identity. In relation to this absence, it is quite evident that the children are either strongly influenced by the visions of the organizations they benefit in, or they felt compelled to provide socially acceptable answers in which their own opinions do not thrive.

Another assessment of this data shows that the capabilities which the children deem most important all tie together. Education is valued as the most important capability: many children explain this choice by stating that they cannot become someone important if they do not have any form of education. Also, many list it as a basic necessity and state that education either started at their own homes or that they desire to use it to help their family. This ties together with Catholic values, as the Catholic faith states that education is an important process that starts with the family itself (Blanch 2016). Additionally, the children who ranked shelter and environment as the second most important capability are likely to have connected this capability to having a home with a loving family. An example of this premise is a quote extracted from the survey of participant 45, a 15 year-old beneficiary of SJR who explained why she believes having a home is one of the most important capabilities: "[…] vivienda para tener un retiro y sentirme amado." This means that she views the house as a place where she can retreat from the outside world and feel loved. Thus, shelter and environment does not solely provide the children with a basic necessity; rather, it represents a home where the child feels secure and loved by his/her family. As a result, it is evident that the children highly value family and seem to be heavily influenced by the Catholic faith.

The third most important capability does not have these direct links to family life but has a large emphasis on basic necessities to survive. Life and physical health receives high scores during stage II and IV; however it is rarely mentioned during stage V in its current form. Nevertheless, having sufficient to eat and leading a dignified life are mentioned occasionally throughout the surveys as to be observed in table 9. Participant 22, a 14 year-old girl who is a participant of SJR provided the following top 3 of capabilities:

1) Participación (participation)
2) La integridad física y la seguridad (physical integrity and security)
3) Vivienda y alimentación (a house and nutrition)
During her explanation regarding her choice, she stated in the survey: "[...] todos las oportunidades son importantes, pero esas 3 son indispensables." Hereby, she states that all opportunities are important; however, the three she mentions are necessary for survival.

Thus, the opportunities which are ranked the highest by the children in case of relevance are a mixture between social/familial necessities and physical necessities. Even though this list of capabilities is legitimate and children could explain well why these choices were made, the absence of clear distinctions primarily between age-groups suggests a lack of critical thinking.

The assessment of the data collected through stage II, IV and V provides points of discussion concerning a few themes that were unaccounted for at the start of the research. Namely: the development of the identity trajectory, the personal conception of certain capabilities, and societal/environmental influences other than the organizations. These themes and findings will briefly be reflected upon during chapter 7. Chapter 6 will first continue with a focus on the organizations’ their influence on the children their sense of capability access, as this is the main focus of this exploratory research.
6. The Relation between the Children and the Organizations based upon the 14 Predetermined Capabilities

To what extent do children feel that organizations help provide access to the 14 predetermined capabilities?

To answer the third sub question it was important to research the goals of the organizations in order to be able to verify whether their goals are actually preventing children from joining armed forces or gangs. This notion was verified for all 5 organizations and explained in their descriptions in chapter 4. Next, the analysis of the answers given by the children in stage II, IV and V provides an oversight of which capabilities the children deem fulfilled and which capabilities they find most important for a child to have access to. As a result of the analysis of this data, the following capabilities are rated as most important from the point of view of the child.

1) Education
2) Shelter and environment
3) Life and physical health
4) Love and care - family

The next step is to examine whether the children sense that these capabilities are taken into account in the programs of the five organizations. In relation to this question, I used the radar chart in order to provide a clear overview of to which extent the organizations are deemed responsible for providing access to the capabilities. The radar chart not only provides a clear overview of how the organizations are rated concerning all 14 capabilities; moreover, it presents the opportunity to compare how well the organizations manage to implement the capabilities in their programs. Radar chart 1. Displays the results of all the organizations combined.
This chart shows that the organizations are rated very positively by the children. Almost all capabilities are largely appointed to the organizations with full responsibility for making the capabilities possible. Solely freedom from economic and non-economic exploitation receives a lower valuation: in this case, the majority of the children find that the organization has no influence on the capability. However, when reviewing the answers given by the children concerning which capabilities they find most important to have access to, freedom from economic and non-economic exploitation is rated the lowest of all 14 capabilities. Thus, the lack of influence of the organization concerning this capability will not be likely to negatively influence how helpful the children find the organizations in their individual development. In relation to which capabilities the children deem most important, education is rated the highest. When compared to how well this capability is implemented in the programs of the researched organizations, this leads to a very positive outcome. A large part of the children appoint the organizations with full responsibility for education. This aligns with the theoretical frameworks of the organizations which all mention education as an important factor in order to provide children with better opportunities to break the cycle of violence. Shelter and
environment is listed second in the most important capabilities for children. Similar to education, shelter and environment too is rated high in relation to the responsibility of the researched organizations. However, contrary to education, shelter and environment is not one of the key points within the organizations. Nevertheless, contributions to families through educational/professional activities, microcredits in order to start small enterprises and the distribution of materials could indirectly have a great impact on this capability. Thus, these organizations have a wide reach through their local roots and are able to help whole families which is an important factor to keep children away from gangs and armed forces. As mentioned in stage V, family is valuated as the third most important capability by the children with 24 mentions. As stated by participant 53 of the survey, a 16 year-old beneficiary of ENSCR, "para mi, no hay nada más importante que mi familia." (for me, there is nothing more important than my family). Along these lines, providing support to enable basic necessities -such as shelter for families- decreases the pressure on children to step in or take illegal measures to ensure these necessities.

The following five radar charts display the evaluations of all the individual organizations in order to examine whether there are any significant differences in the success of the organizations.

Radar Chart 2: Influence of Pintando Caminos

![Radar Chart 2: Influence of Pintando Caminos](image-url)
Stage II: influence of ADC MJ

Stage II: influence of SJR
Radar Chart 5: Influence of ENSCR

Radar Chart 6: Influence of CDCS
Radar Charts 2 till 6 display a wide variety of evaluations concerning their influence on the access to a capability. Most organizations are valuated with extensive overall responsibility concerning the capabilities such as Pintando Caminos, ADC MJ and CDCS. Nevertheless, there are differences in which capabilities are valued the highest by the children in the different organizations. A valuation of ENSCR concerning the 14 capabilities displays little responsibility of the organization. The valuation of SJR concludes in very mixed results; however, for many capabilities it is still valuated to be completely responsible and largely responsible. Table 10 displays the top 3 capabilities the organizations are responsible for from the point of view of their beneficiaries.

Table 10: Top 3 Capabilities per Organization

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Pintando Caminos</th>
<th>ADC MJ*</th>
<th>SJR</th>
<th>ENSCR**</th>
<th>CDCS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Time autonomy</td>
<td>Life and physical health, education</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>Love and care</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Bodily integrity and safety</td>
<td>Love and care, Shelter and environment</td>
<td>Participation</td>
<td>Life and physical health</td>
<td>Bodily integrity and safety</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Education</td>
<td>Social relations, respect</td>
<td>Religion and identity</td>
<td>Mobility</td>
<td>Social relations</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*ADC MJ has six capabilities that all participants rated with being the sole responsibility of the organizations. Therefore, all those six capabilities are listed in the table.

**ENSCR has little responsibility for the capabilities according to the participants. While I do listed a top 3, there is a significant difference in how beneficiaries of this organization and the remaining organizations rated their responsibility.

As was also present in the accumulation of results presented in radar chart 1, education is highly valued in the individual organizations too. For Pintando Caminos, ADC MJ, SJR and ENSCR the capability appears in the top 3 capabilities. The rest of the capabilities that appear in the top 3 list differ. This can be the result of the personal circumstances of the beneficiaries; one who faces capability deprivation in his/her immediate environment will seek more benefit in the organization than one who feels that he/she receives sufficient opportunities for development and well-being at home. Considering the children who are beneficiaries at ENSCR do present high scores for personal capability access, they are likely
to profit less from the organization than beneficiaries of other organizations do, since their need for this capability is fulfilled by other organizations or services.

Pintando Caminos and CDCS receive the highest valuations concerning responsibility for access to the capabilities. There can be a link to their age: the participants of these two organizations are the youngest children to participate in the survey; thus, it is possible that these children possess a lesser ability for critical thinking and evaluation. Nevertheless, their positive evaluation cannot be marginalized as their positive experiences with the organizations can withhold them from seeking capability satisfaction through illegal means.

SJR receives high valuations; however, it is apparent that children abstain earlier from acknowledging full responsibility to the organization. As a result, the children resort to 4 more, which means that the organization is largely responsible for access to the capability. The answers of SJR vary greatly, which can be apparent for a clear focus on certain capabilities in the program of the organization. Education, participation and religion and identity receive high scores: thus, SJR focusses on education. The high score of religion and identity is a result of the Christian background of the organization. Children do not feel that the organization helps them with freedom of economic and non-economic exploitation. Additionally, the organization does not emphasize on leisure activities and time-autonomy.

ADC MJ had the least amount of participants to fill in the survey; therefore, the answers given by one individual have a great impact on the graph. Overall, the participants are very positive concerning the influence of ADC MJ. Many capabilities either receive a 4 or a 5. A few children did not know how to define the relationship between the organization and economic and non-economic exploitation. Small defects of the organization can be found in bodily integrity and safety and respect.

6.1 Findings Concerning Stage III and the Relation to the Theoretical Framework

To what extent do children feel that organizations help provide access to the 14 predetermined capabilities?

According to the children the organizations are largely responsible for their capability access. They are very grateful towards the organizations for the opportunities that they have given
them. While certain capabilities receive a lower valuation and thus could be subject for reevaluation within the organizations, the organizations do score a 4 or a 5 on the capabilities which the children deemed most important in stage II, IV and V. This does not mean that the policy of the researched organizations towards the children is flawless. It can provide an emphasis on the limits of the organizations concerning the needs of the children. After all, the children emphasized the importance of family and family values through their answers in the survey. The organization cannot replace the familial institution and is therefore limited in the support and guidance it can provide for these children. Thus, while the organizations are very well developed and seem to cherish good communication with the children, the child might still lead astray once it feels that his/her family is compromised.
7. Reflections, Conclusion and Further Recommendations

7.1 Reflections

The capability approach holds certain key themes which also became evident during the research. However, the definition and position of these key themes within the theoretical framework and within the research slightly differ. During this section of reflections, I will discuss two key themes, namely individuality and education, and their position within both the theoretical framework and the research. Moreover, I will elaborate on an important social conversion factor that became evident during the research: the catholic church. I will end the reflections with a discussion of Nussbaum’s basic social justice principle through el Código de la Infancia y la Adolescencia. These reflections tie together the theoretical framework and the research by highlighting certain themes, thoughts and outcomes that were unforeseen at the start of the thesis.

7.1.1 Perceptions of Education in Researched Contexts and Nussbaum’s Theory

Education holds a prominent role both in the theory Nussbaum developed as in the outcomes of the analyzed data. Even though theory and practice appear to align on this matter, one needs to assess whether in both theory and practice the same interpretation of education is upheld. Nussbaum approaches education as a process which cannot solely be measured in levels of literacy and numeracy. Instead, she defines education as an all-round process to improve humanity through critical thinking, the development of empathy, the awareness of one’s economic place in the world and the creation of awareness regarding one’s responsible democratic citizenship (Nussbaum 2005). Thus, while Nussbaum does agree that literacy and numeracy are important skills for an individual to develop with regard to access to capabilities, her emphasis is on the development of social-economic awareness.

In practice it shows that multiple Colombian children who participated in the survey are aware of this broader conception of education. In their explanations during stage V, measureable educational skills were praised in order for children to be able to get into a university. However, there was also an emphasis on education provided by the family or education that enriches the child by which he/she can enrich his/her family in return. The
children developed an awareness that education is not solely bound to teachers and classrooms, but rather to one’s environment and the lessons, norms and values you draw from them. This strongly aligns with Nussbaum’s conception of education.

7.1.2 The Presence of Individuality in the Researched Contexts

The capability approach holds a strong emphasis on the individual. This is crucial for the theory as it counters measuring well-being through GDP, in which all individuals are reduced to numbers to reflect the state of the country. Moreover, while measures such as the GDP present people in static data, the capability approach focuses on the individual as being in a continuous evolving state. This should be the result of the individual being exposed to multiple conversion factors that continuously challenge the individual to grow and develop critical thinking. Conversion factors and critical thinking are crucial for children as they are heavily influenced by parents, guardians or other adults while they have to form their own identity trajectory. As mentioned during subchapter 5.4, the identity trajectory of youth in the researched organizations evolves very little, which suggests a lack of critical reflection and the presence of a fundamental conversion factor. The youngsters come from three different social/geographical contexts; thus, I believe this fundamental conversion factor relates to the institution of the Catholic church and the values it preaches as this is the most evident common conversion factor in all organizations.

7.1.3 Societal Conversion Factors such as the Catholic Church

Societal conversion factors refer to the possibilities that public policies, institutions, rules, traditions, gender norms and power relations create for people to access capabilities. The Catholic church in Colombia is related to numerous of these concepts. The traditional patriarchal family composition and gender roles stem from the church, as well does the emphasis on community service. The influence of the church and the traditions it promotes are evident in all five organizations; therefore, it is a natural consequence that the children who benefit in these organizations partially form their own identities through the ideas of the church. Even though this presents some positive results as the children come to highly value education, family, respect and community service, one needs to bear in mind that there is a high percentage of people with indigenous ancestry present in the researched social contexts that might still adhere to their own religions. This remains a sensitive topic in Colombia as the
Catholic church has long tried to forcefully convert indigenous to the Christian faith. Notwithstanding, there is no evidence that the organizations impose the religious values upon the children: they merely act upon lessons they learned in their faith and the norms it provided them with. Nevertheless, the church represents some old traditions which are hard to challenge by an individual; in particular for a child who is taught that respect for the parents and authoritarian figures is crucial to be a good citizen. In relation to these norms and values, there is an evident risk that some of the children also provided socially acceptable answers which would reflect well on their family and the organization instead of focusing solely on their own thoughts and experiences.

7.1.4 Basic Social Justice Through el Código de la Infancia y la Adolescencia

Nussbaum defines basic social justice as a system in which the state has the largest responsibility to make sure all its citizens receive fundamental political entitlements through conversion factors. Thus, the state should be responsible for the largest part of the conversion factors in order for their citizens to explore their full potential. Nussbaum closely connects this concept of social basic justice to her formulated capability list. In relation to this thesis I examined the theoretical presence of basic social justice in Colombia for children in urban areas. The theoretical presence of basic social justice for this demographic group is evident: in el Código de la Infancia y la Adolescencia there are direct references to all 14 capabilities multiple times. However, in reality the state is less present and active concerning enabling conversion factors and enabling access to capabilities for children in deprived urban areas.

The organizations I visited are all either private community-based initiatives or part of a larger NGO: while some indirectly receive funding from governmental institutions, their funding is primarily based on community donations, fundraisings and international donors. This lack of support by the Colombian government is primarily present in Barrancabermeja. Mrs. Hernandez Duran from ADC MJ mentioned the lack of support from the Colombian government despite Barrancabermeja’s position in the center of violence. She emphasizes on the need for more opportunities in order to positively change the situation: “if there were more opportunities to teach the kids, not to give them everything, but to teach them how to fish, to study, to work, they would have more opportunities and be better persons. And if we can teach them values as well, than the situation could change” (P. Shantz’ translation during personal communication with G. Garcia Hernandez Duran, August 20, 2016). The perceived
lack of support from the government is not solely mentioned by Mrs. Hernandez Duran. A 15 year old girl from Barrancabermeja states in the survey: "siento que el gobierno no apoya nada en cuanto a mi desarrollo," which means that she feels the government has not contributed anything to improve her self-development. The perceived lack of support by the Colombian government by individuals and organizations in Barrancabermeja is an indicator that the Colombian government ought to intensify their attention for executing El Código de la Infancia y la Adolescencia, and in particular article 202. Article 202.3 states:

Diseñar y poner en marcha acciones para lograr la inclusión de la población infantil más vulnerable a la vida social en condiciones de igualdad.

This article translates in:

Design and implement actions to achieve the inclusion of the most vulnerable children into social life to achieve conditions of equality.

Thus, the government has committed itself to undertake action in order to provide opportunities to children in vulnerable positions. However, currently the government has little to do with the initiatives in Barrancabermeja who work towards achieving this goal.

7.2 Conclusion

This section will address the main research question:

To what extent do the researched organizations provide support to children in violent prone areas based upon the capabilities that children themselves deem most important for their well-being and development?

This study attempted to explore the answer to this question through 3 sub questions: 1) What are the characteristics of the organizations and how do they approach children? 2) Which capabilities do children find most important and to what extent do they capabilities apply to their own life? 3) To what extent do children feel that organizations help provide access to the 14 predetermined capabilities?
This study shows a positive result with regard to the organizations their focus on the inclusion of the opinions and needs of the children they ought to help. Sub question 1 provided an insight in the motives and methods of the organizations placed within their specific social context. All 5 organizations are dedicated to providing opportunities to children in deprived areas in order for them to break negative cycles of poverty and/or violence. In their approach they emphasize on community service, education and discussing future prospects. Sub question 2 displays the connection between the methods of the organizations and the wishes of their child beneficiaries. Even though the results of stage II and IV show minimal results and the results should therefore be critically assessed, the alignment between the preferred capabilities of the children and the organization is evident. Notwithstanding, sub question 3 shows that even though the influence of the organizations on the opportunities of the children is apparent, all organizations hold specific capabilities that could be improved in the future. Despite minor deficiencies this exploratory research concludes that the organizations do provide very valuable support to children in violent prone areas.

7.3 Policy Recommendations

The organizations hold many positive traits and are positively valuated by their beneficiaries. However, there are certain factors the organizations could take into account in order to improve the sustainability of their programs.

7.3.1 Church Involvement

The Catholic church is an important incentive for organizations to initiate supportive programs which provides access to multiple capabilities. However, one ought to be aware to what extent the children get influenced by tradition and to what extent they feel that they are allowed to raise their voice in situations of discomfort. While the church provides guidelines and teaches the children many valuable norms and values, it is important for the children to realize that they are heard and welcome at the organization even if they act outside of their faith. This ensures inclusion of the children in the organization and diminishes the chance of them seeking acceptance somewhere else.
7.3.2 Government Involvement

As mentioned during the reflection on basic social justice through el Código de la Infancia y la Adolescencia, the government is currently not executing theory into practice. It has struggled with full authority and access for decades, as the country is extremely diverse, spacious and socially diverse. The reflections made earlier support the notion that the Colombian government is yet to design a system in which it is able to reach all its citizens in a fair manner. The government should direct more resources at preventing children from sustaining the negative cycle of violence by offering more educational tools, jobs and access to social institutions. Also, it should acknowledge and openly support local initiatives which are designed to tackle this problem. The acknowledgement of these initiatives alone can bring a sense of cohesiveness and trust that is currently lacking between many citizens and the Colombian government.

7.3.3 Family Involvement

Many organizations are already including family into their programs and organizations. ADC MJ is based on family ties, Pintando Caminos hires mothers and fathers to work with them and CDCS has programs to educate parents as well. I believe that the inclusion of family in their organizations is a big factor in their success. SJR and ENSCR could benefit from this strategy more to increase senses of trust and community. Moreover, by including family the organization can actively monitor whether the family is supportive and offers a safe and loving environment to the children.

7.3.4 More Attention to Sustainable Solutions for the Children’s Futures

All organizations acknowledge the importance of education and attempt to include it in their programs. While educational programs are necessary conversion factors for children to explore their full potential, it is also important to direct these educational programs at the future. The organizations offer warm environments in which children can develop their skill set and identity, but they have to utilize this skill set in an environment with limited options. Once they finish an educational program, there must be economic opportunities for them to resort to in order to not choose illegal means to earn money. Many of them will not have the resources to leave their environment; thus, the organizations should work together with local
businesses to create legal job opportunities for youngsters who would have trouble finding a job on their own. By creating these networks, the work of the organizations becomes more sustainable and the children have a better chance of breaking the negative cycle of poverty and violence. It is important that organizations invest in these networks and receive support from other organizations to enable these networks.

This development is already taking place in Colombia through the start of cooperatives. Cooperatives represent voluntary associations in which people work together in order to stimulate development concerning economic and social needs (Fajardo & Almeyda 2016). MSc. M. Fajardo Rojas and MSc. G. Almeyda researched and documented the work and strategies of cooperatives in the province San Gil in order to assess their influence on youth and local development. The results are positive; however, they do provide an emphasis on the importance of cooperation on a local, national and international level in different sectors. Thus, there are chances for the five organizations to expand their networks and results through cooperation with local businesses, unions, social associations, local universities and international universities. These networks can provide jobs, educational training, management and research opportunities. Some organizations are already on their way with creating networks, as CDCS is connected to Universidad de San Buenaventura, and ADC MJ has international and local ties to organizations and businesses.

Regardless, the further development of cooperatives can stimulate development and social inclusion of the youth even more. Cooperatives cannot easily solve all challenges in communities, and challenges might remain that ought to be addressed in every specific social context (Fajardo & Almeyda 2016). Nevertheless, incorporating the strategies of cooperatives can positively influence the living circumstances in a community.

7.4 Recommendations for further Research

Further research would be relevant in order to tackle the limitations to this current research. A research based on a longer assessment of the organizations and their beneficiaries in Spanish would open doors as the researcher would have more time for observation and building up trust with the children in order for them to open up. Additionally, the absence of a language barrier would account for a more detailed examination of collected qualitative data. This could limit the amount of bias which is likely present in this research. Moreover, a larger
emphasis on the role of the Catholic church in these organizations could provide interesting anthropological insights in Colombian communities as the Catholic church is evident in all 5 organizations. It would also be interesting to explore ways to improve the sustainability of the organizations their programs through an assessment of their network and the cooperatives that they can create in their immediate environment.

To conclude, this research solely focusses on children in specific urban areas who benefit from one of the five programs. Thus, there is a large percentage of children that is unaccounted for in this research. This opens up many possibilities for further research in order to assess the well-being of children in Colombia according to the capability approach. Notably, the current post-conflict situation in Colombia and the challenges of guerilla reintegration into the Colombian society poses questions concerning the well-being of children in many different situations. Not only are there FARC child soldiers who ought to be reintegrated, but there are also rising tensions concerning settlements of former soldiers and the local communities who feel uncomfortable with the former soldiers’ presence (Casey 2017). Moreover, the power vacuum in areas where the FARC functioned as the authority can endanger children as multiple organizations and gangs attempt to take control (Grace & Brooks 2015; Maas 2017). In light of the current developments in the country, it is important to emphasize on the well-being of children in order to encourage sustainable positive change and the successful implementation of the peace agreements. Therefore, it is recommendable for the Colombian government, universities, communities and businesses to include children in the social-economic changes that occur.
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Semi-Structured Interviews and Narratives

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Punter, D. and Vodniza Pardo, J.A. (2016, Sept. 3). Personal interview with Diaz Contreras, J.
9.1 Survey

preguntas para los niños y jovenes

Estas son preguntas para mirar algunas oportunidades que niños, niñas y jovenes valoran o necesitan para ser feliz y llegar a ser lo que quiere ser. Las primeras preguntas son generales. Después hay tres tablas. En ellas encuentras las mismas necesidades, pero quiero que pienses sobre ellas de tres maneras diferentes. Primero, quiero que pienses si tú mismo sientes que tienes acceso a estas oportunidades. Segundo, quiero que pienses cuál ha sido el papel del merquemos juntos en esto. ¿Desde que has ido a merquemos juntos, crees que estas oportunidades han aumentado? ¿Qué tan importante es para ti esta organización? En tercer lugar, quiero que pienses sobre estas oportunidades en tu comunidad, para ti y tus amigos. ¿Qué tan importantes crees que son estas oportunidades para niños de tu edad?

Te agradecería que contestaras lo máximo posible. Pero si no quieres contestar algo, no tienes que hacerlo. Espero que estas preguntas me den más información sobre tus opiniones, tus deseos en programas como del merquemos juntos, y de dónde vienes. Esta información es solo para mí y mi investigación. No voy a compartirla con nadie, y es anónima, para preguntas estoy disponible a través de correo electrónico (d.punter@student.rug.nl). Muchas gracias por tu ayuda!

Doutsen Punter

(responder a las preguntas tardará entre 15 y 30 minutos)
¿Cuáles crees que son las oportunidades más importantes que un niño o joven debe tener durante su vida para convertirse en lo que él / ella quiere ser?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>¿Cuál es tu nombre? (Opcional)</th>
<th>.............................................</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>¿Cuántos años tienes?</td>
<td>Tengo ...... años</td>
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<tr>
<td>¿Tú eres una niña o un niño?</td>
<td>soy una niña</td>
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<td>¿De dónde eres?</td>
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<tr>
<td>¿Cuál es la composición de tu familia?</td>
<td>Tengo ........ hermanos</td>
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<td>Tengo ........ hermanas</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Tengo un padre y una madre en el hogar</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Tengo un padre en el hogar</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Tengo una madre en el hogar</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Otra persona es mi guardián</td>
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<td></td>
<td>tengo mi propio lugar</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Otro</td>
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<tr>
<td>En casa, yo soy</td>
<td>el hijo/la hija más pequeño</td>
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<td>el hijo/la hija del medio</td>
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<td>el hijo/ la hija mayor</td>
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<tr>
<td>En casa,</td>
<td>hay dos o más adultos que tienen un trabajo remunerado</td>
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<td></td>
<td>hay un adulto que tiene un trabajo remunerado</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>no hay ningún adulto con un trabajo remunerado</td>
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<td></td>
<td>los niños y jóvenes tienen que ayudar a proporcionar suficiente dinero</td>
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<td></td>
<td>no sé</td>
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¿Qué quieres ser cuando seas mayor?

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| .......................................................... |

<p>| 91 |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tema/Aspecto</th>
<th>1 = De ningún modo</th>
<th>2 = Poco importante</th>
<th>3 = Importante</th>
<th>4 = Muy importante</th>
<th>5 = De ningún modo, 10 = muy importante</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tiempo y autonomía</td>
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<tr>
<td>La relación y la intimidad</td>
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<td>Respeto</td>
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<td>Actividades de ocio</td>
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<tr>
<td>Protección contra la explotación económica</td>
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<tr>
<td>Educación</td>
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<td>Particiación, síntomas emocionales</td>
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<tr>
<td>Relaciones sociales</td>
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<tr>
<td>La integridad física y la seguridad del mismo</td>
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<tr>
<td>Amor y cuidado</td>
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<tr>
<td>La religión y la identidad</td>
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<tr>
<td>No sé</td>
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</table>

En su opinión, ¿en qué medida se aplican las siguientes cosas a su vida?
La influencia de la organización de estas capacidades

¿En qué medida merquemos juntos le ayudará a sentirse de esta manera sobre estas oportunidades?

1 = De ningún modo, 3 = Neutral, 5 = La organización es completamente responsable

1. no influyó en la oportunidad
2. influyó en la oportunidad un poco
3. No sé
4. La organización es en gran parte responsable
5. La organización es completamente responsable

La vida y la salud física - Tengo lo suficiente para comer y beber
Amor y cuidado - me siento querido y apreciado por la familia y / o la comunidad
Bienestar mental - Siento que puedo hablar con la gente sobre las cosas que me molestan
La integridad física y la seguridad - me siento seguro en mi casa y entorno
Relaciones sociales - siento que puedo tener buenas relaciones sociales con la familia y amigos
Participación - siento que la gente escucha y valora mis opiniones
Educación - Tengo acceso a la educación
Refugio - Tengo acceso a la vivienda
Actividades de ocio - Tengo suficiente tiempo para jugar
Protección contra la explotación económica - Yo no tengo que trabajar para sostenerme
Actividades de ocio - Tengo acceso a la vivienda
Tiempo-Autonomía - Siento que puedo negociar con mis guardianes/padres sobre cómo manejo mi tiempo
Movilidad - Soy capaz de moverme libremente y estar a salvo en la zona donde vivo.

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Responsable</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>La organización</td>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>En su opinión, que tan valiosa es esta oportunidad para un niño de su edad?</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>1 = De ningún modo, 10 = sí, completamente</td>
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**Comentarios (sólo si tu quieres añadir un poco):**

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**La relevancia de las capacidades**

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<tr>
<th><strong>Capacidad</strong></th>
<th><strong>Relevancia</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Tempo-Automática</strong></td>
<td>Siendo que puedo registrar con mis guantes/máscaras sobre cómo manejo mi tiempo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>La Trigüenía y la Líbica</strong></td>
<td>Siendo que puedo detener lo que se da que me haga sentir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Respeto</strong></td>
<td>Tengo el respeto y el apoyo de amigos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Actividades de ocio</strong></td>
<td>Tengo suficiente tiempo para jugar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Nutrición y salud física</strong></td>
<td>Tengo acceso a la vivienda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Amor y cuidado</strong></td>
<td>Tengo acceso a la vivienda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Bienestar mental</strong></td>
<td>Tengo acceso a la vivienda</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>La integración física y laboral</strong></td>
<td>Tengo acceso a la educación</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Participación</strong></td>
<td>Tengo acceso a la vivienda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Seguridad social</strong></td>
<td>Tengo acceso a la vivienda</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Integridad física y la seguridad</strong></td>
<td>Tengo acceso a la vivienda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Reconocimiento</strong></td>
<td>Tengo acceso a la vivienda</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Bienes materiales</strong></td>
<td>Tengo acceso a la vivienda</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Protección contra la explotación económica</strong></td>
<td>Tengo acceso a la vivienda</td>
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<td><strong>Refugio</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Actividades de ocio</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Respeto</strong></td>
<td>Tengo acceso a la vivienda</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>La religión y la identidad</strong></td>
<td>Tengo acceso a la vivienda</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**Tiempo-Autonomía**

1 = De ningún modo, 10 = sí, completamente
En tu opinión, ¿cuáles son las 3 oportunidades más importantes que un niño o joven de tu edad necesita para ser feliz y desarrollarse a sí mismo? Pueden ser oportunidades mencionadas en las preguntas u oportunidades que se te ocurran a ti mismo.

1) ........................................
2) ........................................
3) .................................

¿Y por qué?

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Muchas Gracias! 😊
Apéndice 4: Formulario de Consentimiento Informado
Yo [Loco Parentis]
SANDRA LUZ HERRERA NAVARRO

por la presente declaran a participar en una investigación llevada a cabo por
(nombre del investigador)
Doutsen Punter

Soy consciente de que la participación en la investigación con el título
Las capacidades y los niños en Colombia
es totalmente voluntaria. Puedo terminar mi cooperación en cualquier momento y obtener
la información que he proporcionado la espalda, o que se lo retiren de una base de datos, o
lo han destruido.

Los siguientes temas han sido explicados:

1. El objetivo de esta investigación es
Para saber qué capacidades de los niños encuentran más importante
La participación en esta investigación dará una visión más clara
Lo que los niños priorizar el fin de fomentar su felicidad y el desarrollo

2. Se hacen preguntas acerca
Información personal básica y opiniones sobre las capacidades

3. Mi participación tomará alrededor de 30 minutos. Al final de la recogida de datos, el
investigador va a explicar lo que la investigación estaba a punto.

4. La información obtenida de la investigación será tratada de manera confidencial y
anónima. Por lo tanto, la información proporcionada por los participantes no se remonta a
un individuo.

5. El investigador va a responder a todas las preguntas durante o en el curso ulterior de esta
investigación.

Fecha: 19-08-2016
Firma del investigador:

Fecha: 19-08-2016
Firma del participante:
Apéndice 4: Formulario de Consentimiento Informado

PINTANDO CAMINOS ASOCIACION PARA RECREAR EL FUTURO

por la presente declaran a participar en una investigación llevada a cabo por

(nombre del investigador)

Doutsen Punter

Soy consciente de que la participación en la investigación con el título Las capacidades y los niños en Colombia es totalmente voluntaria. Puedo terminar mi cooperación en cualquier momento y obtener la información que he proporcionado la espalda, o que se lo retiren de una base de datos, o lo han destruido.

Los siguientes temas han sido explicados:

1. El objetivo de esta investigación es

Para saber qué capacidades de los niños encuentran más importante
La participación en esta investigación dará una visión más clara
Lo que los niños priorizar el fin de fomentar su felicidad y el desarrollo

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5. El investigador va a responder a todas las preguntas durante o en el curso ulterior de esta investigación.

Fecha: 15-09-2016
Firma del investigador: [Firma]

Fecha: 15-09-2016
Firma del participante: [Firma]
Apéndice 4: Formulario de Consentimiento Informado

Yo (Loco Parentis)

por la presente declaran a participar en una investigación llevada a cabo por

(nombre del investigador)

Doutsen Punter

Soy consciente de que la participación en la investigación con el título

Las capacidades y los niños en Colombia

es totalmente voluntaria. Puedo terminar mi cooperación en cualquier momento y obtener la información que he proporcionado la espalda, o que se lo retiren de una base de datos, o lo han destruido.

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5. El investigador va a responder a todas las preguntas durante o en el curso ulterior de esta investigación.

Fecha: 3-09-2016

Firma del investigador:

Fecha: 3-09-2016

Firma del participante:
Apéndice 4: Formulario de Consentimiento Informado

Yo (Loço Parentis)

Doutsen Punter

por la presente declaran a participar en una investigación llevada a cabo por

(nombre del investigador)

Soy consciente de que la participación en la investigación con el título

Las capacidades y los niños en Colombia

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5. El investigador va a responder a todas las preguntas durante o en el curso ulterior de esta investigación.

Fecha: 7-3-2016

Firma del investigador:

Fecha: 7-3-2016

Firma del participante:
Apéndice 4: Formulario de Consentimiento Informado

Yo (Loco Parentís)

José Nivelso Arias Martínez

por la presente declaran a participar en una investigación llevada a cabo por

(nombre del investigador)
Doutsen Punter

Soy consciente de que la participación en la investigación con el título

Las capacidades y los niños en Colombia

es totalmente voluntaria. Puedo terminar mi cooperación en cualquier momento y obtener la información que he proporcionado la espalda, o que se lo retiren de una base de datos, o lo han destruido.

Los siguientes temas han sido explicados:

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4. La información obtenida de la investigación será tratada de manera confidencial y anónima. Por lo tanto, la información proporcionada por los participantes no se remonta a un individuo.

5. El investigador va a responder a todas las preguntas durante o en el curso ulterior de esta investigación.

Fecha: 3-9-2016

Firma del investigador:

Fecha: 3-9-2016

Firma del participante:
9.3 Semi-structured Interviews

Preguntas para los adultos, Merquemos Juntos

1) ¿Puede contarme un poco sobre usted?
   - ¿Qué edad tiene?
   - ¿Cuál es su profesión/ocupación actual?
   - ¿De dónde es?
   - ¿Dónde vive en este momento?
   - ¿Cómo era la composición de su familia cuando era más joven?
   - ¿Cómo es la composición de su familia ahora?

2) ¿Puede decirme algo sobre el contexto en el que usted creció? ¿Hubo algo en particular de lo que careció cuando durante su niñez?

3) ¿Cuándo y cómo conoció a Merquemos Juntos por primera vez?

4) ¿Qué edad tenía entonces?

5) ¿Cómo fue su experiencia en los encuentros con Merquemos Juntos?

6) ¿Hasta qué punto cree que influyó sobre su bienestar cuando era niño?

7) ¿Y de qué manera influyó sobre su bienestar?

8) ¿Hasta qué punto cree que lo ayudó a definir su futuro?

9) ¿Cuáles son las cosas más importantes que le enseñó o con las que le ayudó Merquemos Juntos?

10) ¿Recuerdas si a los niños se les escuchaba en el programa? ¿Se les escuchaba si estaban en desacuerdo con algo? ¿Las decisiones relacionadas con los niños se explicaban suficientemente?

11) ¿Hay mecanismos de evaluación? ¿Hay diálogos para que los niños y los adultos discutan la situación y lo que piensan del programa? ¿O nunca hubo necesidad de hacerlo?

12) ¿Puede contarnos un recuerdo de la infancia relacionado con Merquemos Juntos que tuvo un impacto significativo en usted?

13) ¿Qué desea usted para esta comunidad?
### 9.4 ERIC Guidelines

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Answer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Is the purpose of the research clearly defined?</td>
<td>To what extent do the researched organizations provide support to children in violent prone urban areas based upon the capabilities that children themselves deem most important for their well-being and development?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Will the research contribute new knowledge?</td>
<td>Yes, it will highlight how children are involved in programs in these areas, and whether the goals of children and adults align in the design of the program. If they don’t align, this means that the programs should be adjusted because they don’t address the needs of the child.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What new knowledge will children contribute?</td>
<td>They will highlight what they find most important in their own context.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How have you ensured that the information being sought is not available elsewhere?</td>
<td>Yes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Is children participation in the research necessary or can the information be obtained in other ways?</td>
<td>It is highly preferred. If not possible, I have to rely on the information of adults which does take away the agency aspect of children in my thesis.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What steps have you taken to maximize protection of participating children and their communities from being over/ and under researched?</td>
<td>There are no particular steps.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Who are the likely users of your research and in what ways have you taken into account the possibility that your research findings could be misused?</td>
<td>Maybe humanitarians, but most of all my supervisor and NOHA. I would not know how my results can be misused.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Does the research enhance children’s participation and other rights?</td>
<td>Definitely participation, respect.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How will children benefit from this research?</td>
<td>If it turns out that the programs need some adjustment to align with the children’s needs, then the child could enjoy a better suited program if the organizations take this advice to heart.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What steps can be taken to include marginalised/hard to reach children in research?</td>
<td>I reach out to organizations that are working in areas with marginalized children. I ask them in advance whether this group is included in their beneficiaries. More I cannot do due to limited access and safety issues.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What would be the likely benefits for the individual child participating in the research?</td>
<td>The child can start thinking about the role of the organization in its life and what he/she finds most important in life.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What form will children’s involvement in the research take?</td>
<td>The children will fill in a survey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question</td>
<td>Answer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Can children be involved in the planning of the proposed research? If so, what strategies will you use to facilitate this?</td>
<td>Not really. But in the survey I give them the opportunity to express whatever they feel is not included in the survey.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Are any children to be excluded?</td>
<td>Children younger than 8 are excluded.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• If any children will not be included, on what basis will they be excluded and why? (For example, on the basis of their age, gender, sexuality, culture, ethnicity, disability, language, and/or family structure, mental health and well-being status? And/or for nonchild specific reasons such as scope of the study, methodological choices, or financial, geographical or other constraints?)</td>
<td>As stated above, they will be excluded because they are too young.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Are there any identifiable risks for the children?</td>
<td>No there are not. The information they fill in will solely be reviewed by me. No one else can trace back who wrote it. Moreover the information they give is not dangerous.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What plans can be made to reduce this risks?</td>
<td>Make sure I see which adults are around the room and what children see with each other’s answers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Are there children whose particular circumstances place them at high risk? If yes, who are they and why?</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What arrangements do you need to make to support children who become distressed or who disclose sensitive information?</td>
<td>If sensitive information is reported, I will report this to the organization.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What actions will you need to take to respond appropriately if a child discloses harm or abuse?</td>
<td>I solely inform the organization and discuss the situation with them.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How will you find out what community and/or professional resources and services are available to children if needed?</td>
<td>I believe I would not be in the position to arrange this due to my limited knowledge of the language. I would carefully seek contact persons and ask them what the process will further look like.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What possible stigma may attach to children if they participate in the research?</td>
<td>None as far as the organizations and I could rationalize</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What information do children need to enable them to consider giving their consent? (For example, in relation to participation, methods of data collection, dissemination etc.)</td>
<td>They solely need to know the aim of my studies, what kind of information is asked, the time it will take and who will have access to the information</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How will you tell children about the study, ensuring that the information is age and context specific?</td>
<td>I explain my aim to people bound to the organization with English knowledge, who can then translate it in Spanish for them and who are familiar with the children and their skills.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question</td>
<td>Response</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Will you provide written information for children? If so, why?</td>
<td>The first page of the survey explains the survey and explains that they don’t have to fill in anything they don’t want. Extra explanation and to make sure they know it is not mandatory to participate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What procedures have been put in place to prevent children being coerced to participate?</td>
<td>I ensure the children continuously that they don’t have to participate, and it is their choice to answer what they want.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How will you communicate the decision to include or exclude children to them?</td>
<td>I already informed children younger than 8 that there will be a too big range. They got to fill in the rest of the survey if they wanted to, but they could keep it themselves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What are your own values, assumptions and beliefs about: Children? Childhood? Their place in research? The context in which the children live?</td>
<td>My own assumptions is that children are youngsters till 17. I want them to have a prominent place in the research because I want to promote the opinion and voice of the child. I believe the context in which they live is marginalized economically and socially.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How will these shape the decisions you make about the research process?</td>
<td>It determines the areas I target and the children that get to participate.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How do your understandings of culture (generally and in relation to the local cultural context) impact on the decisions you make in planning and preparing to do the research?</td>
<td>The survey is pretty generic. I cannot estimate which things will be most important for children in this area, this is why I give them the opportunity to give comments with every section and encourage them to do so beforehand.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What do you imagine might change as a result of involving children in the research?</td>
<td>I don’t understand.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What beneficial outcomes will there be for children (both individual child participants and children as a social group) as a result of your research?</td>
<td>It will demonstrate the values children appreciate and organizations appreciate. It might show extra things organizations can address for the children to fit the programs more to their needs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What do you know about the children you wish to involve?</td>
<td>Very little. I know that they have little chances in the areas they grow up. Due to this, children might feel that they voluntarily join gangs in order to make something of their life. I know these children have to grow up very fast due to the circumstances they grow up in.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do you have the necessary skills (technical and interpersonal) to involve the children in research (including, for example, skills in facilitating respectful conversations and knowledge related to children’s ages and evolving capacities)?</td>
<td>I have worked with children of different ages before. Therefore I know how to conduct myself. The people who support me also work with children so know how to conduct themselves as well.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do you have support and supervisory relationships in place (for example, with experienced researchers, relevant local groups, local child protection experts, local</td>
<td>I have the support of all organizations and discuss in advance what I will do with the children. I do not have a supervisor at the place but am very aware of my situation and</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Experts in the Field of Research

**Act accordingly.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Are you aware of the local legal definitions and regulations relevant to your research, for example, the definition of adult or emancipated minor, the legal age for employment, requirements regarding child abuse reporting?</td>
<td>Not all these things are known to me. But I know the legal age to work and have read the children’s law of Colombia.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Have you considered, and sought appropriate advice, as to how you will respond if you become aware that children are breaking the law?</td>
<td>I have not considered this. But Colombia is a difficult context in which what is lawful and unlawful is often intertwined. Moreover, people who live in these areas have to bend the law to a certain extent to survive; I will not make any judgement about this as it is not my place.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What means (or methods) will you use to help address the power difference that exists between you and children, and between you and other family and community members?</td>
<td>I will present myself with uppermost humility. I praise the work of organizations, try to silently participate where I can and make sure that I tell them that they are the experts with these children in these context and that I appreciate any comments and help.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Which adults, young people and children, if any, do you need to meet in the family or local community in order to understand the needs and rights of the children involved?</td>
<td>The needs and the rights of the children are well documented. I get more context from the survey answers and the organizations.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whose consent do you need for children to be involved?</td>
<td>I need the loco parentis for them to fill in the survey.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What are the responsibilities of parents with regard to the research?</td>
<td>There are none in this research.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Have the expected benefits of children’s participation been clearly explained to the parents?</td>
<td>No they have not. Since the survey will address the feelings of the child and its relation to the organization, parents are not an active subject of this survey.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What information do parents need to have to be able to make informed decisions and to support their children in research participation?</td>
<td>They do not need any information. The children are provided with contact information. Thus, if parents wish they could contact concerning participation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Have you consulted all related community and stakeholder groups regarding the involvement/exclusion of children and the nature of the research?</td>
<td>The research solely concerns the child’s feelings and relation to the organization. Both actors are consulted.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Are you able to incorporate any community and stakeholder feedback into your research and/or respond to concerns?</td>
<td>I am. This is what I am doing with the first discussion and to make sure they can contact me about the research in any situation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How have you ensured that the community groups and stakeholders understand the research questions and process?</td>
<td>Yes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How have you ensured that there are not unrealistically-raised expectations of the outcomes of the research?</td>
<td>I have told every organization that this thesis is solely for my MA thesis, and that the only persons who have direct access to the data are me and my supervisor. I have told them...</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
that any further research based upon this is unlikely and that the biggest gain will be to
discover the wishes of children and their idea of the program.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>What resources (funding, time, staff, equipment etc.) are necessary to</td>
<td>All resources are available. Only time could be more, but it can be</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>undertake the research and are these readily available? If not, is there</td>
<td>managed within this time.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a plan for how these will be obtained/managed?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Does this study require ethics approval? If so, from whom and who</td>
<td>Yes it does. The NOHA ethics board.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>determines this?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How have you engaged with the Ethics Committee / Institutional Research</td>
<td>Yes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Board?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>After gaining formal ethics approval, how will you ensure that ethical</td>
<td>By constantly reviewing my methods, interaction and review my conduct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>standards are adhered to throughout the research process, by you and</td>
<td>during the surveys.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>your research team?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What risks, if any, are there for you in undertaking the research?</td>
<td>None as far as I have discussed with the organizations. Some safety</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>measures have been taken due to access, but these are very secure.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What will you do to manage these risks?</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What supports are available to you?</td>
<td>The organizations themselves and their contact persons. My thesis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>supervisor and my contact person at the university in Bogotá.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>