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Young People´s life in the country:
a view from the Human Capability Approach

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Introduction

This presentation provides an overview of a project developed during 2014-2015 with young people between 18 and 28 years old, who live in the southern suburbs of Greater Buenos Aires, applying a scale that measures the levels of satisfaction with life in the country (ESCVP, Tonon, 2009-2011) that considers the HC Approach.

The focus on *human capabilities* proposed by Sen (1990, p. 3) differs from the traditionally utilitarian assessment applied to the study of welfare, since it considers a variety of actions and human states, insofar as they are important themselves and not only in relation to utility. This focus considers the relevance of the differences in the way people satisfy their needs, centering all attention in the fact that the same persons may require different resources to achieve the development of the same liberties. Thus, a person acts and elicits changes leading to achievements which can be assessed according to their own values and aims, independent from external assessment criteria, therefore introducing the concept of human agency (Sen, 2000, p.34).

We used the ESCVP (Scale of satisfaction with life in the country, Tonon, 2009-2011) that is a scale with 5 points with 1 corresponding to "totally dissatisfied" and 5 to "totally satisfied." The scale was developed with the national situation in mind and some of the indicators are based in the Human Capabilities Approach. The survey instrument contains different items related to satisfaction with the quality of life in the country, street safety, the preservation of the environment, the State

health system, the State educational system, job opportunities, the possibility of home ownership, the national economic situation, social security, government policies in relation to citizen needs, the transparency of government decisions, government social welfare programs, government assistance in emergency situations, tax system, political freedom, care of public places, respect of cultural diversity, and respect of religious diversity.

The hypothesis of the present research is that young people´s level of satisfaction with the different dimensions of life in the country shows a medium level only excelled by variables related to the concepts of respect and freedom. The data obtained confirm the hypothesis but at the same time showed another significant results.

Finally it is interesting to say that differences in the answers between gender are not significant in this case.

1. Satisfaction with life in the country: The ESCVP (Scale Satisfaction with Life in the Country, Tonon 2009-2011)

Traditionally, when working with indicators, the interest has been focused on obtaining generalizations and, in most cases, the latter have been presented as isolated from their socio-historical context of development. Nevertheless, in the last decades, there has been a tendency towards the construction of indicators, by region, generating an outlook that may integrate economic-political-cultural-social aspects.

The construction of indicators to measure *human capabilities* is not an easy work. Some *capabilities* are more difficult to measure than others, and the attempts to include them in an indicator may conceal, rather than reveal, information (Sen, 2000, p. 107). Further, there arises a need for reflection on the concept of "operationalization", defined by Lazarsfeld (1973, p.1) as the process of passing from one concept to the indicators, as a means of transforming theoretical notions into defined research operations.

First of all we have to explain that satisfaction with life in the country, require us to point out that this concept is not a synonym of satisfaction with democracy (Tonon, 2014).

Satisfaction with democracy is a term that emerges (Wagner et al, 2006 quoted in Tonon, 2014) from the consideration of a discrepancy between the way democracy should function (theoretical level) and the way it actually functions (practical level), i.e. that it does not simply refer to the citizens' opinion on whether they do or do not adhere to democratic principles, but to the way in which they experience the functioning of democracy in their everyday lives.

Thus, satisfaction with life in the country refers to the way people feel and their opinion of the lives they lead in their countries. In that respect, Veenhoven (1994, p. 4) defined life satisfaction as "the degree at which people assess their global quality of life as a whole and in a positive way; in other words, when people are pleased with the lives they lead".

The *Scale Satisfaction with Life the Country* (ESCVP, Tonon, 2009-2011), is an instrument containing phrases which measure a range that goes from 0 (completely dissatisfied) to 5 (completely satisfied). The scale was originally written in Spanish, though its first edition was in English in 2011(Tonon, 2011) and its theoretical explanation being edited in Tonon (2012).

Its theoretical support on the theoretical proposition of human capabilities sustained by Sen (2000) particularly on the instrumental freedoms which the author defines as: political freedoms, economic services, social opportunities, transparency guarantees, and protective securities. Regarding social opportunities, the author refers to educational and health systems in each society. Political freedoms involve human rights, the right to political expression, the right to vote, and to take part in the legislative and executive powers. He conceives economic services as the opportunities people have of making use of economic resources in order to consume, produce, or interchange. As to transparency guarantees, he points out the necessary frankness people might expect, and the freedom to interrelate, with the certainty that the information will be divulged and made clear; such guarantees shall fulfil a fundamental role in the prevention of corruption. To conclude, he defines protective security as a stable social protection network, i.e. fixed institutional

mechanisms (such as unemployment benefit), and the extraordinary assistance provided to citizens by the government (Tonon, 2008, pp. 41-42).

At the same time the scale´s theoretical support includes the framework of quality of life and the concept about sustainable democracy that considers that the practice of citizens rights needed effective social conditions, for example the possibility of having a house and a job (Przeworski,1998) .

The scale was constructed considering the analysis of research projects previously developed by the author, giving importance to this kind of variables first used and showed interesting results in the country, and including other specific variables constructed to measure some phenomena detected as social problems.

The instrument contains different variables that inquire about satisfaction with:

quality of life in the country,

street safety conditions in daily life,

preservation of the environment,

State Health System

access to State Health System

State Educational System

access to State Educational System

opportunities to have a job

possibilities of having an own house

national economic situation

national financial security

government decisions in relation with population needs

transparency of government decisions

government social assistance plans

assistance government give people in emergency situations

national tax system

political freedoms

people care of public places

people respect to cultural diversity

people respect to religious diversity

2. Results of the study : Young people living at the Greater Buenos Aires.

During 2014-2015 we developed a research project to gather perspectives from 443 young people between 18 and 28 years of age, males and females, living in different quarters of the southern suburban zone of Greater Buenos Aires.

Greater Buenos Aires is a geographical area which surrounds the country's capital (Autonomous City of Buenos Aires), and it is characterized by extreme economic and social situations; it is formed by neighbourhoods which show clear signs of poverty, as well as a few gated communities of a high purchasing power. It consists of 24 districts and 9.916.715 (INDEC,2010) people live there, 1.802.483 from 18 to 28 years old. The total population of the country is 40.117.096 (INDEC, 2010).

The hypothesis of the present research is that young people´s level of satisfaction with the different dimensions of life in the country shows a medium level only excelled by variables related to the concepts of respect and freedom. The data obtained confirm the hypothesis but at the same time showed another significant results.

Regarding the application of the ESCVP (Tonon, 2009-2011) its use shows 0,931 by Cronbach's Alpha, indicating a high level of reliability.

The results show that male and female young people selected the option of medium for all the variables (ranging from a minimum of 2.14/5 to a maximum of 3.35).

It may be pointed out that the five variables graded higher than 3/5 are the following:
- Satisfaction with their access to the public educational system (3,35),
- Satisfaction with political freedoms (3,33),

- Satisfaction with the respect for cultural diversities (3,12),

- Satisfaction with the public educational system (3,07),

- Satisfaction with government assistance (3,01)

- The satisfaction with the State Educational System was the one with the highest result: 3,35 and Satisfaction with the public educational system has the fourth place with 3,07,   these two indicators are related with "education". We consider education as one of the instances of construction of citizenship and as strategy of improvement of people´s quality of life (Tonon, 2005, p. 97). Education in not only associated with the extension of the future possibilities of insertion on the labor market, but it conforms one of the routes of accomplishment of the personal life and in community (Tonon, 2012, p. 26). In this respect we coincide with Freire (2002, p. 94) when he says that the education is fundamentally a political act. Regarding education, we shall refer to Meza Rueda (1999,p. 95) who considers it, not as mere individual property but as something that owns a community essence , for it is through education that the community impresses a social character on its members. In that respect, in our particular case, it is important to point out that access to education at all levels (pre-school, primary, secondary, university) is free in Argentina in educational institutions known as public/state, although there are also private educational institutions (mostly confessional Catholic) of all levels, which receive economic help from the state.

The respect to political freedom is the second variable with the highest result (3,33) and in coincidence with Sen (2000) we consider the human rights and the opportunities that people have to decide the one who must govern them, to be able to express politically, criticize the authorities, as well as the right to vote, to being voted and to taking part in the legislative and executive branches.

Respect for religious and cultural diversity obtain a 3,12 medium at the scale and goes beyond the discussion as far as the State is concerned, incorporating the civil society, acknowledged as an active subject in the process of construction of inclusive societies. In this sense we coincide with Max Neef et al (1986, p. 49) who points out that diversity is the best way to stimulate the creative and synergic potentialities that exist in every society, bearing in mind that unity can become firmer if participation is encouraged in a context of diversity.

Satisfaction with government assistance obtained a medium of 3,01 at the scale. Concerning the social protection system, Sen (2000) defines it as a stable social protective network, i.e. the fixed institutional mechanisms and extraordinary assistance offered by the government in cases of emergency. Yet, Sen (2000,p.197) believes that democratic institutions ought not to be regarded as mechanical resources to achieve development; it should be remembered that these institutions depend on the use given to the opportunities of participation that they themselves offer, as well as on the formation of values in a society. In today's democracies, citizens expect to enjoy both political and social rights, thus giving way to the concept of social citizenry which requires that security and opportunities should be shared by everyone (Przeworski, 1998).

The young people in our study (443 male and female) show a medium level of satisfaction (7.24) with their lives - based on a 0/10 scale in which 0 stands for completely dissatisfied and 10 stands for completely satisfied - thus indicating a medium to high level of satisfaction with their lives. It should be noted that the question posed regarding their lives in general terms leads people to connect with a feeling of what is going on, rather than with a cognitive assessment.

Furthermore, 44.9% claimed to have been feeling better at the time when they were given the questionnaire than they were the year before, and 86% added that they looked forward to an improvement of their personal situations, in the next 5 years, which indicates a positive outlook on the future. In this respect, it ought to be pointed out that people's model of the future sets the basis for new objectives, to draw action plans, to explore options, and establish commitments (Bandura, 2001; Nurmi 1991).

Regarding satisfaction with life in the community , the average response in male and female young people showed a level of 6.41/10, though their level of life satisfaction had been (as aforementioned) of 7.24/10; which shows that, in this case, their life satisfaction is superior to their level of satisfaction with life in the community.

This idea is rounded off by the responses related to their satisfaction with the neighbours which obtained an average of 5.39/10 (on a 0/10 scale in which 0 stands for completely dissatisfied, and 10 for completely satisfied), thus showing a medium to low level of satisfaction. Hence, this

response might be interpreted according to the conception of change in social cohabitation described by Lechner (2002, p.110) who characterized it, at the birth of the XXI century, as being based on more flexible social relations which generate a fainter and more fragile social interaction and show a change in people's representations of society, so that the latter ceases to be a coherent and cohesive body to become a place where everything is possible and nothing is certain, and where it is not easy to feel part of a subjective well-being.

The male and female young people's participation in community organizations was analyzed according to Gottlieb (1981, p. 32) who states that the macro level of social support is centred in social participation and integration and is related to the way in which people become involved in voluntary associations, and in informal social life in their communities. The concepts expressed by Lin (1986, p.19) have likewise been taken into account when the author points out that participation in voluntary organizations indicates people's average of participation in a broader context. In this case, the responses show that only 8.2% of the subjects consulted form part of a group within a community organization and that, 70% of that amount, belong to socio-political organizations and 30% to religious organizations.

In this respect, participation is related to another question we have posed to young people regarding whether their neighbours had ever organized themselves in order to solve a community problem, to which only 44.4% replied affirmatively. Likewise Bramston, Pretty and Chipuer (2002) pointed out that there are two vital elements for community well-being which are community cohesion and a feeling of belonging to the community.

Regarding inter-personal help relationships in the community scenario, young people's responses show that, in 57.9% of the cases, community members help each other at a personal level when faced with a problem - a higher percentage than the one obtained in the previous question, as far as neighbour organization is concerned in relation to the solving of community problems. Laireter and Bauman (1992) have already pointed out the importance of being in contact with neighbours, as well as having friends or acquaintances in the neighbourhood. Moreover, these situations make reference to the concept of social support defined by Lin (1986) as expressive or

instrumental provisions provided by the community, together with the social networks and intimate family relations.

I have also enquired about the existence of communal meeting places in the neighbourhood, and obtained a positive response from 43.1% of the young people under study.

The variable with lower results was "Street safety in daily life" :2,25/5. Authors like Borja (2003) indicate that the urban insecurity can be considered to be a sign of social alert, whit contradiction related to socialization of the urban space that it is usable for the great majority of the population and the exclusion or the poor economic and cultural integration of social groups that occupy the city but cannot use his fundamentally commercial offers (Borja, 1998, p 5 in Tonon, 2012, p. 27).

Finally it is interesting to say that differences in the answers between gender are not significant in this case.

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Diversity in participation experiences in children and youth: a discussion of Human Rights-Based Approach and the Capability Approach through the case of National Commission for the Rights of Children and Youth in Peru.

Preliminary version, please do not quote.

Silvia Espinal Meza[1]

Abstract

The aim of this paper is to present a discussion between the Human Rights-Based Approach (HRBA) and the Capability Approach (CA) for understanding agency and participation through the experience of the National Commission for the Rights of Children and Youth in Peru (known in Spanish as CONADENNA). Even though these two theoretical frameworks have differences, we can summarize a synergetic vision to assess the process of participation in a group of Peruvian children and youth who are members of CONADENNA.

CONADENNA started in 1994 as an initiative of UNICEF, Save the Children and other organizations in Peru, whose main objective is to stimulate children's and youth's participation and their exercise of rights in different public spheres around the country. After more than twenty years working for this purpose, it is interesting to analyze how CONADENNA implement their activities and how children understand this vision. But, is it enough to promote children's participation? What about agency?

Although CONADENNA works under the HRBA, the contributions of CA is relevant not only in order to identify what are the differences between the two approaches but what are the synergies and elements who can improve the intervention of CONADENNA in Peru. Thus, the present paper discusses the theoretical frameworks and analyzes the experience of five children and youth who have been part of CONADENNA in the last five years. Through qualitative participatory methods such as interviews, Focus Groups, and drawings, the research argues, amongst other issues, how CONADENNA promotes participation, the most important capabilities that children and youth value in different stages and the changes in their lives during these five years. Also, the study includes questions about agency and how children and youth imagine and conceive this concept. As a result, the first findings suggest synergies between "capabilities" and "rights" and contribute to understanding diversity and different perspectives of participation in this Peruvian collective.

Keywords: Children's participation, agency, Capability Approach, Human Rights-Based Approach, Peruvian children and youth

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1. Why focus on children and youth? Development and childhood

Childhood and adolescence are crucial periods of life where human people acquire different abilities, skills, emotional security and begin the process of development. In other words, it is impossible to talk about development if we do not observe these important stages in our lives. That means a key consideration: well-being or deprivation in adulthood have a deep relationship with development process during our childhood and adolescence. For these reasons, children and youth are actors whose role is crucial to define the pathways and quality of life in the future.

However, historically children and youth have been considered in a passive role or "incapable" to express their own views and opinions into a society where adults exercise power relationships and consider them – still – as a "recipient" of development. Thus, their status trough the history involves hierarchies and inequalities because of political, economic and sociocultural constraints. Fortunately, this vision has been changing through the contributions of disciplines such as Sociology of Childhood where children are considered as "social actor" and "agent" with abilities and capacities to express their voices and make decisions according to their age and process of maturity (James et al, 1998; Gaitán, 2006).

Hence, from disciplines such as Psychology, Sociology of Childhood, among others, childhood and adolescence represent crucial periods of time where human people acquire a set of abilities and may exercise freedom in different spaces and situations that influence over adulthood. In this particular, frameworks developed by Anthony Giddens, emphasize the important role of the subject and the society (social structure). According to this Sociologist, the actor follows rules and have resources which are provided by the social structure while this social system constrains his/her action, but the subject also refreshes the system through his/her practice. Thus, the subject is an agent who has the possibility to impact and make changes in different contexts. (Giddens, 1986). Meanwhile, Psychology of Piaget considers the importance of the environment in a deep dialogue with children, where these latest plays a crucial role in their own development. (Hogan, 2004)

But the Capability Approach (CA), developed by Amartya Sen, Martha Nussbaum and other important academics, highlights the role of people at the center of development, where each person have the possibility to lead the kind of life he or she has reason to value (Sen, 2000). In this sense, CA seeks the promotion of active role where children and youth exercise their freedoms and choose the kind of life that they value. However, what are the progress and challenges related to children and youth's voices?

2. UNCRC: A child as a "subject of rights"…is it enough? Contributions of the Capability Approach

During the twentieth century, different social movements struggled for the recognition of rights in favor of children and youth. Thus, the United Nations Convention of Children's rights (UNCRC, 1989) meant an important shift in children's view and the responsibilities of the states under this commitment. Since this framework, all the states who signature the Convention guarantee children's rights in fields like education, health, identity, protection against violence, among others rights.

In this way, children are considering as a "subject of right", that means an important shift in the historical vision about the "incapable person", "incomplete" or "becoming an adult". So, children and youth must demand their rights as active actors and exercise their rights in different spheres. But is it enough to have the set of rights? What about voice and participation? In this sense, the UNCRC contains a set rights related to voice and opinions. For example Article 12 mentions:

"States Parties shall assure to the child who is capable of forming his or her own views the right to express those views freely in all matters affecting the child, the views of the child being given due weight in accordance with the age and maturity of the child. For this purpose, the child shall in particular be provided the opportunity to be heard in any judicial and administrative proceedings affecting the child, either directly, or through a representative or an appropriate body, in a manner consistent with the procedural rules of national law" (UNCRC, 1989)

Thus, this article highlights the right of children and youth to express and socialize their demands and concerns about topics that they consider important and the adult's responsibility to hear and take account children's opinions. In the same way, articles 13, 14, 15, 17 and 30 emphasize the right of children to access to information from the mass media and different means of communication. However, according to Stoecklin and Bonvin, although the UNCRC does not contain the concept of "social actor", this concept is used as equivalent with "subject of rights" as part of literature and documents about children's rights and participation. But, they express different meanings. Precisely, at this moment, the contributions and relevance of Capability Approachj (CA) show us that the right to participation for children and youth implies *"the combination of individual skills and available opportunities in the environment. The observation reveals that there is a gap between the child's legal status (subject of rights) and his/her social status (social actor) regarding participation in decision-making. The question is: how can these rights, considered as formal freedoms, be translated into real freedoms? What individual and social factors favour or impede the conversion of these rights into capabilities?"* (Stoecklin and Bonvin, 2014: 66)

Consequently, the CA takes account the conversion factors and the freedom of children and youth to choose between different options in order to exercise the right of participation. So, the UNCRC represents a historical achievement, but it is necessary to go beyond this Convention and its formal level in order to present a broad approach to understanding the meaning of participation in

the field of actions and constrains: society. Following Ballet, *"CA still provides a more comprehensive framework for analysing and interpreting child development and well-being, as it allows us to explore the consequences of promoting rights."* (Ballet et al, 2011: 39)

Moreover, "agency" implies a set of concepts and tools from the CA which capture the multidimensional and diversity contexts all over the world. Thus, the model of "evolving capabilities" developed by Biggeri and Santi (2012) presents an interesting scheme where children are at the center of the development process. In this line, the authors emphasize the idea proposed by Stoeckin and Bonvin (2014): the ability of children to transform resources into capabilities and functionings. Certainly, this transformation depends on capabilities of adults (parents, teachers, caregivers, etc.) and the conversion factors like education, health, and public policies in the social context. Thus, as we mentioned in previous lines, all the characteristics in children's process of participation take account their level of maturity and age.

However, how can build a bridge between the Human Rights Approach and the Capability Approach? These reflections will be present in the next section.

3. Human Rights-Based Approach and Capability Approach: synergies to understand children's participation

The UNCRC represents a historical commitment to promoting children's rights in order to break the hierarchies and power relationships where children and youth are considered as a "becoming" but not as a "being". In this sense, the UNCRC and the states are developing actions to fulfillment children's rights all over the world. However, as we mentioned previously, for authors like Stoecklin and Bonvin (2014) these actions rely on the formal level, because the Human Rights Approach (HRA) comprises a set of rights and duties, but does not suppose automatically that children and youth will be "social actors" and "agents".

Precisely, CA presents a normative framework to evaluate well-being in human people to lead the life that they value over an ethical base, whose purpose is "human flourishing" (Nussbaum, 2011). Following Biggeri and Karkara (2014), the emphasis on well-being's multidimensionality is a crucial factor of the CA, especially in the case of children. Thus, a broad framework takes account the multidimensionality and diversity of childhood and adolescence all over the world. Meanwhile, HRA and the UNCRC reproduce a paternalistic vision of children and youth, where they see – still – as passive actors by adults. Although HRA has a deep commitment to advocacy, awareness, and fulfillment of children's rights, the CA considers values and aspirations of children in a bottom-up manner and implies flexibility and adaptation to different complexities and diversity in societal contexts (Biggeri and Karkara, 2014).

Thus, CA captures the dynamic of children's process through a model of "evolving capabilities" (Ballet, 2011; Biggeri and Santi, 2012) where appeared the "opportunity" concept, "capacity"

concept and the "agency" concept. In the scheme, children have a set of resources ("entitlements") to convert into capabilities and functionings. Here, the authors highlight the importance of conversion factors (social, political, cultural and economic constraints) and the role of actors such as parents, caregivers, tutors, teachers, among others, whose capabilities have a deep relationship with the children's capabilities. All this process is mediated trough feedback loops that affect potential capability set of children and can expand or reduce their agency. (Biggeri and Karkara, 2014).

Nevertheless, Nussbaum considers that HRA and CA have a deep relationship because the "capabilities of my list overlap substantially with the human rights recognized in the Universal Declaration and other human rights instruments" (Nussbaum, 2011: 62). In this sense, Biggeri and Karkara elaborated an interesting chart where they show us how can complement the CA and the HRA. For the objectives of this paper, the articles related to voice and participation corresponds to the list of children's capabilities domains: participation.

Therefore, the bridge between HRA and the CA recognize us the importance of formal advocacy, guarantee and duties in order to ensure children's rights. But it is also crucial to take account the field of exercise of rights because break paternalistic vision of children and youth suppose the creation of opportunities to expand levels of agency according to their age and the level of maturity. Thus, participation process implies a *"process of sharing decisions that affect one's life and – in a broader sense – the dynamics of the community individuals live in. We argue that participation is not only a right ("right to participate"), it is also central for the process and agency freedom and it is instrumental to capabilities expansion and facilitating the fulfillment of the rights."* (Biggeri and Karkara, 2014: 29).

Following this definition, the present paper presents the progress of research with a group of children and youth in Peru trough the case of a national collective for children's rights: CONADENNA (National Commission for the Rights of Children and Youth in Peru). This collective started in 1994 and have been working on children's participation supported by UNICEF, Plan International, Save the Children and other NGO's who have a deep commitment to the advocacy and fulfillment of children and youth's rights.

Although CONADENNA works under the HRBA, the contributions of CA are relevant not only in order to identify what are the differences between the two approaches but what are the synergies and elements that can improve the intervention of CONADENNA in Peru. In this sense, HRBA considers children as a "subject of rights" because, following the UNCRC (1989), they have the right to express a point of view, opinion and deliberate in different spaces. But, as we mentioned, the CA highlights the "opportunity" dimension and discusses how children achieve this right. In other words, the CA assess the process of freedom where children can choose between different options and the influence of "conversion factors" in this process such as family, school, CONADENNA, etc. Thus, CA takes into account children as a "social actor" and, for these reasons,

authors like Stoecklin and Bonvin (2014), consider a gap between "formal liberties" (rights) and "real freedoms" (capabilities).

So, it is possible to construct a synergetic vision where "rights" and "capabilities" appear in a whole scheme that gathers the experience of children and youth through the case of CONADENNA. So, after more than twenty years working for this purpose, it is interesting to analyze how CONADENNA implement their activities and how children and youth understand this vision.

4. Methodology

Operationalization in the CA does not suppose an easy task because we do not have still enough tools and procedures to develop a methodology that covers all the wellbeing dimensions and identify capabilities in different societies. But, this challenge is quite complex when we focus on children and youth because implies an additional effort to ensure respectful and value childhood culture taking account diversity, gender gaps, ethnic variable, non-participation atmosphere, among others issues in different countries all over the world. However, the evidence results in a pivotal task as Biggeri and Libanora indicate: *"the evaluation and analysis of children's well-being can enrich the informational base for multidimensional social assessments in the space of capabilities. Nevertheless, this requires techniques for identifying, prioritizing, measuring and comparing diverse capability sets in different situations" (Biggeri and Libanora, 2011: 79)*

In line with these criteria and following Sen and Nussbaum, we consider identification and selection of capabilities as part of the important task and should be discuss in a public democratic process (Sen, 2000; Nussbaum, 2011). Thus, our methodology of research makes children and youth's voices visible to the public sphere trough the experience of CONADENNA. Because it is a collective whose main objective is to promote voice and participation of children and youth under HRA, we focus on analyze how this group of five children and youth have been experimented the process of participation following the considerations proposed by Biggeri and Karkara (2014).

In this sense, we put children and youth at the center of our case study. Thus, children and youth are considered as a right-holders as well as social actors – according to their age and maturity – with active voice and critical thinking about the complexities and issues in their society. In the same way, the process of participation and shape of agency recognize the role of different actors and spaces of socialization such as family, parents, teachers, care-givers and the crucial impact of CONADENNA. Furthermore, in order to connect this micro-level with macro-level, the research also focus on public policies related to children and youth in Peru. In other words, first findings show us a set of weak public policies and its resistance to incorporate and legitimate children and youth's voices.

So, in order to make a deep exploration of these dimensions the present research works under qualitative methods. Thus, the investigation is considering three main stages: the first involves a

round of interviews with the national coordinator of CONADENNA, who support children and promote the main objectives of the organization, in order to explore his perceptions and ideas about these issues. This information will be important for the theoretical discussion because will show us the operationalization of the HRBA through the case of this collective. In the same way, we develop a round of interviews with children and youth (five members) to reconstruct the process of participation taking account the list of capabilities proposed by Nussbaum and adapted trough a questionnaire by Arnich, Libanora, Biggeri and Mariani (2011). In a second stage, we will develop a participatory process with children and youth: here, they will construct drawings such as "timeline" and "a typical day" and we ask them (individually) for their main important events and milestones of their life. Definitely, CONADENNA has an important position in this exercise and will be emphasized during the sequence of children's participation. Then, in a third stage, we will implement a focus group where the members of CONADENNA will have a collective discussion to identify the common elements in their "timeline", "a typical day" and "capabilities" to create a shared vision of these issues for childhood and the links with the objectives of CONADENNA. Furthermore, this methodology will include questions about agency and how children and youth imagine and conceive this concept.

For this paper, we will report the preliminary findings as a result of fieldwork with five youth who are part of the collective during the last five years. Three of them have 17 years old and the other two 14 years old. This decision was made because the other children and youth left CONADENNA during the last two years. Furthermore, these five youth have an experience of more than seven years – until now – participating and deliberating in different public spaces around the country. So, we consider their experiences enrich the process of participation and allow us to identify relevant capabilities and pathways since their own voices and aspirations.

5. Main findings

5.1 CONADENNA as a case study: Promoting children's voice and participation in Peru

CONADENNA is a Peruvian collective that started in 1994 as an initiative of UNICEF, Save the Children and other organizations in Peru, whose main objective is to stimulate children's and youth's participation and their exercise of rights in different public spheres around the country. In order to overcome the traditional vision of childhood in a "passive" role or as an incomplete person ("becoming and adult"), CONADENNA has four objectives: promote education, health, protection and participation. To achieve these purposes, the organization develops a range of methodologies such as campaigns, forums, rounds of debates and different activities where children and youth express their voices and own demands. For example, for Peruvian General Elections was celebrated in the country last April, CONADENNA, UNICEF, Save the Children, World Vision and other NGO's developed an interesting campaign called "Vote for children", whose main purpose was persuade candidates to present a set of specific actions in favor of childhood through their government plans. For that, children and youth asked candidates for their proposals in order

to improve education, health, and end violence against childhood in the country. Thus, the campaign promoted participation and involve children and youth in their own development.

During these twenty two years of work with children and youth in Peru, CONADENNA has fulfilled important achievements: a) Democratic elections of delegates in public process who involve the participation of children and youth; this supposes the freedom of children and youth to decide each year who are the delegates and representatives of their voices to debate and negotiate with authorities in the cycle of public policy in Peru; b) Involve children and youth in forums and public meetings with NGO's, Ministers and people who are part of childhood issues; here, members of CONADENNA have been participating and collaborating in the fulfillment of UNCRC and the national plans in order to ensure education, health and children's protection. According to their process of maturity and age, children and youth have been enrolling in these experiences to give an opinion and learn about their own rights and duties; c) Contribution to break power relationships between adults and children through their work taking account the diversity of children and youth in Peru (coast, highland and children from the amazon).

Thus, according to the National Coordinator of CONADENNA, *"our work started with the idea of change this stereotype about children and youth: they are less than adults, they can't express their ideas because they are "only children". Under this consideration, nobody could imagine that CONADENNA achieved this important change. Sure, until now we have the problem because it's difficult to empower children and youth when the State and public policy do not still consider them as valid actors, as people with rights and own demands. They express their own necessities, for example, their idea of public space and environment is totally different from the adult's point of view. They want other things according to their reality, problems and world's vision"* (José Alfredo Chávez, National Coordinator, CONADENNA)

As we notice from the words of the National Coordinator, the collective continues in this important challenge incorporating the voice of children and youth at the center of this purpose. However, CONADENNA has important gaps and problems related to its mission. In this sense, after more than twenty years of work with the cooperation of different NGO's and institutions like UNICEF, Plan International, and Save the Children, the collective do not have a matrix of indicators to observe and evaluate the process of participation and development of their members. So, it implies a lack of tools and procedures to report and generate strong evidence for this process. Furthermore, the economic variable supposes another important challenge because the amount of money has been decreasing during the last six years. According to the National Coordinator:

"That is an important barrier to continuing in our work. Unfortunately, the budget is not enough to attend to the meetings and forums that CONADENNA must be enrolled and take part. For example, to call children and youth from the other regions of Peru, to invest on their accommodation, travels, and other things that we consider crucial..but we don't have money, the priority could be different.... For our collective is so important, because we need to continue in this objective, children (now youth) are the best argument to continue in this mission. They have been experimented changes and radical transformations in their lives, in different levels" (José Alfredo Chávez, National Coordinator, CONADENNA)

Nonetheless, the information and richness of children and youth's voices reveal a sequence of important stages and changes that can observe under the HRA and the CA in order to generate evidence and analysis to strengthen the collective and its mission.

5.2 Youth's voices: "Since CONADENNA childhood perspective is part of all dimensions in my life"

As we mentioned in the previous sections, this paper will present the preliminary findings derived from the interviews with the five youth who are members of CONADENNA and have been enrolled in the collective during the last five years. Following the methodology developed by Biggeri and Libanora (2011) and Arnich, Biggeri, Libanora and Mariani (2011) and taking account the important considerations and key ideas of Sen (2000), Nusbaum (2012; 2014) and Biggeri and Karkara (2014) we present the main findings from the life history of five youth who are a representative members of CONADENNA during the last five years. Each life history shows a universe of complexities where we will observe ups and downs in the dynamic process of participation, agency and their constraints in this group of youth.

As already presented, the first stage implied a round of interviews with the national coordinator of CONADENNA and the five youth, members of the collective, three girls and two boys, which have been chosen for this research. Following Biggeri and Libanora (2011) and Arnich, Biggeri, Libanora and Mariani (2011) we adapted a list of capabilities to ask youth about their preferences and values under the question: *What are the most important opportunities a child should have during his/her life?*

Table 1: Identification and prioritization of capabilities by children

Capabilities	Are you now, enjoying good life and health? *Functionings*	¿Is CONADENNA affecting___? [Expansion/Reduction capabilities] Conversion factors
1. Life and physical health	✓	
2. Love and care	✓	Parents, CONADENNA
3. Mental well-being	✓	
4. Bodily integrity and safety	✓	
5. Social relations	✓	
6. Participation/information	✓	CONADENNA
7. Education	✓	CONADENNA, parents, teachers
8. Freedom from economic and non-economic exploitation	✓	
9. Shelter and environment	x	Public policy / State
10. Leisure activities	✓	
11. Respect	x	Public Policy, State, Governments, CONADENNA, parents

12. Religion and identity	✓	
13. Time autonomy and undertake projects	✓	
14. Mobility	✓	
15. Equal relations between men and women (gender approach)	x	CONADENNA

The previous chart summarizes the answers of the five adolescents who have been interviewed in this first stage. According to the results, all of them consider life and "physical health", "love and care", "participation and information", "education" and "respect" as the most important capabilities during their lives (includes the enrollment in CONADENNA). But two of them identified another capability that does not appear in the list. In this particular, they mentioned the problematic related to power relations between men and women (or boys and girls). In their opinion, the idea of "equal relations" must be considered as a main capability for children and youth because Peru has highest levels of violence against women and one of them were assaulted during her childhood. For these reasons two of the members emphasized this important aspect.

However, two capabilities of the previous list were reported in a low level of achievement. The first column shows an "x" for capabilities related to "shelter and environment", "respect" and the additional capability about "equal relations between men and women". For all of them, pollution in their city supposes a strong barrier to enjoying a healthy environment. When we asked for the responsibilities (in order to explore "conversion factors"), most of them indicate the role of state and public policy related to these topics. In the same way, the group of youth considers "respect" as another capability which they could not enjoy because of the constraints and limits of society where stereotypes and prejudices consider children and youth as "the last priority of governments", "whose opinions and voices are not taken account" and "still adult's vision about children and youth is dominant". So, those are reasons for this level of achievement and well-being in the youth interviewed. In other words, these conversion factors impact and exert pressure on the children and youth's possibilities to express their voices.

About the role of CONADENNA and its impact over capabilities, the information reveals an important influence of the organization in the life trajectory of each one. For instance, for "love and care", all of the youth refer CONADENNA as a family who supported them in different stages of their lives: *"Yes, definitely CONADENNA is my family. Before CONADENNA my parents were in a difficult situation…they could not bring me love and care. But CONADENNA allowed me to meet other children as me. Jose Alfredo (Adult - National Coordinator of CONADENNA) is my second father. He is…like a father because help me up to now in each situation"*. Another adolescent also hasa similar appreciation: *"CONADENNA is my house and Jose Alfredo our second father. He is convinced about children's participation, he taught me how can express my ideas without fear because adults must be heard children and youth. We are important and have many ideas to share with them".* So, at this moment the five youth express an enjoyable situation about love and care because of the influence of their parents (in two cases) but for the crucial role of CONADENNA in

this trajectory. In other words, these testimonies reflect the success of work done by the collective in supporting children.

In the case of "participation" youth interviews reveals the role of CONADENNA as important "mentor", "teacher" and "guide" to understand the multidimensionality: *"Since CONADENNA Peru is different for me. They taught me about my rights, how can express my position and opinions. Before this incredible experience, I used to be a shy girl with many problems. During my experience in CONADENNA, I realized that Peru is diverse…for example most of children in CONADENNA were born in the highlands and the Amazon. So, I understood their vision, their problems, the gender differences, racism and many other real situations in my country. Was a wonderful experience to dialogue with different people and learn about my rights".* This opinion is also shared by the other members: *"Yes, CONADENNA taught me the importance of participation. Without this guide…I don't know, maybe I never had big changes in my life…to talk with adults in equal conditions, because be child or adolescent does not suppose an inferior person. This changes my life".*

Precisely, the interviews show an important process in the trajectory of participation of each of the members. In this sense, all of them have been experimented different experiences in roundtables, workshops and debates in the Ministry of Education, Ministry of Vulnerable Population and different spaces in the public sector as well as civil society forums. For instance one of them comment her experience *"I was twelve years old…it was in 2011 and the Ministry of Vulnerable Population called us to participate in the process of consultation to define the National Plan for Childhood and Adolescence in Peru. Was an important forum…Now I realized about the great experience because I dialogued with experts, officials, authorities and people who had important positions in the state and NGO's. Was incredible. We had the purpose to learn as much as we can about the dialogues and debates. Also we raised our ideas and opinions about children's issues".* Thus, we observe important spaces to develop and exercise the right of participation in children and youth as part of CONADENNA.

About "education" three of the five interviewed comment interesting experiences at the moment of choose their career at university. For example one of them wants to choose Architecture: *"It is part of my dreams. Since my childhood, I made lots of drawings. I think CONADENNA taught me the importance of education; it is the base for all the life. If you have a good education you'll probably find a good job. Is one of our rights, but unfortunately most of children in Peru do not have this opportunity. Terrible situation. In my case, I have the possibility to study at a university, I will follow Architecture. Because I think we must create spaces in Lima. Our city does not have big buildings. But spaces for children. What about them? Because traditional spaces in museums, for example, have been designed for adults. And children? I would like to change this perspective. And CONADENNA is responsible for this vision. Since CONADENNA childhood perspective is part of all dimensions in my life".* For the other adolescent Education is part of his life: *"I choose Education as a career because I love it. I love teaching, I love interacting with children. But, I think CONADENNA influences over this decision. When I learnt about my rights, one of them was education, the right to education, but I focused my attention on gender gaps. I think girls in rural areas do not have the same opportunities. They suffer violence, racism, it is terrible. How can I solve this situation? I think*

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through education. Those are the reasons why I am sure about my career. CONADENNA gave me the opportunity to travel to different contexts in Peru. I heard girls and boys about their concerns, the lack of food, insecurity, exclusion, and other problems. CONADENNA has members of different regions, children with different demands. It is really a great achievement of the organization. And changes the life, definitely".
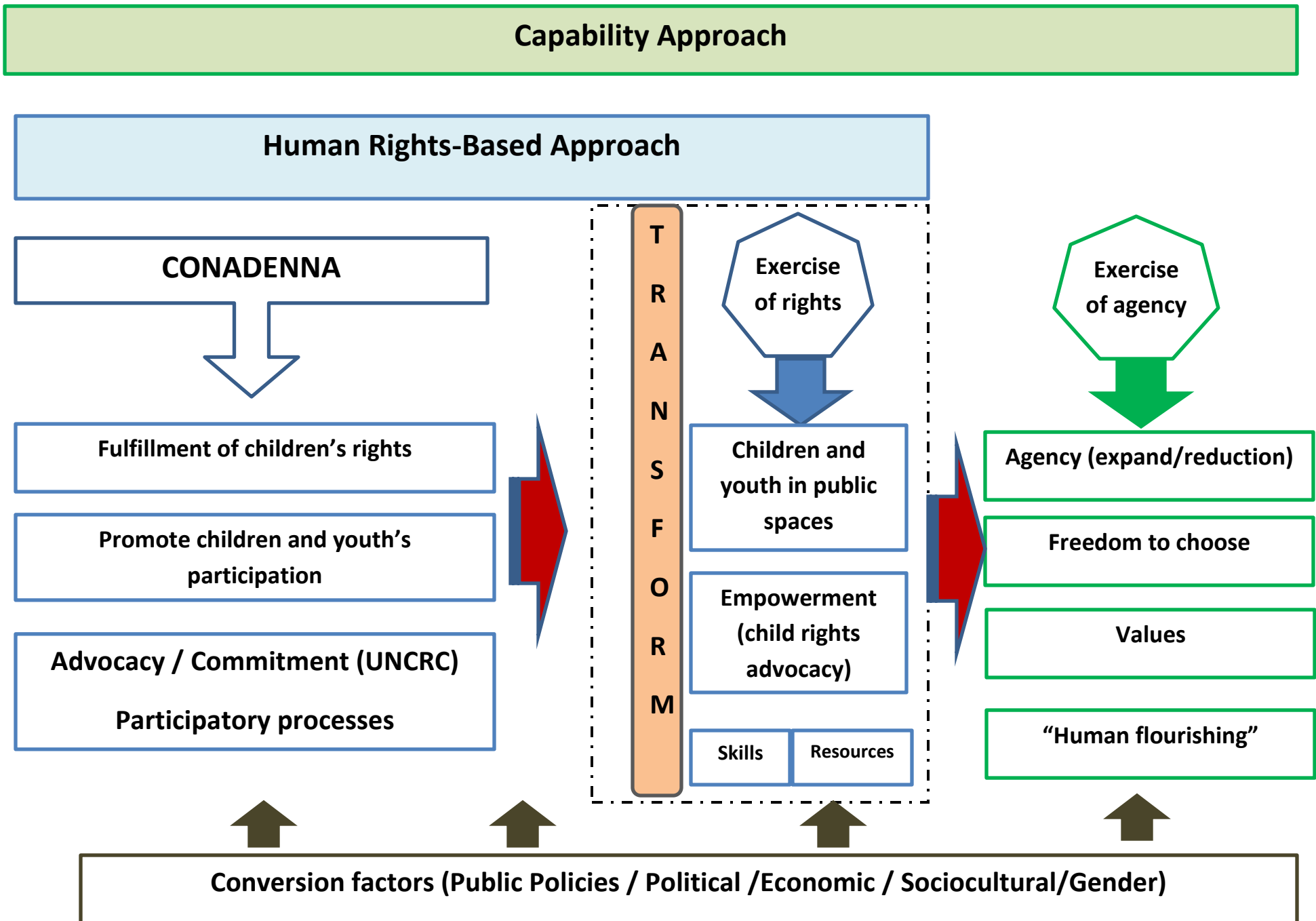
Therefore, these testimonies reflect the youth's voices and illustrate how they have been changed their lives over the last five years. In this trajectory, the influence of CONADENNA is crucial. Definitely, the achieved functionings in the current situation demonstrates a process of ups and downs in each history. As we mentioned in the previous lines, CONADENNA works under the HRA and have the main purpose of promoting participation. In practice, this implies a big responsibility with children and youth. From these voices, we can observe that children construct and re-construct capabilities and expand (and reduce) levels of agency. However, we need more information to analyze how their trajectories evidence the expansion of agency according to "evolving capabilities" developed by Biggeri and Santi (2012), among other authors. In this sense, in the following weeks, we will develop Focus Group with youth in order to complement this data and make strong analysis about participation and agency in children and youth.

Summarizing these results, we observed that youth was able to identify the capabilities and valued their experiences according to personal history (Biggeri and Karkara, 2014). Thus, they also mentioned another capability to complement the previous list and the actors or institutions which have the responsibility to solve these kinds of problems. In this sense, the CA shows us the importance of conversion factors and their constraints to modify the vector of achievements. In this particular, if we follow the model of "evolving capabilities" (only as a first analysis) we noticed that this group of youth has been experimented changes in the "vector of achievements". As we mentioned in the previous paragraph we need more data to make this analysis. For that, each youth will draw their own timeline to identify and analyze changes, actors, process and conversion factors following the model of "evolving capabilities".

However, at this point, it is possible to draw a graphic where can summarize the contributions of CONADENNA (under the HRA) and the elements of CA in order to address the differences and synergies between these two frameworks.

This preliminary graph shows us the elements and features of CONADENNA's works under the HRA from the voices of youth and the main authorities of the collective. Simultaneously, we observe the contributions of CA and their broad view that covers the "formal" sphere of children's rights and the space of "freedom to choose" and "agency". However, we consider a common side between these two approaches. According to the findings presented in this paper, CONADENNA promotes the exercise of rights through roundtables, forums, and meetings where children and youth are empowering with different skills such as leadership and abilities to express their ideas in public sessions. But the process of transformation and the results of this change can only express with theoretical elements provide by the CA. In other words, the possibility to transform these resources and skills (as a result of CONADENNA's influence) comprise the CA contributions.

Figure 1: Synergies between HRA and CA through the case of CONADENNA

Capability Approach

Human Rights-Based Approach

CONADENNA

Fulfillment of children's rights

Promote children and youth's participation

Advocacy / Commitment (UNCRC)

Participatory processes

T R A N S F O R M

Exercise of rights

Children and youth in public spaces

Empowerment (child rights advocacy)

Skills | Resources

Exercise of agency

Agency (expand/reduction)

Freedom to choose

Values

"Human flourishing"

Conversion factors (Public Policies / Political /Economic / Sociocultural/Gender)

6. Preliminary conclusions

Discussion between the HRA and the CA to understand participation and agency in children and youth reveal interesting findings to capture their voices and opinions about well-being through their life experiences. In the macro level, Peru has lots of problems related to investment in childhood and adolescence, and public policy shows strong barriers to involucrate children and youth in the process of consultation and deliberation. However, organizations like CONADENNA have been working for this purpose for more than twenty years and the present research seeks to contribute with evidence and analysis to highlight the achievements and make reflections about the gaps and problems. Thus, the first findings suggest interesting testimonies from youth about the capabilities and values and the pathways of life trajectories to observe changes and expansion of agency.

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