

The NiNi status in Mexico City: A Qualitative Case Study Analyzing Everyday Life
through the Lens of Performance from the Cultural and Historical Activity Theory

By Armando Justo

B.A. in Administration, January 1992, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México
(UNAM), México, D.F.
M.S. in Organizational Development and HR, May 2007, Johns Hopkins University-
Carey Business School

A Dissertation Submitted to

The Faculty of
The Graduate School of Education and Human Development
of The George Washington University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Education

May 17, 2015

Dissertation directed by

Ellen Scully-Russ
Assistant Professor of Human and Organizational Learning

UMI Number: 3687890

All rights reserved

INFORMATION TO ALL USERS

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.



UMI 3687890

Published by ProQuest LLC (2015). Copyright in the Dissertation held by the Author.

Microform Edition © ProQuest LLC.

All rights reserved. This work is protected against unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code



ProQuest LLC.
789 East Eisenhower Parkway
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106 - 1346

The Graduate School of Education and Human Development of the George Washington University certifies that Armando Justo has passed the final examination for the degree of Doctor of Education as of February 26, 2015. This is the final and approved form of the dissertation.

The NiNi status in Mexico City: A Qualitative Case Study Analyzing Everyday Life through the Lens of Performance from the Cultural and Historical Activity Theory

Armando Justo

Dissertation Research Committee:

Ellen Scully-Russ, Assistant Professor of Human and Organizational Learning,
Dissertation Director

Joel Gomez, Associate Professor of Educational Leadership, Committee Member

Lois Holzman, Director, East Side Institute for Group & Short Term
Psychotherapy, Committee Member

Dedication

To my wife Kattya and my sons Carlos Sebastian and Mauricio Jozsef who are my
inspiration and support in life.

To my aunt Maria Teresa who gave me opportunities and the support I needed to help me
become “other than who I was”.

Thank you Kachita! You have always been there to listen to me, to give me encouragement and support in difficult moments, to take care of our children while I was busy in my doctoral program, and to give meaning and enjoyment to the concept of family.

Carlos and Mauricio, you walked by my side during the program; we enjoyed the Vygotsky’s theory and the performative approach of Newman and Holzman together. You helped me understand youth perspectives and you were always there to edit my documents, to brainstorm ideas, and to offer your perspectives. Thank you! This program is also your success. You inspired me to do my best and to show you how important education is in our lives.

Tia Teresa, thank you for your support! Despite having six daughters, you took care of my brother and me and you taught us that hard work and dedication are the basis for success. I am eternally grateful to you and I hope I can imitate what you did. I want to use what I learned in this program to create learning environments where all individuals, especially those in NiNi status, who want to succeed and are willing to put forth the effort can learn and develop.

Acknowledgments

I want to thank my dissertation chair, Dr. Ellen Scully-Russ who has been an important influence in my doctoral program; you were the first person I met in the ELP (I still remember that snowy day in the ELP orientation). You exposed me to the adult learning theories and introduced me to Vygotsky and Newman & Holzman. Thank you to my dissertation committee, Dr. Lois Holzman and Dr. Joel Gomez for your valuable support, guidance, advice, and friendship throughout the dissertation process. Dr. Holzman, you helped me discover the emotional and performative Vygotsky; I learned from you that everyday life performances can be revolutionary. Dr. Gomez, thank you for being present when I needed you the most; you clarified my ideas and gave me practical guidance when I was lost. Dr. Cseh and Dr. Bando, thank you for your keen feedback and suggestions to improve my paper.

I like to thank my ELP colleagues who created a wonderful learning environment. Your friendship and support made the doctoral process a meaningful learning experience. I particularly thank Daniel Shipman, Vicki Brown, Sandi Aguirre, Jennifer Purcell, Kim Villeneuve, Ray Royalty, Jamie Pirrello, and Jim Hiles. Your friendship was very important to me. Thank you to the ELP faculty and staff. You helped us to “trust the process” and enjoy the doctoral experience. I would also like to thank my family members, friends and work colleagues for giving me the encouragement to continue with the program. I specially thank Jim Desrosiers for listening to me, giving me advice and editing my papers.

Support for this research was provided, in part, by the ELP Faculty through a 2013 ELP Dissertation Research Stipend.

Abstract of the Dissertation

The NiNi status in Mexico City: A Qualitative Case Study Analyzing Everyday Life through the Lens of Performance from the Cultural and Historical Activity Theory

This qualitative case study examined the everyday life activities of 16 young people living in NiNi status in Mexico City. The term NiNi comes from the Spanish words Ni estudia, Ni trabaja [neither study, nor work]. The purpose of the study was to better understand their everyday life experience, their meaning-making and learning processes, and their impediments to their development. The conceptual framework is grounded in the perspective of performance of the CHAT tradition that examines the processes that are constitutive of who these individuals are and who they are becoming (Holzman, 2009). The researcher analyzed the everyday life activities of 16 individuals in NiNi status and 12 working adults to conduct a historical comparison.

The study identified five main findings associated to the research questions. First, young people in NiNi status perform a variety of activities, mainly non-remunerated, such as household chores, taking care of children, performing arts and sports, and temporary work in low-level and informal jobs. Second, meaning-making processes reveal that they feel trapped in “a system of not progressing”. They live in a continuous paradox of not having resources to do what they want to do. The negative labels that society puts on them makes them feel inferior and excluded. Third, young people learn by creative imitation when they create zones of proximal development in collaboration with their networks. Fourth, the lack of opportunities at school and work creates a movement away from institutions that reinforces the informality in the Mexican labor market. Fifth, the main impediment to their learning and development is their isolation that does not

allow them to learn from more expert people's key skills to foster their economic independence and future integration as productive members of society.

A major contribution of this study is to bring the perspectives of these young people to balance the negative views that society has about people living in NiNi status. Their voices reveal the need for greater opportunities and support to “level the playing field” and to overcome cultural and historical limitations faced by these young people. The current worldview wrongly positions the “problem” at the individual level and not at the group or societal level.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Dedication	iii
Acknowledgments	iv
Abstract of the Dissertation	v
List of Figures.....	xvi
List of Tables	xvii
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION.....	1
Overview	1
Statement of the Problem.....	1
Purpose of the Study	3
Research Question	4
Significance of the Study	4
Conceptual Framework	7
Summary of the Methodology	10
Limitations	11
Definition of Key Terms	12
CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW	15
Introduction.....	15
The NiNi/NEET Status	16
NiNi/NEET (Not in Employment, Education or Training)	17
Level 1: Defining and quantifying the NiNi / NEET status.....	17

Level 2: Analyzing factors associated with the NEET status.	20
Educational underachievement.	20
Low socio-economic status.	21
Gender inequalities and early pregnancy.	24
Low/misaligned expectations and aspirations.	26
Intergenerational factors.	27
Class-based inequalities.	28
Constraints in the labor markets.	30
Other factors/consequences of being in NEET status.	31
Level 3: Analyzing the impact of policy actions to prevent/correct people entering the NiNi status.	32
Economic incentives.	32
Individualized guidance and support.	34
School to college/work transitions.	35
The NiNi Status in Mexico	36
Summary of NEET Literature.	41
Cultural Historical Activity Theory (CHAT)	42
Definition and origins.	42
Mediation.	44
Human activity.	47
Performance: The non-epistemologically practice of Vygotsky’s method.	49
Social therapy groups.	53
Developmental activity in educational settings.	54

Performance in out-of-school programs.....	55
Performance in workplace environments.....	56
Summary of Cultural and Historical Activity Theory Literature Sources.....	57
Summary Discussion.....	58
CHAPTER 3: METHODS.....	60
Overview of Methodology.....	60
Epistemology.....	61
Research Design.....	61
Phase I: Site and Participant Selection.....	63
Study context.....	63
Sample selection.....	66
<i>Individuals in NiNi status</i>	66
<i>Adults</i>	69
Pilot of data gathering instruments.....	70
Phase II: Data Collection.....	70
Analysis of documents.....	70
Pre-interview questionnaire.....	71
Semi-structured interviews with individuals in NiNi status.....	71
Semi-structured interviews with adults.....	72
Field observations.....	73
Phase III: Data Analysis.....	74
Overview of coding and analysis.....	77
Phase IV: Final Report.....	81

Subjectivity Statement	81
Trustworthiness.....	82
Protocols	84
Ethical Considerations	84
Summary of Methodology	85
CHAPTER 4: RESULTS	87
Overview.....	87
Context of the Study	88
Young Individuals Living in NiNi Status	88
Classification of young individuals in four typologies.....	89
Typology 1: Individuals living in NiNi status who are trying to enter a public university.....	90
Themes.....	93
Typology 2: Young people who are taking care of their children.....	101
Themes.....	104
Typology 3: Young people in performing arts/sports.....	111
Themes.....	116
Typology 4: Young people in street activities.....	125
Themes.....	131
Working Adults.....	138
Silent generation (born before the end of WWII and 1945).....	140
Baby boom generation (born between 1946 and 1962).....	145
Generation X (born between 1963 and 1977).....	150

Generation Y (born between 1978 and 1986).....	154
Themes.....	158
Summary of Main Findings	169
Main finding 1: Everyday life activities of people living in NiNi status include working on a temporary basis, doing household work, taking care of children, doing exercise, listening to music, and going to parties.....	169
Main finding 2: Young people experience the NiNi status as a temporary state of happiness; however, they soon they feel frustration when they find out that their life does not provide a path to a more meaningful future.	172
Main finding 3: The lack of economic resources is the main source of dissatisfaction for young people in NiNi status.	173
Main finding 4: The negative perception of society regarding young people in NiNi status creates feelings of discrimination, frustration, anger, and shame.....	174
Main finding 5: Young people in NiNi status and working adults learn through observation, conversations and imitation.	175
Main finding 6: Family and friends influence the engagement in everyday life activities and the consequent acquisition of learnings.....	176
Main finding 7: School and work institutions are not seen as clear pathways to careers.	177
Main finding 8: The lack of opportunities at school and work are the main impediments faced by young people living in NiNi status for their integration in productive activities.	179
Chapter Summary	180

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSIONS, INTERPRETATIONS, AND	
RECOMMENDATIONS.....	182
Conclusions.....	185
Conclusion 1: Young people in NiNi status are engaged in cultural and historical activities considered non-productive by society.	186
Conclusion 2: Young people in NiNi status experience a paradoxical feeling that is associated with the search for meaningful activities, freedom and play; however, soon they feel frustrated for not seeing a more meaningful future doing what they do.	194
Conclusion 3: Learning and development of young people in NiNi status occur in a series of social completing processes through the dialectical unity of thinking, speaking and performing in activities.	198
Conclusion 4: Past school and work experiences are ineffective pathways to careers; in addition, the lack of opportunities at school and work is the main impediment for their integration into productive activities and fosters their movement away from institutions.	200
Conclusion 5: The main limitation faced by young people in NiNi status is the isolation in which they live; they have a limited Zone of Proximal Development (ZPD) that is not diverse enough to foster their learning and development.	206
Recommendations for Theory.....	209
Recommendations for Practice	220
Recommendations for Policy.....	224

Recommendations for Further Research.....	226
Limitations.....	228
Summary.....	232
Concluding Thoughts.....	235
REFERENCES.....	237
APPENDIX A: Pre-Interview Questionnaire Protocol	
(Young people 18-29 years old).....	254
APPENDIX B: Pre-Interview Questionnaire Protocol	
(Adults over 30 years of age).....	257
APPENDIX C: Semi-Structured Interview Protocol	
(Young people 18-29 years old).....	260
APPENDIX D: Semi-Structured Interview Protocol	
(Adults over 30 years of age).....	262
APPENDIX E: Documents Protocol.....	264
APPENDIX F: Protocol for Field Observations.....	265
APPENDIX G: Recruitment Communication to Potential Participants	
(to be distributed printed and via email).....	267
APPENDIX H: Research Consent Form (Young people 18-29 years old).....	268
APPENDIX H-Bis: Research Consent Form (Adults over 30 years of age).....	270

APÉNDICE A: Protocolo del Cuestionario (Jóvenes 18-29 años de edad) [Spanish Translation] [APPENDIX A: Pre-Interview Questionnaire Protocol (Young people 18-29 years old)].....	272
APÉNDICE B: Protocolo del Cuestionario (Adultos mayores de 30 años) [Spanish Translation] [APPENDIX B: Pre-Interview Questionnaire Protocol (Adults over 30 years of age)].....	275
APÉNDICE C: Protocolo de Entrevista Semi-Estructurada (Jóvenes 18-29 años de edad) [Spanish Translation] [APPENDIX C: Semi-Structured Interview Protocol (Young people 18-29 years old)]	278
APÉNDICE D: Protocolo de Entrevista Semi-Estructurada (adultos mayores de 30 años de edad) [Spanish Translation] [APPENDIX D: Semi-Structured Interview Protocol (Adults over 30 years of age)].....	280
APÉNDICE E: Protocolo para el análisis de Documentos [Spanish Translation] [APPENDIX E: Documents Protocol]	282
APÉNDICE F: Protocolo para Observaciones de Campo [Spanish Translation] [APPENDIX F: Protocol for Field Observations].....	283
APÉNDICE G: Comunicación para el reclutamiento de participantes (a ser distribuido de manera impresa y por correo electrónico) [Spanish Translation] [APPENDIX G: Recruitment Communication to Potential Participants (to be distributed printed and via email)].....	284

APÉNDICE H: Consentimiento para la Investigación (Jóvenes 18-29 años de edad) [Spanish Translation] [APPENDIX H: Research Consent Form (Young people 18-29 years old)]	285
APÉNDICE H-Bis: Consentimiento para la Investigación (Adultos mayores a 30 años de edad) [Spanish Translation] [APPENDIX H-Bis: Research Consent Form (Adults over 30 years of age)].....	287
APPENDIX I: First coding cycle process.....	289
APPENDIX J: Second coding cycle process	294
APPENDIX K: Third coding cycle process.....	296
APPENDIX L: Final codes and themes.....	298
APPENDIX M: Analysis of codes using the Atlas.ti software for qualitative analysis.....	302
APPENDIX N: Analysis of most frequently occurred codes	307

List of Figures

	<u>Page</u>
<i>Figure 1.1.</i> Conceptual Framework	8
<i>Figure 2.1.</i> Literature Review Map	16
<i>Figure 2.2.</i> Analysis of Empirical Works About the NiNi/NEET Status.....	17
<i>Figure 3.1.</i> Research Design.....	63
<i>Figure 3.2.</i> Map of Iztapalapa and Coyoacán in Mexico City (INEGI, 2010).....	66
<i>Figure 3.3.</i> Purposeful Sampling Strategy for Individuals Living in NiNi Status	68
<i>Figure 3.4.</i> Theoretical Support for Questions Included in the Interview Protocols.....	73
<i>Figure 5.1.</i> Comparison of ZPDs Between Individuals in NiNi Status and Working Adults.....	207
<i>Figure 5.2.</i> Integrated Research Design Presenting Main Findings	209

List of Tables

	<u>Page</u>
Table 3.1	
<i>Selected Indicators from the 2010 Mexican National Census (INEGI, 2010)</i>	65
Table 3.2	
<i>Three Coding Cycle Processes Used in the Coding and Analysis of Data</i>	79
Table 3.3	
<i>Comparison of Themes for Young People in NiNi Status and Working Adults</i>	80
Table 4.1	
<i>Four Typologies of Young People Living in NiNi Status</i>	90
Table 4.2	
<i>List of Working Adults from Four Age Generations</i>	140
Table 4.3	
<i>Reduction in the Size of Households with 9 or More People in the County of Iztapalapa</i>	160
Table 5.1	
<i>Research Questions and Conclusions</i>	185
Table 5.2	
<i>Implications for Theory</i>	210
Table 5.3	
<i>Recommendations for Practice</i>	221
Table 5.4	
<i>Recommendations for Policy</i>	225

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Overview

This study analyzes a social problem that is present in society; the existence of a large group of young people who neither study nor work (NiNi). The term NiNi comes from the Spanish words *Ni estudia, Ni trabaja* [*neither study, nor work*]. In the UK and other European countries and Japan the same phenomenon is known as “NEET”, and it is used to describe the status of individuals “Not in Employment, Education, or Training”. To better understand the NiNi/NEET phenomenon, the researcher is conducting a qualitative study to examine everyday life activities of individuals living in NiNi status in Iztapalapa and Coyoacán, two contiguous counties¹ in Mexico City. The study is grounded on performance; a particular perspective of the cultural historical activity theory (CHAT) tradition proposed by Newman and Holzman (1993, 1997, 1999, 1996-2006; Holzman, 1999; 2009). The concept of performance removes the Cartesian duality of the NiNi status (studying/not studying, working/not working) and considers these individuals as totalities who are in a continuous process of development within their social, cultural and historical environment.

Statement of the Problem

According to Scarpetta and Sonnet (2012) fourteen million young people were living in NEET status in OECD² countries during the first quarter of 2011, representing 12.3% of all youth ages 15/16-24. Similarly, Székely (2011) reported over nine million young people in Latin America were living in NiNi status during 2005-2008; 16%

¹ The word “county” will be used as synonymous with “delegation” in the paper. In Mexico City, there are 16 territorial municipalities or delegations.

² Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD)

percent of the total being youths aged 15-18. Furthermore, Arceo and Campos (2011) reported that in 2010, 8.6 million young people in Mexico were outside of the formal education and labor market systems; representing 28.9% of the population aged 15-29. More recently, Negrete and Leyva (2013) conducted a detailed analysis using Mexican Census data and reported the presence of 7.05 million people aged 14-29 outside of formal school and work activities. The authors conducted a more detail analysis to identify different categories for their classification based on Census data. They claim that 66% of these individuals are not available for work, 16% are available, and 17% are not employed.

The high number of young people living in NiNi status is raising a “red flag for the risk of poverty and social exclusion” (ECLAC, 2010, p. 22). Additionally, Scarpetta and Sonnet claim that inactivity is a bigger problem than unemployment because it triggers a “vicious circle whereby inactivity feeds into discouragement and that, in turn, to a further detachment from the labor market” (p. 6). Although short periods of inactivity in young people is not a new phenomenon, the large number of individuals living in NiNi status has been an area of concern for parents, scholars, politicians, and society at large (Cunningham, et al., 2008; ECLAC, 2010; El Universal, 2011; SEU, 1999; Székely, 2011).

Several studies claim that individuals living in NiNi status are prompt to vicious and delinquent activities, early pregnancy, and without proper education, they will struggle to get a job in the formal economy, representing a future burden for society that will have to absorb their cost of living (Cunningham, Cohan, Naudeau & McGinnis, 2008; ECLAC, 2010; McCarthy, Hagan, & Cohen, 1998; Staff & Kreager, 2008;

Székely, 2011). Additionally, the ECLAC (2010) sustains that young people who do not complete high school are exposed to “high risk for living in poverty and becoming ‘dispensable’ (excluded)” (p. 27). Moreover, empirical research reveals that these young people are easy prey for criminal groups that offer not only remuneration for their services but also provide a sense of belonging and collaboration (Cunningham et al., 2008; McCarthy & Hagan, 2001; McCarthy, Hagan, & Cohen, 1998; Staff & Kreager, 2008). As Sanchez (2006) reported, these youth get hooked by criminal bands “...by the urgency of their situation as well as by socialization” (p. 188).

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this qualitative study is to conduct a dialectical examination of the NiNi status in Iztapalapa and Coyoacán, two large counties of Mexico City. The NiNi status is a complex social issue that is present in Mexico and many other countries around the world. The fact that the phenomenon is growing despite the actions implemented by governments reveals the limited knowledge we have about it. For this reason, the researcher is conducting a qualitative study using the perspective of performance from the cultural historical activity theory (CHAT) as the theoretical lens for the analysis. The study examines the everyday life experience of individuals living in NiNi status to gain a better understanding of the challenges, opportunities, limitations and developmental processes of involved participants. In addition, to better understand the phenomenon within its social and historical perspectives, the study included the interview of 12 working adults to examine their everyday life activities when they were 18-29 years old. The researcher aligns with the views of Alvesson and Sandberg (2011) about the need to challenge preconceived assumptions in the literature, and use problematization instead of

gap spotting, as a mechanism to situate this research in its real life context. The study examines four key questions: First, what are these individuals doing?—If they are not studying and not working, what is the cultural activity that they are involved in? Second, how do they make meaning of their situation and everyday life experiences? Third, how do they learn and develop? And fourth, what are the impediments for their learning and development? These questions will help us to better understand the NiNi status as a process situated in everyday life activities in order to contribute to the design of appropriate interventions to increase social inclusion and youth's participation in the formal education and labor market systems. These questions are further explored in the next section.

Research Question

This study includes four research questions to examine the NiNi status as an activity situated in everyday life practices in Iztapalapa and Coyoacán, two of the largest counties of Mexico City. These questions analyze the everyday life experience of individuals living in NiNi status. They have been defined as follows:

- 1) *What is the everyday life experience of people living in NiNi status? [What are they doing?] (Descriptive dimension).*
- 2) *How do they make meaning of their everyday life experiences? (Subjective, phenomenological and interpretive dimensions).*
- 3) *How do they learn and develop through their performance of everyday life activity? (Historic, cultural, and performative dimensions).*
- 4) *What are the impediments for their learning and development?*

Significance of the Study

The significance of this study relies on conducting a dialectical examination of the NiNi status in Iztapalapa and Coyoacán in Mexico City. The study adopts an activist epistemology to analyze the NiNi status as a *process* situated in its social, cultural and historical environment. It incorporated the perspectives of 16 individuals living in NiNi status, including the analysis of their everyday life activities, their subjective experience and their everyday life performances that are constitutive of who they are and who they are becoming (Newman & Holzman, 1993, 1997, 1999, 1996-2006; Holzman, 1999; 2009). In addition, the study included the perspectives of 12 working adults who shared their life experiences when they were 18-29 years old. The information allowed a historical examination of everyday life activities of young people across four age generations. The study seeks to make a contribution to the literature and inform researchers and policy makers about the needs, opportunities, and limitations faced by individuals living in NiNi status.

The large number of young individuals in NiNi status is an area of concern and potential risk for the social and economic stability for many countries around the world. The World Bank (Cunningham, et al., 2008) reports the existence of 1.5 billion people between the ages of 12 to 24 worldwide, from those, 1.3 billion live in developing countries—representing the largest segment of young people in recorded history for those countries. Székely (2011) has referred to this peak in young population as a “window of demographic opportunity” (p. 3) for these countries with record low economic dependency ratios. However, if a large group of young people do not participate in formal educational and labor markets activities, these countries may not capitalize their generational advantage and will require greater resources to support an aging population.

According to experts, the large number of non-participants in Latin America requires immediate attention. These individuals are a source of poverty, social exclusion, inequality, and crime (Cunningham et al., 2008; ECLAC, 2010; Székely, 2011). In addition, alternative social values are being embedded in society; it is not an anomaly to be in NiNi status nowadays. In some states of Mexico, such as Chiapas, Tabasco and Michoacán, one out of four young people are in NiNi status (El Universal, 2011). The increased number of people in NiNi status creates their social acceptance and their own identity (Staff & Kreager, 2008). As some researchers argue, the ideals of these individuals are different from the generally accepted ideals of progress and development of modern societies, “surveys revealed that 40% of female teenagers aspire to have a drug dealer boyfriend” (El Universal, 2011).

The ECLAC (2010) reported that young men from lower economic strata are more likely to quit school and they enter into a vicious circle of low education and low paid-jobs. The same study claims that the drop-out trend is even higher for girls. Although governments are aware of this problem, they have been unable to implement sustainable solutions (Cunningham et al., 2008). Researchers suggest that viable solutions require a combination of public policy and prevention measures focused at the individual, family-community, and macroeconomic levels (Cunningham, et al., 2008; Székely, 2011). Cunningham, et al. identified the need to invest on average 13% of the GDP of the Latin America region to address the NiNi phenomenon. Given the worldwide economic crisis it seems almost impossible for countries to invest these resources, therefore, plausible solutions are required, which makes a stronger case for studying the phenomenon.

As proposed by Fenwick, et al. (2011) the use of CHAT as a theoretical lens allows a dialectical examination of the NiNi status by incorporating individuals' subjectivities (what do they think they are doing?), their everyday life activities (what do they do?), and material and symbolic tools to engage with their environment. This wholeness of thought depicts Vygotsky's (1978) ideas of activity that bridge Cartesian dualities of cognition and action or individuals and society. From a CHAT perspective, individuals are not passive observers in the world, but they are not independent actors either; individuals create activity with their involvement in everyday life practices situated in their cultural, social and historical environments (Hedegaard, 2012; Van der Riet, 2009; Vygotsky, 1978). This mutually constitutive relationship is what Cole, Hood and McDermott (1978) describe as the "person-environment interface and mind-in-society". Similarly, Van der Veer (2007) describes the individual and environment relationship "...as factors that mutually shape each other in a spiral process of growth" (p. 22). Consequently, the study of the NiNi status requires an examination of the social, cultural, and historical dimensions that are inseparable from the targeted individuals.

Conceptual Framework

The conceptual framework is grounded on the perspective of performance proposed by Newman and Holzman (1993, 1997, 1999, 1996-2006; Holzman, 1999; 2009) from the cultural and historical activity theory (CHAT). Performance rejects the idea of a fixed identity (NiNi) and focuses on the *processes* that are constitutive of who these individuals are and who they are becoming with the performance of their everyday life activities (Holzman, 2009). In line with the role of theory in qualitative research proposed by Anfara and Mertz (2006), the conceptual framework played a pivotal role,

guiding the whole research process, framing the study in the literature and situating it within the scholarly community.

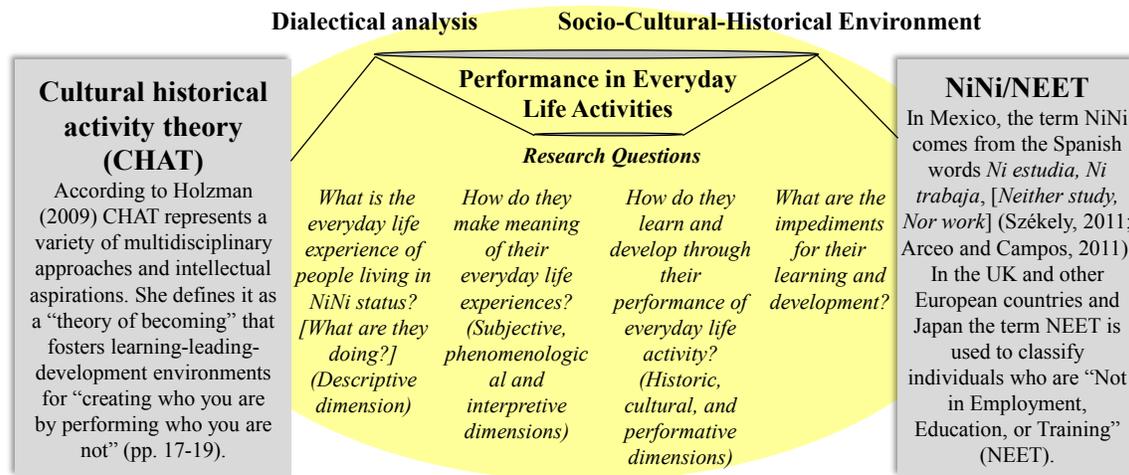


Figure 1.1. Conceptual Framework

As detailed in the literature review section, CHAT has been extensively used in the analysis of learning and human development processes because CHAT allows a dialectical examination of Cartesian dualities. The distinctions of thinking and speaking, learning and development, affect and cognition, or being and becoming are inseparable and part of a continuous process. In addition, CHAT considers ‘activity’ as the minimal unit of analysis for social participation and development; consequently, a dialectical examination of the NiNi status is more appropriate because individuals are considered totalities that are in a continuous process of development. As Sannino, Daniels, and Gutierrez (2009) describe,

“Activity theory seeks to analyse development within practical social activities, humans develop their skills, personalities and consciousness. Through activities, we also transform our social conditions, resolve contradictions, generate new cultural artefacts, and create new forms of life and the self.” (p. 1)

Fenwick, et al., (2011) emphasize the importance of culture and history to better understand current phenomena, “CHAT studies examine a system’s historical emergences and relations among these material artefacts, as well as divisions of labour, cultural norms, rules and perspectives enmeshed in the system: ‘How things came to be as they are, how they came to be viewed in ways that they are, and how they are appropriated in the course of developmental trajectories’ (Sawchuk 2003)” (p. 9). For Holzman (2009) CHAT is a “theory of becoming” that fosters learning-leading-development environments for “creating who you are by performing who you are not” (p.19). Holzman (1999) considers performance as a tool-and-result because through performance people develop their cognitive and affective dimensions and transform “sometimes in a matter of seconds, into who they are not” (p. 67). As Newman and Holzman (1993, 1997, 1999, 1996-2006) claim, performance is dialectical in nature and bridges the dualistic distinctions of cognition and affect to foster the development of individuals in cultural, historical and social activities. Through performance people continuously create zones of proximal development (ZPDs) that Holzman (1999) defines as a dialectical relational activity to become who you are by performing who you are not;

Vygotsky describes it as being a head taller than you are; we call it performing. Either way, it is the activity of being who you are/being who you are not. Development, in this understanding, is the activity of creating who you are by performing who you are not. It is, significantly, an ensemble—not a solo—performance. (pp. 66-67)

CHAT’s worldview is fundamental for examining how learning and development occurs in everyday life activities (Holzman, 2009). It provides many advantages over traditional cognitive learning theories that consider schooling as the main source for learning and development (Sawchuk, 2003). Contemporary empirical research reveals

that learning occurs in various settings—not only in schools, and involves social and material elements. Sawchuk (2003) for example, identified that working class individuals learn how to use computers in a variety of everyday life interactions. “These practices are integrated with everyday life and mediated by artefacts including computer hardware and software, organizational settings, oral devices, class habitus, trade unions, and working class culture” (p. 21). Similarly, Hedegaard (2012) claims that children learn and develop in everyday life by imitating, modelling, and constructing activities in different activity settings, “by modelling other persons, thereby contributing to their own conditions for learning and developing in their everyday practice (Hedegaard, 2002, 2009; Rogoff, 1990, 2003; Vygotsky, 1998)” (p. 57). Moreover, Fenwick et al. (2011) claim that socio-material elements such as tools, rules, and artifacts are constitutive of human learning processes.

...material things are performative and not inert, they are matter and they matter. They act together with other types of things and forces to exclude, invite and regulate particular forms of participation in enactments...can appear to be policy or gender identity, or expertise, or a social structure such as racism. (p. 4)

Summary of the Methodology

The researcher conducted a qualitative study of the NiNi status using the perspective of performance proposed by Newman and Holzman (1993, 1997, 1999, 1996-2006; Holzman, 1999; 2009) based on Vygotsky’s cultural and historical activity theory (CHAT). The unit of analysis is situated at the cultural and performative levels (Holzman, 1999) to examine the social, cultural and historical dimensions of the NiNi status. The NiNi status is defined as 6 or more months outside of formal education, employment or training—a variation of Bynner and Parsons’ (2002) definition of the

NEET status. The research was conducted in Iztapalapa and Coyoacán, two large counties of Mexico City. Iztapalapa is the largest county of Mexico City with a population of 1.8 million (INEGI, 2010). According to some researchers, Iztapalapa is the most adequate location for the analysis of the NiNi status (M. Székely M. & R. M. Campos, personal communication, July 16, 2012). Coyoacán is the third largest county with a population of 650 thousand (INEGI, 2010); it borders Iztapalapa and it is a place with cultural events where young people frequently gather. It houses the National Autonomous University of Mexico (UNAM).

In addition, Mexico City is one of the world's largest cities with well-established education and labor market systems. To conduct the social, cultural and historical examination of the NiNi status, the researcher employed the following four data gathering and analysis methods: (i) analysis of documents, (ii) a pre-interview questionnaire to identify and qualify sample participants, (iii) semi-structured interviews with two purposefully selected samples of participants including 16 young people, 18-29 years old living in NiNi status and 12 working adults from four age generations to conduct a historical examination of youth activities, and (iv) field observations.

Limitations

This dissertation study is limited to getting a complete understanding of the NiNi status and should be seen as a contribution for future studies. As the study claims, the NiNi status is not a problem situated at the individual level—in other words, it is not a deficiency of individuals or their families, but the way certain cultural practices foster a relational activity to include or exclude young people from school and work activities. Although the perspective of performance allows bridging the dualistic distinctions of

thinking and behaving, the objectives and timeframe of this doctoral dissertation were focused on the qualitative examination of the everyday life experience of individuals living in NiNi status—including a historical analysis of youth everyday life activities across four age generations. However, this study is not focused on creating new types of relational activity and socio-cultural environments for these young people to succeed. As Holzman (2009) says, “When this happens people discover not only how to do what they do not know how to do, but equally important *that* they can do it” (p. 47, emphasis in original). Therefore, the study should be seen as a preliminary step to inform involved stakeholders, researchers and policy makers working on youth development.

In line with the epistemological orientation of this research, this qualitative study employs various trustworthiness methods to promote internal validity and reliability of the findings; nevertheless, the study does not promote generalizability and transferability of findings as quantitative studies do. Lincoln and Guba (1985) suggests that the concept of transferability for qualitative studies depends on readers—and not on the researcher because “...the burden of proof lies less with the original investigator than with the person seeking to make an application elsewhere. The original inquirer cannot know the sites to which transferability might be sought, but appliers can and do.” (p. 298)

Definition of Key Terms

Activity: “The minimal meaningful context for understanding individual actions” (1978).”

(Leont’ev, 2003, p. 41) “It is defined as the minimal unit of analysis for the understanding of cognitive development, human participation, and change.”

(Sawchuk, Duarte, & Elhammoumi, p. 2)

Everyday life activities: Under a CHAT tradition everyday life activities refer to the historical forms of social participation of a person in a defined setting (Lave, 1988).

Goal: The main purpose of the activity. “Like a law determines the mode and character of action...[A]ctions are not special, separate entities that comprise activity: Human activity exists only in the form of actions or chain of actions” (Leont’ev, 2003, p. 41)

Human consciousness: State of awareness of self and the environment. For Vygotsky “consciousness is seen as a highly complex system based on the interrelationship among all mental functions” (Moll, 1990, p. 274)

NiNi status: 6 months or more outside of formal education, employment or training (Bynner & Parsons, 2002) for individuals 18-29 years old (OECD, 2012)[The term NiNi comes from the Spanish words *Ni estudia, Ni trabaja* – who neither study, nor work].

Object: “Held by the subject and motivates activity, giving it a specific direction; behind objects there “always stands a need or a desire, to which the activity always answers” (Leont’ev, 2003, p. 41)

OECD countries: Thirty four countries include the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD)These are the following: Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Chile, Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Iceland, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Korea, Luxembourg, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Poland, Portugal,

Slovak Republic, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, United Kingdom, United States.

Performance: “creating who we are by performing who we are not” (p. 115)

Rules: “All the norms, customs, guidelines, and standards that govern the activity system we have in focus” (Worthen & Berry, 2003, p. 127)

Subject: “A person or group engaged in an activity” (Leont’ev, 2003, p. 41)

Tools: “[a] tool is a material object in which are crystallized not actions or goals, but modes and operations” (Leont’ev, 2003, p. 41). “...anything that is used to support the activity (the purposeful effort) of the subject trying to accomplish the object or outcome...” (Worthen & Berry, 2003, p. 127).

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

This chapter provides the theoretical and empirical support for this study. It contains an analysis of studies for the two constructs included in the conceptual framework: individuals not in education, employment or training (NiNi/NEET) and the perspective of performance proposed by Newman and Holzman (1993, 1997, 1999, 1996-2006) from the cultural and historical activity theory (CHAT). The search of terms started in August 2011 and included the following databases: ABI/Inform Complete Plus, Science Direct, EBSCO, Emerald Library, Academic Search Premier, JSTOR, Science Online, and Google Scholar. Search terms included: NiNi, NEET, cultural and historical activity theory (CHAT), performance and Vygotsky.

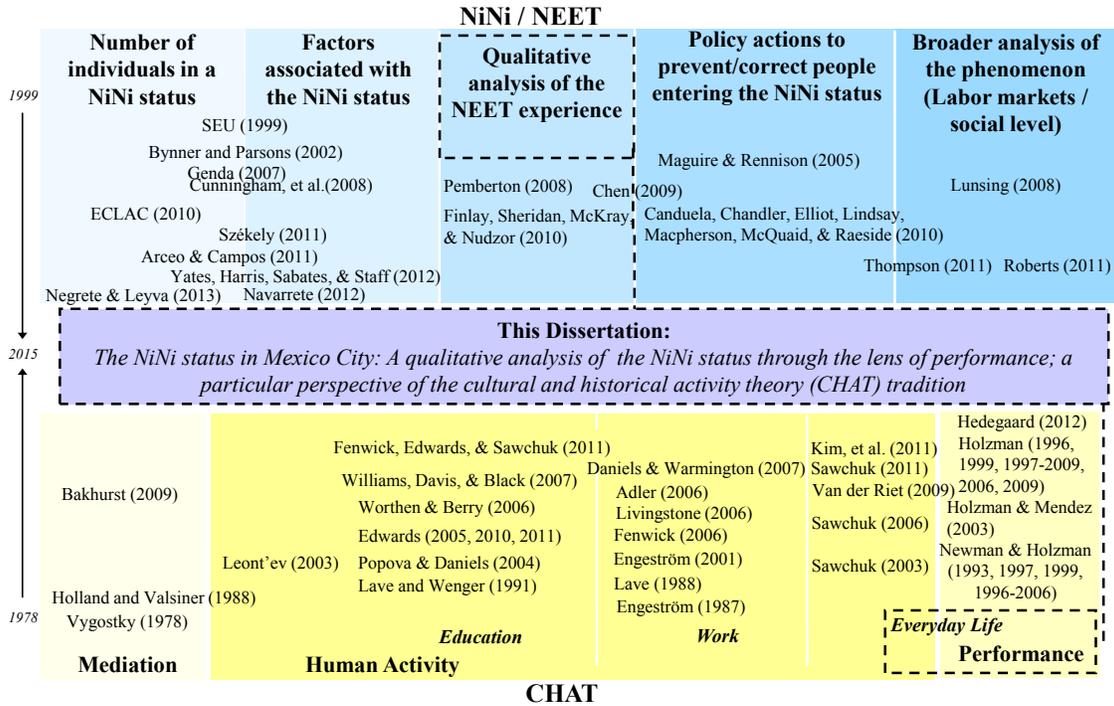
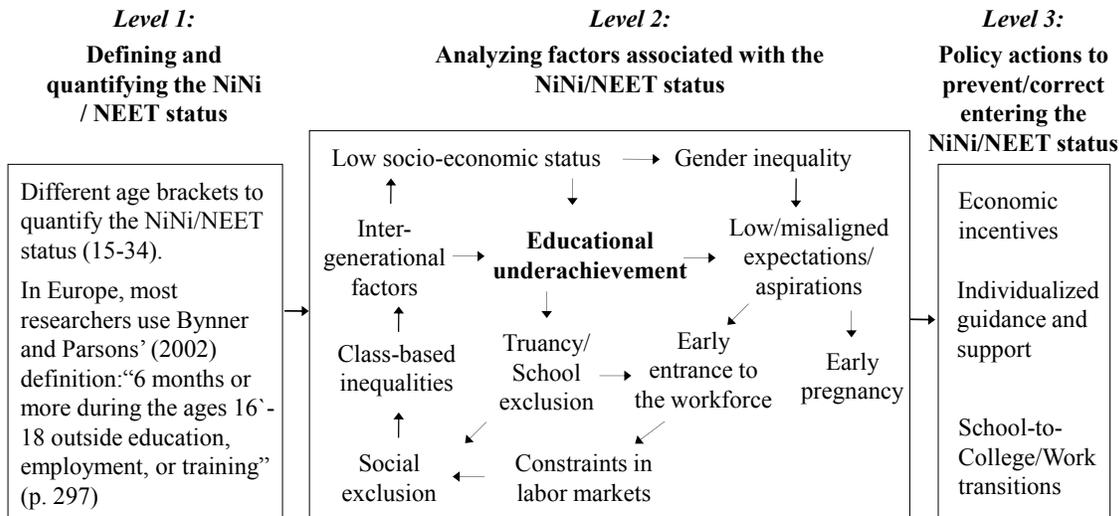


Figure 2.1. Literature Review Map

The NiNi/NEET Status

As depicted in figure 2.2, researchers have empirically analyzed the NiNi/NEET status in three levels; level 1 relates to research regarding to the definition and quantification of young people in a NiNi/NEET status; in level 2 researchers analyze quantitatively and qualitatively the factors associated with the NiNi/NEET status; and in level 3, researchers evaluate the impact of policy actions to prevent/mitigate people entering the NiNi/NEET status.



SEU, 1999; Bynner & Parsons, 2002; Schoon, et al., 2002; Maguire & Rennison, 2005; Yates & Payne, 2006; Genda, 2007; Lusing, 2008; Pemberton, 2008; Chen, 2009; Finlay, et al., 2010; Thompson, 2011; Roberts, 2011; Székely, 2011⁽¹⁾; Arceo & Campos, 2011⁽¹⁾; Yates, et al., (2011); Scarpetta & Sonnet, 2012; Navarrete, 2012⁽¹⁾; Negrete & Leyva, 2013⁽¹⁾.

⁽¹⁾Empirical studies conducted in Mexico

Figure 2.2. Analysis of Empirical Works About the NiNi/NEET Status

NiNi/NEET (Not in Employment, Education or Training)

Level 1: Defining and quantifying the NiNi / NEET status.

Researchers differ with the age criteria to classify individuals in a NEET status, however, the number of young people not in employment, education and training is commonly measured using country's census data. Bynner and Parsons' (2002) seminal work provided a workable definition for the NEET group that is widely used by researchers in the UK, Scotland, and other European countries (Maguire & Rennison, 2005; Pemberton, 2008; Thompson, 2011; Yates, et al., 2011; Yates & Payne, 2006). Bynner and Parsons define the NEET status as, "6 months or more during the ages 16-18 outside education, employment, or training" (p. 297). In 1999 the NEET group in the UK was 161,000 representing 9% of total youth ages 16-18 (SEU, 1999). More recent research (Scarpetta & Sonnet, 2012) revealed that despite policy actions, the NEET group

for young people ages 15/16-24 reached its peak in 2011 and required a new set of policy measures, "...with the number of NEETs exceeding 1 million, the UK government in late 2011 put forward a new policy strategy including additional support through more apprenticeships for young people..." (p. 6). In Japan, the NEET group includes young people ages 15-34 (Genda, 2007) and consequently the number and percentage of individuals in this status is larger: approximately 2,139,000 individuals representing 14% of the total number of individuals ages 15-34. Moreover, Genda classifies the NEET group in three types: type 1 are individuals in the NEET group who are actively seeking employment (approximately 1,277,000 young people representing 8% of the total 15-34 age group); type 2 are individuals who express a desire to work but are not actively searching employment (approximately 422,000 representing 3% of the total); and type 3 integrated by young individuals not looking for a job and not expressing a desire to work (approximately 422,000 young individuals representing 3% of total). In Taiwan, Chen (2009) defines the NEET group as young people, ages 15-24 not in education, employment, or training. The author says that the number of individuals in a NEET status in 2007 was 10.65% of the total age group 15-24; from those 33.5% were actively looking for employment. Finlay, et al. (2010) analyzes the NEET group with youth ages 16-19 and reported the existence of approximately 35,000 youth in a NEET status in Scotland representing 13.5% of the defined age population. Scarpetta and Sonnet (2012) utilizes OECD data to analyze the NEET group integrated by individuals ages 15/16-24. The authors reported the existence of 14 million of young people ages 15/16-24 in a NEET status in the OECD countries representing 12.3% of all individuals for the defined age range. Given the fact that the ILO classifies as unemployed the work of stay home

parents, women represents the largest group of nonparticipants, “three quarters of those classed as ‘economically inactive’ are women – over half of them parents or carers” (SEU, 1999, p. 21). When stay home parents are excluded from the NEET group, gender inequalities diminish (Arceo & Campos, 2012; Genda, 2007). Japan, for example has a lower percentage of unemployment than other countries because stay-home women are not classified as non-participant, “Japanese women who have quitted their jobs do not look for new ones, but choose instead to leave the labor force and undertake unpaid housekeeping by becoming housewives” (Genda, 2007, p. 28). From a cultural and historical perspective this finding may reveal the need for new categories in national census because stay-home parents and people who care for elders or people with disabilities should not be consider as NiNi/NEET because they perform an important role in society.

The analysis of this section reveals three important findings: (i) researchers use different age criteria to classify individuals in a NEET status; (ii) some researchers use Bynner and Parsons’ (2002) definition for the NEET group that requires a minimum of six-months within a 24-month period (or a quarter of the time period) to control for idle time of individuals who are waiting to enroll in higher education, employment, or other activities. Other researchers only use available census data for their analysis and may be including individuals who are not in a NiNi/NEET group (Lunsig, 2008); and (iii) the number and percentage of the NiNi/NEET group is important to quantify the phenomenon but it does not help to provide a better understanding of the phenomenon; moreover, the NiNi status puts a negative label on individuals and creates further

discrimination in society. The following section examines empirical studies focused on identifying the factors associated with the NEET status.

Level 2: Analyzing factors associated with the NEET status.

Educational underachievement.

There is consensus among scholars that educational underachievement is the single most important factor leading to a NEET status (Bynner & Parsons, 2002; Finlay, et al, 2010; Genda, 2007; Pemberton, 2008; Schoon, et al., 2002; SEU, 1999; Székely, 2011). The *Bridging the Gap* report (SEU, 1999) reveals that educational underachievement and low socio-economic status were the two factors with the highest incidence for 16-18 year olds to enter the NEET group. Likewise, Bynner and Parsons (2002) identify that poor educational achievement was the factor with the highest incidence for youth to enter the NEET group. As the authors report, “For both sexes highest qualification again had the highest ratio of all the predictors, 9.32 for boys and 6.21 for girls, showing the dominance of educational achievement in young’s people life chances” (p. 299). Similarly, Schoon, et al. (2002) reinforces the important role of educational attainment for individuals to achieve success, as they reported: “The best predictor of adult social status was academic attainment, which confirmed the crucial role of educational achievement in determining adult outcomes” (p. 1497). Moreover, Genda (2007) affirms that a low level of education is correlated with the NEET type 2 and 3 groups: “Jobless persons, who did not graduate from high school, including high-school dropouts, are more likely to be type 2 or type 3 non-job seekers than job seekers” (p. 30). These quantitative findings have also been supported by qualitative analyses; Pemberton (2008) for example, conducted a qualitative case study and identified that low

educational attainment is one of the main causes for people to enter the NEET status. In addition, the case study revealed that people who enter the labor market with no qualifications are more vulnerable to become NEET in the future. Another qualitative case study conducted by Finlay, Sheridan, McKray and Nudzor (2010) in Scotland confirms the importance of educational attainment to avoid the NEET status. The authors employed creative approaches and involved 26 youth to learn “what is it like to be a NEET” (p. 851). The case study reveals that poor school performance was the most important factor; 58% of the sample cited it as the main cause for entering the NEET status. Participants reported that traditional school systems do not fit with the NEET population; 58% of participants reported having experienced “poor school record/exclusions” (p. 860)—the highest reported factor, “Having been excluded from school, often on multiple occasions, was a common experience of the young people in our study” (p. 862). The authors attribute these exclusions to several factors including lack of concentration, not relating well with teachers, and in some cases violent behavior.

As described in this section, educational underachievement is the main factor for youth to enter the NEET group, or better said, it is the tip of the iceberg of a bigger problem around poor school performance. The review of empirical studies reveals the existence of other structural problems in the analysis of the NEET phenomenon. One of them is low socioeconomic status. Empirical evidence reveals that low socioeconomic status directly and indirectly creates a vicious circle of low educational achievement, non-participation, and poverty. The following section analyzes how people’s low socioeconomic status influence youth to enter the NEET group.

Low socio-economic status.

The Social Exclusion Unit (1999) report reveals that low socio-economic status is directly related with the NEET status. As the report states, “The young people involved are disproportionately from poor backgrounds in deprived areas. They may suffer multiple disadvantage and few recover from the poor start that they have had” (p. 8). Moreover, their socioeconomic status is a generational factor that traps future generations. As the following text reveals, poverty becomes a vicious circle difficult to break:

Young men who started nursery education after the age of 4, were brought up in a poor family living in overcrowded, inner city accommodation and who at birth either had a father in a manual occupation or an absent father are more likely to become non-participants on leaving school at the age of 16. For young women, similar predictors apply, but with the additional factors of having a mother with no qualifications and parents who do not encourage their daughter’s continuation in education beyond 16. (SEU, 1999, p. 25)

Similarly, Schoon, et al. (2002), identify a positive correlation between socioeconomic status and low educational attainment. As they report, “Socioeconomic background is one of the main predictors of cognitive development, which provides the underpinnings of academic achievement on which much success of later life depends” (p. 1486). The authors performed quantitative analyses of 30,000 individuals from birth to adulthood using structural equation models. Their study confirms a strong correlation between low-socioeconomic status and low educational attainment, “The best predictor of adult social status was academic attainment, which confirmed the crucial role of educational achievement in determining adult outcomes” (p. 1497).

Yates, et al. (2011) conducted quantitative analyses using data from 3,163 women and 2,202 men from the British Cohort Study (BCS70). The authors arrived to the same finding: people with low socio-economic status face greater risks to enter the NEET

group. As the authors reported, “Young people from the lowest socio-economic groups continue to be the most likely to be disengaged from education, to leave school with the fewest qualifications and to become NEET (see Office for National Statistics, 2008)” (p. 515). In addition, Yates, et al., identified a strong correlation between low socio-economic status and misaligned or uncertain aspirations;

Perhaps the most notable findings, however, concern the difference in consequences of misaligned or uncertain aspirations depending on SES. Misaligned and uncertain aspirations are considerably more widespread and detrimental for young people from lower SES groups in the BCS70 dataset. Almost twice the proportion of low-SES young people had misaligned aspirations compared with to their high-SES young people (p. 528).

The authors consider that disadvantaged youth—poor and lower achievers, have greater difficulties to make an effective transition from education to employment, and have greater probabilities to enter the NEET status. Likewise, Thomson (2011) analyzed NEET literature and experiences and found that low socioeconomic status is a major factor for young people to enter the NEET group. As he reported,

Recent data from the Youth Cohort Study (YCS) and the Longitudinal Study of Young People in England (LSYPE) show a strong association between socio-economic status (SES)² and being NEET (DCSF/ONS, 2009). . . . NEET rates are considerably higher for young people from low-SES backgrounds than for their more privileged peers. (pp. 789-790)

Contrary to the evidence that low socioeconomic status is linked to the NEET status, Genda (2007) found that the NEET status is not necessarily linked to low socioeconomic status. The author conducted quantitative analyses in Japan using data from the Employment Status Survey. He found that a higher economic status has an influence for being a type II NEET, “Jobless youths belonging to higher-income households tend to resign from work because they can rely on the support of parents or other family

members. By contrast, jobless youths from lower-income households cannot afford leisure time.” (p. 32). His findings seems incongruous with other research and he acknowledges a reduction in the number of NEET belonging to wealthy families, “...this proportion fell from 23% in 1997 to 14.4% in 2002” (p. 33). Conversely, the percentage of NEET individuals from low socio-economic status increased steadily to reach almost 40%, “the highest level of the three jobless types” (p. 33). His analyses reveal the complexity of the NEET phenomenon. Although low socioeconomic status is a major barrier for youth, is not a determinant factor (not all poor youth enter the NEET status); there are other influencing factors around the NEET status. The following section analyzes another factor that researchers have found linked to the NEET status: gender inequalities and the associated risk of early pregnancy.

Gender inequalities and early pregnancy.

The analysis of the literature reveals that gender inequalities start at home with the lack of support of parents to their daughters (Bynner & Parsons, 2002; SEU, 1999; Thompson, 2011). As Bynner and Parsons claim, parents play a pivotal role in the education, motivation and future of their young daughters, “For girls the significance of educational interests in the home (or rather the lack of it) appears to push them along a path which for many in the NEET category, is identified with early motherhood (cf. Griffiny, 1985; Wallace, 1987)” (p. 301). The analysis of data from the 1970 British cohort revealed a strong positive correlation between the NEET status and early pregnancy; “Seventy-one percent of women who experience a significant spell of non-participation (six months or more between 16 and 18) are parents by the age of 21 compared with 16 percent of other young women” (SEU, 1999, p. 35). Similarly, Bynner

and Parsons (2002) reveal that many women enter the NEET status because of early pregnancy, “young women frequently exit early from the labor market to pursue the alternative route of motherhood (Bynner, Ferri, & Sheperd, 1997; Coles, 2000)” (p. 290). A qualitative case study conducted by Pemberton (2008) revealed among other findings, that young women mimic their friend’s behavior; “They [young women] like to stick together and do the same things—therefore if one of a group gets pregnant, the others start to think it would be good to have babies together so they can continue to do the same things” (youth worker 1, Liverpool)” (p. 253).

Gender inequalities combined with low socio-economic status and cultural factors create important barriers for the integration of women in the labor market (Bynner & Parsons, 2002; Genda, 2007; SEU, 1999). The SEU (1999) report identifies some family factors that influence nonparticipation of young women, “...having a mother with no qualifications and parents who do not encourage their daughter’s continuation in education beyond 16.” (p. 25). In addition, the division of labor at home places more responsibilities for women and limit their opportunities to get paid employment. An analysis of occupational aspirations conducted by Yates, et al. (2011) identified that women with misaligned ambitions were more likely than men to become NEET because of gender inequalities in the labor market, “While we did not observe a significant impact of early parenthood for young men, for young women it increased the odds of early NEET status by 6.5 times after the inclusion of controls.” (p. 528)

Roberts (2011) considers that gender inequalities have been reduced and that the new service economy favors women over men in many jobs; “These jobs have increasingly required social and inter-personal skills, typically described as ‘feminine’.

Therefore, young women rather than young men are often the preferred workers of the new service economy.” (p. 26). This finding is supported by Livanos and Núñez (2012) who analyzed the effect of the 2008 financial crisis in the unemployment rates for 16-35 year olds in Europe. Their study revealed that women with high education were the least affected with the financial crisis. The unemployment rate for this group reported an increase of 10.9% versus a 29% increase for their male counterparts. Moreover, unemployment rates for young women with low education increased by 17.6% and unemployment for males with low education increased by 52.6%.

Low/misaligned expectations and aspirations.

In addition to structural factors associated with the NEET status, such as low socioeconomic status or gender inequalities, the analysis of the literature reveals the existence of psychological factors that constraint the development of youth and limits their successful performance in school and work activities. Yates, Harris, Sabates, and Staff (2011) conducted quantitative analyses of expectations’ misalignment using the database of the British Cohort Study (BCS70). The study reveals that

...young men with mismatched aspirations and educational expectations were almost twice as likely to become NEET. Young women with misaligned ambitious were three times as likely to become NEET. Also young men and women with uncertain aspirations were roughly three times more likely to become NEET (p. 528).

Moreover, the study evidences the importance of raising young people’s aspirations and the need to focus on continuous education—in addition to focusing efforts on improving gender equality and the access of individuals with lower socio-economic backgrounds. As the authors say, the majority of people expect a well-paid job but many do not have the required education and ambition to get it.

Young people who aspire to high-level careers generally also have appropriate ambitions for post-compulsory education, regardless of their background. However, ambitious young people from manual backgrounds are much less likely than their peers from professional, managerial, or technical (PMT) backgrounds to achieve the required examination grades or to remain in education at age 16 (Croll, 2008). (p. 519)

Finlay, Sheridan, McKray and Nudzor (2010) conducted a qualitative study involving 26 youth from Scotland to learn “what is it like to be a NEET” (p. 851). Among other findings, the study reveals that these youth have normal aspirations, “They wanted what most people want: a settled life with a steady partner, a job, a home and possible children. Many of their career aspirations were modest and achievable with the right support.” (pp. 863-864). The authors recommend a combination of policy actions and individualized guidance and support to assist this type of youth. Similarly, another qualitative study conducted by Chen (2009) revealed that the 10 NEET participants were people with normal aspirations, who lacked social capital, but they were not involved in risky behavior, “Fortunately, they did not risk their wellbeing or engage in serious misbehavior. They did not try to avoid regular jobs. They did not enjoy their idle lifestyle; on the contrary, they were eager for work and to be self-sufficient” (p. 39).

Intergenerational factors.

Some researchers argue that intergenerational factors influence young people to enter the NEET status (Bynner & Parsons, 2002; Pemberton, 2008; SEU, 1999; Yates, et al, 2011). These factors include a variety of family and individual situations such as having a low birth weight, poverty, etc.). Yates, Harris, Sabates, and Staff (2012) report that intergenerational factors when combined with gender inequalities create barriers for women to get a paid job, especially “among those from more disadvantaged backgrounds with less-qualified parents (Ianelli & Smyth, 2008)” (p. 516). Similarly, Pemberton

(2008) identifies that intergenerational factors influence youth to enter in a NEET status. As the author found in the analysis of themes from the qualitative case study, "...nearly all of the practitioners interviewed noted that those who were NEET appeared to have lower levels of support from parents and immediate family and often looked to external agencies for role models" (p. 251). The case study reveals situations where parents were a negative influence for young people, especially when they reinforced antisocial behavior, or when they did not provide proper advice or a positive influence.

Families can have a negative impact as their aspirations can be limited and there is often a lack of motivation which parents pass on to their children...most young people we see have no vision beyond their local areas and when asked what their plans are cannot see beyond a flat or Playstation—young lads aspire to become bouncers because their uncles or neighbours do this and are seen to earn lots of money" (youth worker 4, Sefton) (Pemberton, 2008, p. 251).

Pemberton (2008) also reports that in some cases youth do not follow their parents' advice because the advice does not fit the paradigmatic perceptions of themselves and their career possibilities, as it is reflected in the following two quotes:

My dad wanted me to go to college but I wanted money so I ended up moving out" (NEET individual 13)...Mum wanted me to be a doctor; I tried but I didn't want to do the course and I ended up pregnant. (NEET focus group, Liverpool) (p. 252)

Class-based inequalities.

Thompson (2011) suggests the need for a wider analysis of social inequalities to better understand the NEET phenomenon. The author conducted a critical review of policy actions and calls for broader actions that address class-based inequalities. The author argues that individualized approaches to address the NEET phenomenon are inappropriate and represent 'late modernity' (Giddens, 1991, p. 788). Instead, Thompson suggests focusing on structural, social class factors because "Young people from low-

SES backgrounds are more likely to be NEET than those from professional backgrounds” (p. 789). Although the use of the NEET term implies positive advantages because it focuses the attention of governments and parents, it also conveys negative implications and discrimination. For the author, the term NEET represents a policy construct that does not recognize the diverse needs and problems faced by individuals and their families. Moreover, Thompson claims that by focusing on the NEET distracts attention from the real problem, that is, the existing inequalities within the education and labor market system. He explains that the actions taken to reduce the NEET group are grounded in what Levitas (2005) describes as a “social integrationist discourse of social exclusion” (p. 793) that promotes the collective participation of society and at the same time, promotes the maintenance of “inequalities and exploitation inherent in capitalist modes of production.” (p. 793). As described in the following quote, Thompson criticizes the Cartesian dualities of late modernity that separates individuals and society. The author says that the NEET discourse places the responsibility on the individual and his/her family and excludes the responsibility of governments, organizations and educational institutions. The author calls for a more holistic approach focused on reducing class-based inequalities, because individuals are not isolated but part of society.

Furlong and Cartmel (2007) draw attention to this growing disjuncture between objective and subjective experiences, referring to it as “the *epistemological fallacy* of late modernity, in which ‘People’s life chances remain highly structured at the same time they increasingly seek solutions on an individual, rather than a collective basis’ (p. 5)” (Thompson, 2011, p. 790, emphasis in original).

Furthermore, Thompson reviewed studies that measure the economic impact of national vocational qualifications (Jenkins et al., 2007). The author says that the development of competencies fail to increase employability levels because the increase of

qualifications is general and individuals with higher SES have more opportunities to increase their qualifications than people from low SES, "...working class young people who have achieved higher levels of education than their parent's generation are squeezed out of good jobs and elite higher education by corresponding improvements in middle class achievement" (p. 798). The author says that class conditions have been maintained and will continue to be maintained in the future, as demonstrated in the following quote from Smith (2009) "...a section of mainly working-class young people will continue to be marginalized, with low-skilled work or exclusion from the labour market their most likely prospects, and that NEET rates will continue at current levels or even increase" (p. 798). In sum, the author considers that the NEET discourse should be elevated at the social level. His suggestions are in line with political discourses claiming the need "to reduce educational inequality and increase social mobility" (HM Government, 2010, p. 28), however, these discourses need to be supported with actions addressing class-based inequalities.

Constraints in the labor markets.

According to Lunsing (2008) some researchers in Japan elevate the analysis of the NEET phenomenon at the social level and focus the discussion at the education and labor market systems. He argues that the term "NEET" situates the problem on the individual and not on organizations that do not offer proper employment conditions. In addition, he criticizes a solution based on economic growth, "because the contemporary globalised capitalist system needs a category like this to be present everywhere (Lunsing, 2008, p. 113)" (p. 362). Similarly, Roberts (2011) conducted a qualitative study involving 24 young males age 18-24 using biographical interviewing to examine the "missing middle".

The ‘missing middle’ consists of UK males with low educational credentials who are “neither a NEET (not in education, employment or training) pathway nor a ‘tidy’, government preferred, route through post-compulsory education.” (p. 21). The study highlights severe problems in the current labor market that segregates and marginalizes individuals based on their social capital and resources. Individuals who joined a ‘fast track’ transition to employment have limited opportunities for development and those with more resources join a ‘slow track’ transition to employment and continue their higher education; “Working-class young people are often thought to be excluded from a slow-track as ‘they suffer from a lack of resources and are restrained by traditional norms and family ties’ (Yoon 2006, p. 375)” (p. 30).

Other factors/consequences of being in NEET status.

Thompson (2011) claims that there is enough empirical evidence around the factors and risks associated with the NEET status; what is not clear is under what conditions these factors interact and constrain the agentic capability of individuals. As he says, “The factors involved in young people becoming NEET, and their underlying relationship to broader social structures are now relatively well understood, although the way in which different factors interact is less clear.” (p. 793). In addition to the factors included before, the author identifies other factors associated with the NEET status. These are: unstable family circumstances (Rees, et al, 1996), unemployed parents (Barham, et al., 2009), major personal and family traumas (Ball et al., 1999; Rees et al., 1996; Russell et al., 2011) parental break-up, unemployment, relocation and bullying, disaffection (Rees, et al.), truancy and school exclusion—especially in deprived communities (DCSF/ONS, 2009; Shildrick & MacDonald, 2007). Similarly, Thompson

enlists some of the associated risks of being in a NEET status; these include: being pregnant at an early age (women), low self-esteem, poor health, depression, lack of control, reduced longtime earnings, and engaging in drug abuse and criminal activities (p. 796).

This section has analyzed empirical studies (quantitative and qualitative) focused on the analysis of factors associated with the NEET status. These studies have provided more information to parents, educators, and policy makers on the factors and risks associated with the NEET status. Consequently, some countries have implemented policy actions to prevent and or mitigate young people entering the NEET group. The next section discusses three policy actions implemented in the UK and other countries to address the NEET phenomenon; these are the use of economic incentives, individualized guidance and support, and improving school-to-college/work transitions.

Level 3: Analyzing the impact of policy actions to prevent/correct people entering the NiNi status.

Economic incentives.

Maguire and Rennison (2005) conducted a quantitative study to analyze the education maintenance allowance (EMA) provided by the UK as part of a policy measure to reduce the number of individuals in a NEET status. The authors used longitudinal survey data (covering a three-year period) from the EMA evaluation program. The EMA consisted on a weekly allowance of £10, £20, or £30 depending on the annual family income. Survey data included an initial face-to-face interview followed by annual telephone interviews to random samples of approximately 11,000 youth in a NEET status and a parent or legal guardian of each NEET individual. The analysis revealed that EMA

is good for preventing young people entering into a NEET status, but its impact for correction is limited,

Evidence from the evaluation would suggest that paying young people to stay on at school has made a positive impact on preventing some young people entering the NEET group. However, the EMA was less successful in attracting young people back into full-time education once they had entered the NEET group. (Maguire & Rennison, 2005, p. 187)

Similarly, Chen (2009) conducted a qualitative study to identify the experiences of a group of ten youth, ages 15-20 who participated in the “Flying Young Programme” (p. 34). The training program was sponsored by the government of Taiwan to increase employability of NEET youth from disadvantaged families. The program used a conditional cash transfer mechanism to develop key skills on the NEET population. Participating individuals received an economic incentive of approximately US\$150 for the theoretical part of the program focused on the development of interpersonal skills and around \$300 per month if they continue the second phase, consisting of a three-month apprenticeship training to develop occupational competencies. The study revealed mixed results, it confirmed the importance of economic incentives to attract people of low socio-economic backgrounds, however, participants did not consider that the program increase their employability, “Most thought the programme was of little practical help and did not increase their chances of employment, but that it did give them social and emotional support and help them feel better about themselves.” (p. 33). Furthermore, the author concludes that youth of low socioeconomic status cannot continue their studies without income.

A good training programme must also offer monetary incentives to increase young people’s desire to participate, especially those from disadvantaged families. These young people simply cannot afford to stay in a job training

programme without income. Money not only makes such programmes more attractive, it can also prevent early drop-outs. (Chen, 2009, p. 41)

Based on the partial success of programs offering economic incentives and the responsibility of governments to provide support to at-risk populations, other countries have been gradually implementing these public policies. In March 17, 2014 the government of Argentina implemented the decree “PROGRESAR” # 84/2014 that allows the right to receive a monthly financial support of \$600 (approximately US \$70) to young people ages 18-24 who qualify for the financial aid. The program aims at keeping young people in mandatory education and to foster the development of key skills to foster their integration in the formal labor market. The implementation of this decree is opening the door to additional public policy actions to support young people in NiNi status (such as tax exemptions for organizations that employ young people, greater use of mentorships, expansion of credit lines for young people to start a business, among other).

Individualized guidance and support.

Maguire and Rennison (2005) reinforce the critical role of economic incentives with personalized guidance provided by the Connexions government agency, “In conclusion, the evidence would suggest that the EMA, together with other policy developments, will be instrumental in encouraging more young people to remain in post-16 education.” (p. 199). Similarly, Pemberton (2008) considers the need for more personalized support for youth from schools and teachers because each individual has particular needs and faces distinctive situations. Moreover, Canduela et al. (2010) revealed the diversity of needs presented by 16 year olds and the importance of individualized guidance and support (e.g. some youth are ready for college, some prefer vocational education, and others do not like the school system—and will take the first

opportunity to leave it), “Guidance staff in many schools started working with potential winter leavers 12-16 months before their statutory leaving date. Schools described how guidance staff worked with colleges, career advisers, parents and students to explore potential progression routes (including exceptional entry)” (p. 351).

School to college/work transitions.

Canduela et al. (2010) conducted a mixed methods analysis of the “winter leaver” program in Scotland. This program allows youth born between October and February to enter college in winter, prior to their 16th birthday, for keeping them in the school system, facilitating their transition to college, and avoiding the NEET status. “Exceptional entry allows students to enter college in the term before their statutory school leaving date—such young people attend college while formally remaining the responsibility of their school” (p. 339). The study reported that the winter leaver program achieved its main objective: 46% of youth participating completed it and passed the assessments. In addition, authors affirmed that economic restrictions matter: people abandon school to look for a job or “other destinations” (not clear what those destinations are). The analysis of partnerships between school and colleges revealed interesting practices such as regular contacts among staff, interchange of information, and planned school visits. In addition, some schools have a dedicated point of contact for such partnerships. Obviously, these efforts require additional resources and existing budget limitations challenge school institutions to implement novel approaches. In that regard, authors recommend to be selective and focus the one-on-one advice and guidance and mentoring to poor & disadvantaged individuals, “It was not always clear whether sufficient resources were

available to meet the needs of planning and delivering provision for these vulnerable learners.” (p. 357)

The NiNi Status in Mexico

Although the NiNi status has been a topic of discussion and debate in Mexican media (El Universal, 2011), the theoretical and empirical research in Mexico is in early stages. With regards to the classification of empirical works proposed in figure 3, these authors have quantified the number of individuals in NiNi status and have analyzed factors associated with the NiNi status (levels 1 and 2). Using data from national census and national surveys, Székely (2011), Arceo and Campos (2012), and Negrete and Leyva (2013) have quantified the number of individuals in NiNi status. Székely claims the existence of more than nine million youth, ages 15-18 that neither study nor work (NiNi) representing sixteen percent of total population in Latin America and the Caribbean. The statistical regression analysis conducted by the author revealed factors at the individual, family, community, and country levels. Conversely, Arceo and Campos used a different age group and reported that in Mexico alone, there are 8.6 million of young people ages 15-29 in NiNi status. The authors reported that low socioeconomic backgrounds and lack of education—from them and their parents, are the factors with the highest incidence to be in NiNi status. Negrete and Leyva (2013) reported the presence of 7.05 million people aged 14-29 outside of formal school and work activities. Using data from the National Survey of Occupation and Employment (ENOE), the authors further analyzed the population in NiNi status and identified the following segments: (i) unemployed people that are actively looking for employment (17.21%), (ii) available people who are not looking for employment (16.45%), and (iii) people not available for employment

(66.33%). In addition, the authors claim that the large majority of people not available for employment are women performing household work. Similarly, Navarrete (2012) reported gender inequality gaps for young women with small children and for people living in urban areas.

Existing literature on the topic (Cunningham et al., 2008; ECLAC, 2010; Székely, 2011) identifies three factors that are putting young people at risk: (i) *individual factors* such as exposure to drugs, insecurity, early pregnancy, and violence; (ii) *family and community factors* including domestic violence, discrimination, abuse, and dropping out of school; and (iii) *general factors* related to the macroeconomic conditions of countries, including economic crisis, unemployment, and the accelerated growth of population in the 15 to 18 years of age range. Székely (2011) reports the incidence of these three factors for the growing number of individuals living in NiNi status in Latin America. In his explanation, the author emphasizes a twofold problem for education systems in the Latin America region: coverage and quality. Székely reports that elementary education in Latin America covers 92% of its population; however, there is an alarming drop-out trend for higher education levels. For example, 65% of young people are enrolled in middle school, and only 33% continue high school education (10th -12th grades)—this segment includes people between 15 to 18 years of age. Székely (2010) theorizes that the low quality of educational systems influence students to drop-out of school because they see no value in continuing their studies. In the 2005 census in Mexico, students reported that “they did not like school, school was not useful for them or did not adapt to their interests and needs” (p. 315) [*original in Spanish “la escuela no les gustaba, no les servía o no se adecuaba a sus intereses y necesidades”*]. The author compared the quality of

educational systems in Latin America using the Programme for International Students Assessment (PISA) test. The results of the test reveals that the nine participating Latin American countries scored 20% below the overall average and significantly below Asian countries—particularly in mathematics.

Navarrete (2012) claims the existence of a wider gap between skills and job opportunities than for previous generations. Although schooling has increased knowledge levels of young people, they have more difficulty than previous generations in getting employment. Available jobs do not offer proper conditions. As she says, “...young people who are looking for employment and those who are employed, work in the deteriorating labor market of the country. In the absence of opportunities, they end up participating in temporary jobs without a formal contract, no benefits, and are either unpaid or receive a very low income.” (p. 5) [“...los jóvenes que buscan trabajo o que están ocupados, lo hacen dentro del mercado deterioro de los mercados laborales que vive el país. Ante la falta de oportunidades terminan participando en empleos temporales, sin contrato laboral, sin prestaciones sociales, sin remuneración o con ingresos muy bajos.”] In addition, the ECLAC (2010) claims that job opportunities in the upper secondary cycle are exercising a negative influence for staying at school “especially if students face adverse economic or academic conditions or problems with integration or identity formation.” (p. 25)

Székely (2011) identifies a positive correlation between income levels and the presence of the NiNi status. From the total number of individuals living in NiNi status age 15-18, 29% (one of every three) are in the lowest income-quintile (quintile 1), 25% are in quintile 2, 20% in quintile 3, 16% in quintile 4, and 10% are in quintile 5 (p. 6). Similarly, the author reports a positive correlation between the levels of education and the

presence of the NiNi status: 35% did not complete elementary school (grades 1-6); 25% completed elementary school, 17% completed middle school (grades 7-9), 15% did not completed high school (grades 10-12), and only 8% completed high school. Similarly, the author found a trend linking the NiNi status with the informal economy; only 10-15% of parents of individuals living in NiNi status work in the formal economy and enjoy the benefits of social protection.

Contrary to the general belief of an increase in the population of individuals in NiNi status, Arceo and Campos (2011) identify a reduction in these individuals in Mexico during the last two decades. Based on information obtained from national census databases and longitudinal information from national income and labor surveys, the authors identified that the number of individuals ages 15-29 living in NiNi status decreased by 5.5 percent; from 9.1 million in 1990 to 8.6 million in 2010. When compared with the total population of Mexico, the reduction of individuals in NiNi status represents 8.9 percent points. In 1990, these individuals represented 37.91% of the total population, and in 2010 they represented 28.97%. Arceo and Campos conducted a quantitative regression analysis (probit analysis) to identify the variables, associated with the NiNi status. These variables are grouped at the individual, family, and community levels. At the individual level, the authors include individual's age, educational level, civil status, and whether the individual still lives with his/her parents. Family level variables include age and gender of parents or legal guardians, data about family members living in the same house (average age, number of family members, family income, number of working individuals 29 and older, number of children under 5 years of age, and number of individuals 65 years and older), and data about the existence of urban services for the

house (access to drinking water for example). Community level variables include employment index and school attendance for the residency districts of individuals ages 15-29. The regression analysis reveals that education is the most important factor to reduce the likelihood to be in NiNi status—especially for individuals in the 20-25 age range. Men with university studies decrease the likelihood to be in NiNi status by 5.6 percent points, and similarly women with university studies decrease their probability to be in NiNi status by 19.1 percent points. The analysis reveals similar trends for the level of education of parents or legal guardians; parents with university studies reduce the probability of their children to be in NiNi status by 9% in the case of male parents and 18% for female ones. Moreover, the authors found that larger families have more probability to have individuals in NiNi status; nevertheless, an increase in the working individuals decreases the probability of having individuals living in NiNi status by 2 percent points.

Despite the reduction of individuals in NiNi status, Arceo and Campos (2011) report the existence of severe gender inequalities: 2.05 million of these individuals are men and 6.54 million are women (representing three women per each man). The analysis by age identifies 0.59 million men in the 15 to 19 age range, and 1.08 million women (1.8 women per each man). This proportion increases with age, in the 20-24 age group there are 0.51 million men and 1.64 million women (3.2 women per each man); in the 25-29 age group there are 0.39 million men and 1.7 million women (4.4 women per each man). Arceo and Campos clarify that most of women living in NiNi status are married and reported working in “household chores”. This activity is not classified as formal work. When the authors exclude stay-home-parents from the analysis the differences between

men and women are dramatically reduced. From a socio-cultural perspective, it is accepted that Mexican married women stay at home taking care of their children or older family members. The authors acknowledge the need for more qualitative data to better understand the phenomenon. In specific they would like to know the following: how long are individuals in NiNi status? Why is a young individual not studying or looking for employment? What are the reasons for dropping out of school? Do stay-home women made a conscious decision of not working, or if it is the lack of employment opportunities, or the lack of accessible nursery schools that gives them no choice but working in household chores? As one of the authors said, “a qualitative study would put a face to the individuals living in NiNi status and would provide answers to better understand the phenomenon” (R. Campos, personal communication, February 16, 2012).

Summary of NEET Literature

During the last decade, researchers have empirically studied the NEET status with quantitative and qualitative methods and there is valuable information about the number of youth in NiNi/NEET status, the factors associated with the phenomenon, and the impact of policy actions to prevent and reduce the number of the NiNi/NEET group. Although authors use different age criteria to quantify the number of young people not in education, employment or training, most researchers in the UK agree to use the range of 16-18 years of age to study the NEET phenomenon. Empirical studies have studied the number of individuals, factors associated with the NEET status, and the impact of policy actions to prevent and reduce people entering the NEET group. In Mexico, the analysis of the NiNi phenomenon is just beginning and has mainly concentrated in quantifying the phenomenon and identifying factors associated with the NiNi status using data from

national census and information from other surveys. Although the empirical studies reveal strong correlations (e.g. youth with low socioeconomic status are more likely to enter the NiNi/NEET group). Some authors suggest a more holistic approach; the analysis of class-based inequalities in the educational, labor, and social system. Consequently, the analysis of the NiNi/NEET needs more investigation to better understand the phenomenon. Moreover, such research would require a different epistemological approach to consider individuals as totalities, an epistemology that rejects the limitations of the Cartesian duality that separates thinking and behaving or individuals and society.

Cultural Historical Activity Theory (CHAT)

Definition and origins.

According to Holzman (2006), the term CHAT³ (Cultural Historical Activity Theory) was coined in the late 20th century to encompass a variety of interdisciplinary approaches around “...developmental, educational and organizational psychology; psychotherapy; cognitive science; curriculum and teaching; literacy, writing and rhetoric; information technology and design; and geography” (p. 5). The inter-disciplinary character of CHAT has attracted the attention of “anthropologists, sociologists, political scientists, socio-linguistics, communications studies scholars, ergonomists, computer design engineers, and so on.” (Fenwick, Edwards, & Sawchuk, 2011, p. 58)

³ This study will use the term CHAT (cultural historical activity theory) to refer to the late 20th century body of research that evolved from Vygotsky’s (1978) cultural and historical theory. Other researchers use the terms: activity theory, socio-cultural psychology, cultural historical psychology, etc. to refer to the same tradition.

Holzman (2006) claims that there are more interpretations and definitions of CHAT than definitions of postmodernism; however, there is less conflict among CHAT researchers to demonstrate who holds the “best” CHAT approach. Without trying to include a complete list of CHAT approaches, Holzman offers the following:

Among the numerous articulations of activity theory we find the following:

- the study of the human mind in its cultural and historical contexts;
- a general conceptual system with these basic principles: the hierarchical structure of activity, object-orientedness, internalization/externalization, tool mediation and development;
- theoretical approaches that place culture and activity at the center of attempts to understand human nature;
- a psychology that focuses not on the individual but on the interaction between an individual, systems of artifacts and other individuals in historically developing institutional settings;
- a non-dualistic approach to understanding and transforming human life that takes dialectical human activity as its ontology.” (p. 6)

Despite this diversity of interpretations among CHAT researchers, there is an overall agreement on the foundational principles of Vygotsky (1978) regarding learning and development as a social, cultural and historical process. In the following paragraphs, the researcher includes a selective review of the CHAT literature relevant to the analysis of the NiNi status in Mexico. The review includes empirical works around the analysis of mediation and the development of cognition; the analysis of human activities and a third approach that is the core of the conceptual framework; the CHAT approach related to performance. This approach follows Vygotsky’s ideas around play to foster learning and development. In this sense, performance represents a “theory of becoming” (Holzman, 2009, p. 17). It understands humans as tool and culture creators with the capacity to simultaneously perform “who they are” and “other than who they are” to live their lives and contribute to the transformation of their social and historical environments. The

following section discusses the three areas of CHAT pertaining to this study: mediation, human activity and performance.

Mediation.

For Vygotsky (1978) learning and development is a cultural and historical process mediated by tools and signs. In Vygotsky's cultural and historical learning theory, the development of consciousness and the internalization of behaviors occur with people's engagement in activities. Vygotsky says that learning is a social process and individuals learn when they participate in activities after completing an internalization process.

Vygotsky's claims on mediation are best represented in his genetic law of cultural development:

Every function in the child's cultural development appears twice: first, on the social level, and later, on the individual level; first *between* people (*interpsychological*) and then *inside* the child (*intrapsychological*). This applies equally to voluntary attention, to logical memory, and to the formation of concepts. All the higher functions originate as actual relations between human individuals." (Vygotsky, 1978, p. 57, emphasis in original)

Wertsch (1990) claims the existence of the following three principles in Vygotsky's theory: (i) the reliance on genetic analysis in human activity that places more importance on the process of learning than in the product of learning, (ii) the belief that higher mental functions are developed initially at a social level and then at the individual level, and (iii) the claim that thinking, language and symbols are used to mediate the development of higher mental functions in society.

Similarly, Borthick, Jones, and Wakai (2003) sustain that human development implies a dialectical and constitutive process between individual's consciousness and his/her participation with social groups. As they say, individuals develop their "own mental structures through collaboration with others" (p.108). The authors say that

learners construct new meanings when they resolve internal conflicts derived from the interpretation of multiple narratives characteristic of modernist and postmodernist discourses. Consequently, learning and development is not a product but a continuously constitutive activity.

In Vygotsky's (1978) classical example of a knot handkerchief as a symbol reminder, the handkerchief established a mental connection and mediated individuals' actions and behavior. As Fenwick, Edwards, and Sawchuck (2011) claim, the example demonstrated the role of mediation between subjective and objective planes, "It was this type of empirical exploration that, in turn, initiated his concept of the mind as not simply an internal phenomenon, but an externalized one, dependent on mediations by external symbols and material artifacts" (p. 63). For Vygotsky, social relations were the basis for development; and the convergence of thinking and speech was a crucial moment for developing higher mental functions (Bakhurst, 1986). As Vygotsky claimed, thinking and speech start as separate processes that later converge, through social interaction, to foster the development of higher mental functions (human consciousness).

Holland and Valsiner (1988) reinforce the mediational effect of cultural models for achieving cognitive and affective development. These authors propose the use of metaphors and analogies to explain complex concepts and to create powerful mental images and symbols.

The concept of mediation is central to the understanding of behavior because individuals cannot be isolated from their social groups; they internalize and replicate social and cultural practices from their environments. Pemberton (2008) found that

individuals in NiNi status lack effective role models to guide them and they tend to replicate negative practices.

Families can have a negative impact as their aspirations can be limited and there is often a lack of motivation which parents pass on to their children...most young people we see have no vision beyond their local areas and when asked what their plans are cannot see beyond a flat or Playstation....(youth worker 4 Sefton) (p. 251)

Some educational CHAT researchers propose expanding the network of disadvantaged youth in order to provide them with positive examples. Edwards (2005) recommends the use of relational agency to increase the networks of collaboration. The author defines relational agency as the "...capacity to offer support and to ask for support from others....One's ability to engage with the world is enhanced by doing so alongside others" (p. 168). As Edwards explains, relational agency fosters the mediation aspects of internalization and externalization.

The two parts of the process, internalisation and externalisation, were both important to understanding how people become competent actors in their worlds. They are also central to understanding relational agency i.e. we not only interpret problems or tasks, we also act on them. (p. 170)

Similarly, Moll, Amanti, Neff, and Gonzalez (1992) propose the use of funds of knowledge to engage poor households with classroom activities and to enlarge the network of resources for disadvantaged youth. In these collaborative relations, members of the community teach children "...bodies of knowledge and skills essential for household or individual functioning or well-being..." (p. 133). The funds of knowledge pertain to different fields, from construction, ranching and farming, economics or medicine. The partnerships between teachers and family members allow situating learning in everyday practices. Consequently, students learn how mathematics constitutes

the essence of carpentry, home construction, or home budget planning. Children learn not only the theoretical concepts but also the application of these concepts in cultural activities, thereby increasing their interest and retention. Likewise, members of the community take part in the education and development efforts.

Human activity.

According to Engeström (1987), there are three generations in the CHAT human activity approach. The first generation centered on Vygotsky's ideas of mediation; the second approach, inspired by Leont'ev, deals with issues around division of labor; and the third generation incorporates multiple perspectives and networks of interaction of at least two activity systems. This study employs Leont'ev's ideas to answer one of the research questions regarding the everyday activities of individuals in NiNi status. For Leont'ev (1978), the term "activity" involves a system of relations for social participation; it is how individuals participate in their environments. For Leont'ev, there is a difference between actions and activity; actions are "goal-directed processes", and activity is guided by motives. Leont'ev defines activity as "...the minimal meaningful context for understanding individual actions...In all its varied forms, the activity of the human individual is a system set within a system of social relations..." (p. 10). As the author explains, individuals perform actions to achieve a specific goal, whereas, human activity requires a system of division of labor and various means of production. To better understand the concept of human activity, Leont'ev provides an example of primitive hunters who organize themselves into two groups (catchers and bush beaters) to hunt game. The role of bush beaters is to frighten the animal toward the catchers in order to get food and clothing. In the absence of a common motive of hunting, the actions of bush

beaters are irrational as they can be understood only as part of the larger system of the hunting activity. Consequently, the concept of activity implies a mediational process; an interdependent system of relations guided by motives. As Sawchuk (2003) claims,

...individual actions could never be understood independently of the entire system of activity, and that what people self-consciously recognize as the goal of their practice, on its own, does not provide a meaningful account of the practice as a whole. (p. 97)

The analysis conducted by Adler (2006) regarding labor process theory and Livingstone (2006) on contradictory class relations are central to the understanding of activities of individuals in NiNi status. Adler sustains that the production of commodities in the current labor system creates a contradiction between use-value and exchange-value relations.

The commodity is something produced for sale and, as such, has two contradictory aspects: its use-value –its value as something useful to the purchaser—and its exchange-value –its power to command money in exchange. (p. 161)

As Adler (2006) sustains, the pressure of organizations to compete motivates an internal orientation to reduce costs, deskill jobs and remove autonomy from workers. Consistently, the use of technology and the deskilling and fragmentation of jobs has created organizational incentives to reduce the number of jobs and to increase job requirements. Similarly, Livingstone (2006) claims that the capitalist modes of production require more qualified people to operate the tools of production” (p. 149). This scenario reduces the possibilities to get employment to individuals with limited education and experience. According to Livanos and Nunez (2012) available jobs are destined to the most qualified people making it difficult for young individuals with lower qualifications to get employment. Their research reveals a change of expectations on the

part of employers. As a result, people with high qualifications are being employed in low level jobs, "...employers have changed their expectations of graduates, and academic degrees are now regarded as a "pre-requisite" rather than as a positive signal of upgraded skills and capabilities." (p. 11)

To get a decent employment, people need to invest significant time to learn the skills required in organizations, however, this knowledge is not accessible to them. As Livingston (2006) says, people with disadvantaged backgrounds invest a significant amount of time in low exchange-value activities, "...most working class people invest substantial time, energy, and thought in unpaid activities primarily oriented to practical utility outside of commodity circuits..." (p. 150)

Performance: The non-epistemologically practice of Vygotsky's method.

Influenced by Vygotsky's (1978) search for method, Newman and Holzman (1993, 1997, 1999, 1996-2006; Holzman, 1999; 2009) bring together Vygotsky's ideas of play as a prerequisite for learning and development. In that sense, performance represents the tool-and-result to foster the cognitive and affective development of individuals. As they claim, performance is a relational activity that allows people to be who they are, and, simultaneously who they are becoming. Therefore, performance represents the dialectical unity of being and becoming. This worldview is similar to Vygotsky's (1987) analysis of thinking and speaking that considers these processes as constitutive and completing each other. Vygotsky says, speech is not an expression of thinking, speech completes thinking in a mutually constitutive relationship.

The structure of speech is not simply the mirror image of the structure of thought. It cannot, therefore, be placed of thought like clothes of a rack. Speech does not merely serve as the expression of developed thought. Thought is restructured as it is transformed into speech. It is not expressed but completed in the word (p. 251).

Holzman (2009) claims that performance fosters a completion process in human life. As she describes it, performance is “a new ontology, both the process and the product of human development” (p. 34). Through performance people continuously create zones of proximal development (ZPDs) that allow them to be a “head taller” and transform to who they want to be. While the ZPD has received many interpretations, for Holzman (2009) the ZPD is not a zone at all, it is an activity, “a collective form of working together” (p. 29) or a performatory process for development. As Holzman (1999) says “People learn, think and solve problems through joint activity” (p. 63). Consequently, performance is a prerequisite for heterogeneous diverse groupings to maximize learning and development.

The concept of performance is particularly important for the analysis of individuals in NiNi status because human development is not limited to schooling or work. Investigations conducted by Holzman (Cole, Hood & McDermott, 1978) reveal why “street smart” kids are “school dumb”. Her research shows that “street smart” children do not work in isolation; they use a complex network of resources to solve problems. These kids construct environments of cooperation similar to real work conducted in organizations. These collaborative behaviors are not fostered in schools—because they are considered cheating. Instead, schooling emphasizes cognition over social behavior and cooperation. The findings provided by Holzman support two main ideas: (i) individuals are not passive observers, they construct their sociocultural environments with their participation in everyday life activities, and (ii) individuals learn and develop through performative everyday life activities. As Holzman (1999) claims,

these performances create “learning-leading-development” environments that foster their continuous development.

Vygotsky describes it as being a head taller than you are; we call it performing. Either way, it is the activity of being who you are/being who you are not. Development, in this understanding, is the activity of creating who you are by performing who you are not. It is, significantly, an ensemble—not a solo—performance (pp. 66-67).

Everyday life activities of individuals in NiNi status may be developmental if they create zones of proximal development that foster the cognitive and affective transformation of individuals. As Vygotsky claims,

An essential feature of learning is that it creates the zone of proximal development; that is, learning awakens a variety of internal development processes that are able to operate only when the child is interacting with people in his environment and in cooperation with his peers. Once these processes are internalized, they become part of the child’s independent developmental achievement. (1978, p. 90)

Many cultural practices and socialization processes are not developmental. According to Vygotsky (1962), learning that leads development requires “...the formation of new structures and the perfecting of old ones” (p. 95). Development involves a dialectical process of maturation that results in new ways of thinking, seeing, and behaving. Vygotsky says,

The adolescent who has mastered algebraic concepts has gained a vantage point from which he sees arithmetical concepts in a broader perspective.....Once a new structure has been incorporated into his thinking....it gradually spreads to the older concepts as they are drawn into intellectual operations of the higher type. (1962, p. 115)

For Holzman (2009), development involves everyday life performances that foster learning-leading-development environments where “people discover not only how to do what they do not know how to do, but equally important, *that* they can do it” (p. 47

emphasis in original). As Newman (2003) says, when individuals perform, they do dialectics; they transform themselves and they also transform their environments.

...the exercise of the capacity to perform other than who we are is the glorification of human life. We do not have to be who we are, we don't have to accept someone else telling us who we are, and most importantly, we don't have to accept ourselves telling ourselves who we are. (location 2150 of 4813)

Holzman (2009) identifies two strands in the CHAT tradition; a tool-for-result approach that considers tools as instruments for change and a second thread, tool-and-result, where tools transform individuals as totalities and are constitutive of human activity. Holzman's understanding of CHAT depicts the search for method proposed by Vygotsky, "It is how human beings transform the existing circumstances, develop as individuals and as a species and create culture. Activity — the ordinary person's "search for method" — is the human capacity to make tools-and-results" (p. 16). Holzman says that after the death of Vygotsky in 1934, many researchers studied CHAT toward a "tool user" approach rather than the dialectical Vygotsky's notion of "tool-and-result-maker". As she explains, in the tool-for-result worldview, human behavior is driven by socio-cultural needs and tools and artifacts exercise a mediation role for the achievement of these results. For Holzman the concept of tool-for-results is not fully consistent with Vygotsky's dialectics because it implies a Cartesian duality; a separation of individuals from their environment. Vygotsky wanted to create a revolutionary psychology that does not separate cognition and behavior, mind and body, or the individual from his/her environment. "By infusing activity with *mediation* and *motivation* these researchers are back in the trap Vygotsky was trying to escape – the trap of a dualistically divided world of objective reality and subjective experience" (Holzman, 2009, p. 17, emphasis in original). The tool-for-result approach reduces Vygotsky's monism to "a *theory of mind*"

(Holzman, p. 17, emphasis in original). Conversely, a tool-and-result approach is dialectical in nature and involves the cognitive and affective development of individuals and the creation of new socio-cultural environments. In this worldview, humans do not just use tools to fulfill socio-cultural needs and motivations, they “do dialectics – reshaping the very environments that determine them, performing who they are becoming, creating culture and transforming the world. The “products” of this activity are not outcomes, but part of the unity that is process-and-products or tool-and-results.”

(Holzman, 2009, p. 20)

Social therapy groups.

As Holzman (2009) claims, social therapy is an alternative method for the individualized-centered psychotherapy sessions focused on helping individuals discover their inner self or identity. In social therapy sessions, a diverse group of 10-25 people gathers weekly for 90 minutes for therapeutic and developmental purposes. The group supports each other’s development through a dialectical discourse focused on creating new understandings and removing ingrained assumptions. Rather than a context for learning—as occurs with modernist worldviews, the group is the unit of development; the tool-and-result of the activity. Individuals “who come together to form a social therapy group are given a task – to create their group as an environment in which they can get help” (Holzman, p. 23). The group represents the ZPD where individuals can be “a head taller” when they engage in a discursive meaning-making activity. Holzman emphasizes the therapeutic value of collective conversations that allow individuals to acquire a bigger perspective. When people talk about their problems and listen to similar situations faced by other members of the group, their problems “vanish” (Wittgenstein, 1953) by virtue of

placing the problem at the social level. As Newman (1999) says, life is eminently a social activity and individual psychological approaches are incorrect because,

We begin as social, we live as social, we end as social. This doesn't minimize my or your individuality. The marvelous feature of the creativity of being who we are not, in my experience, is that in being who we are not, we actually come to be more of who we are and show what is most unique about us. (p. 131)

Developmental activity in educational settings.

During 12 years Holzman (2009) applied the developmental principles of performance, play and improvisation in the Barbara Taylor School. The school was located in a black community of Harlem in New York City and provided “non-didactic, noncognitive and collective learning” (p. 58). The number of students averaged 20-40; most of them were poor and problematic-labeled kids. The performative educational methods allowed students, teachers, parents and members of the community to create practical leading-learning-development environments for students to become learners and succeed. The mode of instruction was eminently social as described by the school's motto: “We teach your child to CHEAT, “which stands for Children Helping to Educate Another Training” (p. 56). Holzman (2009) says that schools need to be performative in order to be developmental. In other words, students need to have the opportunity to perform, to be both, who they are and at the same time, who they are becoming. A performative method of instruction requires students to become active participants in activities (Holzman, Lave & Wenger, 1991). For example, “Becoming a learner of mathematics ... involves learning to speak its language, to make “mathematical meaning” (Holzman, p. 58). In addition, the participatory method of instruction of the Barbara Taylor School included “peer teaching and tutoring of younger students by older students...” (p. 55) for creating collective ZPDs where students exercised the

developmental capabilities to be “who they are not in order become who they are”. In line with Vygotsky’s developmental principles, the school emphasized the process of learning over the product of learning (tool-and-result instead of tool-for-result). Moreover, the performative, playful, and social approach allowed students to achieve higher scores on the standardized tests than students enrolled in the district’s public schools.

Performance in out-of-school programs.

In 1981, Newman, Holzman (2009) and Fulani created the All Stars Program to give opportunities to young people—mostly poor, to participate in developmental out-of-school programs, including classes in theater, dance and other performative activities. As Holzman says, the main objective of the All Stars Program is to “expose young people to more of the world” (p. 80) and to reduce the cultural deficiencies of these young people that creates circles of poverty for entire generations. According to Vygotsky, (1978) individuals are not separated from society; they constitute society with their involvement in cultural and historical activities.

As Newman (2011) says, individuals need to perform other than who they are in order to develop and poor people need to perform “other than poor”. The All Stars Program exposes poor young people to the arts and fosters their cultural enrichment. Their participation in these performative events creates a socio-cultural environment “where they can learn that they can do what they do not know how to do” (Holzman, 2009). The All Stars Program is not financed by the government. Its budget comes from an innovative model based on voluntary donations from private sector organizations and people from the community. Every year the program receives millions of dollars to finance the performatory leading-learning development programs that are run by

volunteers and a reduced number of staff. As Vygotsky (1978) emphasized, tools are constitutive of human development and the All Stars Program is a developmental tool that fosters the development of youth in their communities. As Newman and Fulani (2011) claim,

The act of pretending to be something other than [who] you are, used self-consciously and collectively, is a tool for growth. Ensemble performances that include casting poor kids in the role of learner before they know how to learn, ensemble performances that teach a community (including young people) to appreciate, are tools for growth that embody a developmental approach. (p. 7)

Performance in workplace environments.

For Holzman (2009) the Vygotskian developmental principles of learning as a social and cultural process, play, and improvisational performance are well received in corporate environments that seek “greater flexibility, worker autonomy, collaboration and creativity” (p. 91). Holzman discusses the developmental value of leading-learning-development experiences conducted by Performance of a Lifetime (POAL); an organization that uses “improvisational-based training, role plays, and live and video vignettes” (p. 92) to foster productive work environments. For Holzman, POAL’s interventions are developmental (tool-and-result approach) because they foster the creation of improvised situations and new environments. “What it points to and supports is people exercising their capacity to not only respond creatively to the unforeseen but to *generate* the unforeseen” (p. 89, emphasis in original). As Holzman claims humans have a unique capability to use tools to appropriate and create culture. When they make new forms for relating with others they exercise their tool-maker capability and develop in a practical and activist manner.

Justo (2013) reported many benefits from a three-week summer program for 32 teenagers, 16-18 years old. The summer program included Vygotskian inspired performance approaches (Newman & Holzman, 1993, 1997, 1999, 1996-2006; Holzman, 1999; 2009) to foster youth development with activity based learning in the form of case studies, simulations, roundtable discussions, presentations, work in groups, and other ludic activities. Participants reported learning the following: (i) a better understanding of the role and functions of the three sponsoring organizations, (ii) increased knowledge about sustainable development, and (iii) acquisition of teamwork, communications, interviewing and presentation skills. The benefits identified for the sponsoring organizations are threefold: (i) to foster greater understanding of participating youth about the organization's mission and objectives, (ii) to promote a positive image of the organization as a social and corporate entity among employees, teen participants, and society as a whole, and (iii) to obtain new perspectives that help them understand the views of future consumers, providers, or employees. Similarly, program volunteers increased their role as social responsible actors.

Summary of Cultural and Historical Activity Theory Literature Sources

As illustrated by the literature sources included in this review, the framework of cultural and historical activity theory (CHAT) presents many advantages for the qualitative analysis of the NiNi status. As described in the theoretical studies, the CHAT framework incorporates important conceptualizations such as mediation (Vygotsky, 1978), human activity (Leont'ev, 2003; Engeström, 1987; Adler, 2006; Livingstone, 2006), and performance (Newman & Holzman, 1993, 1997, 1999, 19996-2006; Holzman, 1999; 2009; Newman & Fulani, 2011). Empirical studies reveal the convenience of using

CHAT for the dialectical analysis of mind and body; individuals and society as opposed to the traditional approaches that consider the NiNi status an individualized problem derived from lack of adaptation of young individuals to their environment or a political construct (Thompson, 2011). The use of the performance perspective as the theoretical lens allows for the understanding of the role of these individuals in situated activity; not as observers or a product from the environment, but as active performers in their cultural and historical contexts.

In addition, the review of literature reveals different approaches. Some researchers have conducted quantitative studies to test specific hypothesis using large volumes of census and other longitudinal data; conversely, researchers conducting qualitative studies have used relatively small sample sizes to better understand the perspectives of individuals living in NEET/NiNi status. This research adheres with the later and uses the perspective of performance with qualitative methods to examine the NiNi status—not as a product resulting from deficiencies at the individual level of analysis, but as a *process* that is situated in everyday life practices.

Summary Discussion

This literature review reveals ways to increase the understanding of the NiNi status through a qualitative study grounded in the performance perspective of CHAT. The study complements current literature on the topic by analyzing the opportunities, challenges, and limitations faced by Mexican young people in their everyday life activities. As revealed by the literature sources included in this review, the NiNi status in Mexico has mainly focused on quantifying the number of individuals living in NiNi status using census data and information from national surveys. However, there is a need

for more qualitative analysis that considers individuals in their social and historical environments.

The use of performance allows viewing individuals in NiNi status as creators of new tools to influence their environments. Performance bridges the dialectical distinctions of being and becoming because when people perform “other than who they are” they are becoming something else. In that sense, performance focuses on the process of learning (Vygotsky, 1978) not on the acquisition of knowledge. In addition, performance does not occur in isolation, because people are not independent actors in the world; performance occurs at the individual, group and community levels. The collective activities of individuals fosters the creation of diverse learning environments, known as zones of proximal development, where people can learn and develop in everyday life activities (Newman & Holzman, 1993, 1997, 1999, 1996-2006; Holzman, 1999; 2009).

CHAPTER 3: METHODS

Overview of Methodology

The methodological design is a qualitative study focused on the social, cultural and historic examination of everyday life activities of individuals living in NiNi status in the counties of Iztapalapa and Coyoacán in Mexico City. The conceptual framework is grounded in the perspective of performance of the CHAT tradition (Newman & Holzman, 1993, 1997, 1999, 1996-2006; Holzman, 1999; 2009) that examines the *processes* that are constitutive of who these people are and who they are becoming with their performance in everyday life activities (Holzman, 2009). The researcher employed four data gathering and analysis methods including: (i) the analysis of documents; (ii) a pre-interview questionnaire to identify and qualify sample participants; (iii) 16 interviews to a purposefully selected sample of young people living in NiNi status for six months or longer during the past 2 years (Bynner & Parsons, 2002) and 12 interviews to a purposefully selected sample of adults from four age generations to carry-out a historical comparison of everyday life activities when they were 18-29 years old; (iii) analysis of public documents with census data of Mexico City (INEGI); and (iv) field observations.

The unit of analysis was culture and performance (Holzman, 1999). It examined how individuals appropriate and create culture with their performance in everyday life activities. The following sections specify how the researcher addressed the research questions, including aspects of epistemology, research design, participant selection, data collection methods, and data analysis. Moreover, the chapter discusses the researcher's subjectivity statement and the qualitative study's trustworthiness and ethical considerations.

Epistemology

For Crotty (1998), epistemology is the theory of knowledge embedded in the theoretical perspective and thereby in the methodology (p. 3). The author describes three types of epistemologies: (i) objectivism that claims the existence of an objective truth independent of the actor's consciousness—for example the existence of a real world out there that contains tangible objects; (ii) constructionism that claims that “Meaning is not discovered but constructed” (p. 9). In this case it is the individual who creates an interpretation of the world; and (iii) subjectivism—in the form of structuralism, post-structuralism, and postmodernism. The author says that the difference with constructionism is that in subjectivism “meaning is obtained from anything but an interaction.” (p. 9)

Although Newman and Holzman (1993, 1997, 1999, 1996-2006; Holzman, 1999; 2009) consider the performative CHAT approach as a non-epistemological practice, the researcher assumed a constructionism epistemology for this study. The study's conceptual framework uses the constructs of performance and NiNi/NEET as the theoretical lens. As Holzman claims, “performed activity is *study-able*...we human beings can gain understanding about ourselves as we transform what it means to understand ourselves” (p. 67, emphasis in original).

Research Design

The research design was structured in four phases (Figure 3.1). The first phase included the identification and purposeful selection of participants for the qualitative study and the pilot of data gathering instruments. In the second phase, the researcher conducted the collection of data for the qualitative study to answer the research questions.

Data collection methods included analysis of Mexican Census data, a pre-interview questionnaire to identify and qualify participants, semi-structured interviews with a selected sample of 16 young people and 12 working adults, and field observations. During the second phase, the researcher constructed main categories and themes around the research questions and established a method for easy access and retrieval of data for its analysis. The researcher combined inductive and deductive methods of analysis (Merriam, 2009) to examine the different sources of information. As Merriam claims, “Data analysis is a complex process that involves moving back and forth between concrete bits of data and abstract concepts, between inductive and deductive reasoning, between description and interpretation” (p. 176). The inductive and deductive approaches allowed the examination of the situations and perspectives of involved participants and established a link to theory and practice. In addition, the researcher conducted member checks to ensure that participants’ views were properly captured. Later, the information was translated to English. A committee member who is a native Spanish speaker conducted a review of the quality of the English translations. Later these translations were provided to the dissertation chair for her analysis. During the third phase, the researcher conducted the “more intense data analysis” (Merriam, 2009, p. 207) combining inductive and deductive methods for examining the information and identifying main findings. The dissertation chair and the native Spanish speaker committee member conducted a peer review of the analysis of the data and themes to enhance the validity of the findings. The fourth phase included the final presentation of the collected data and data analysis process, as well as a discussion of the findings included in the final written report.

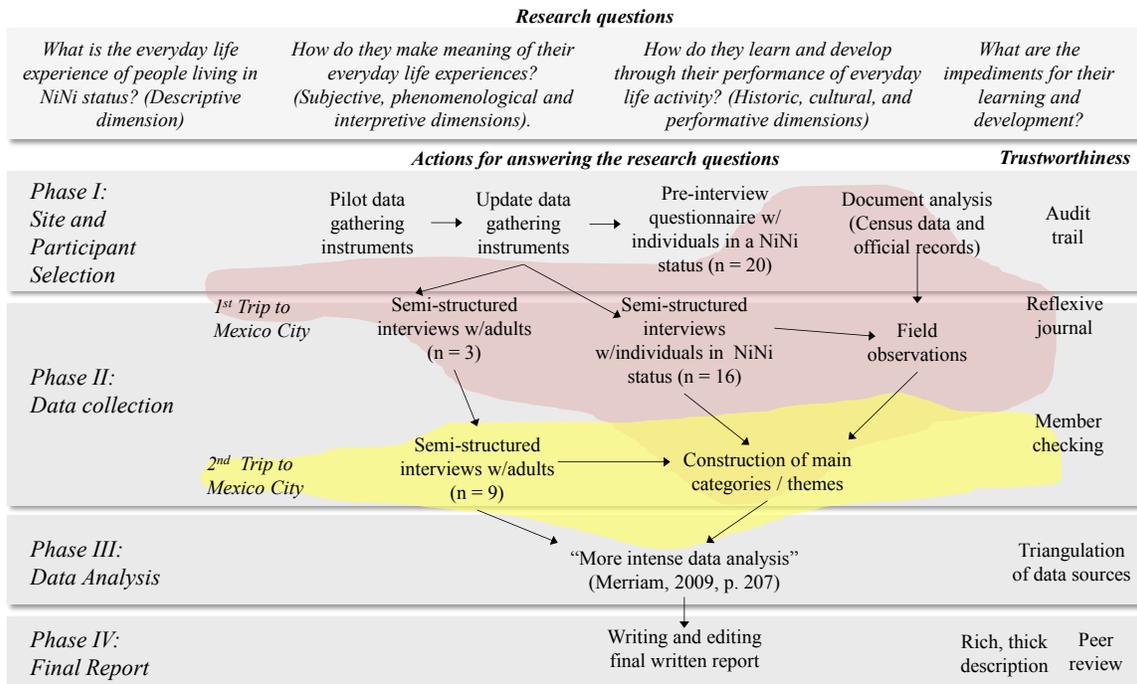


Figure 3.1. Research Design

Phase I: Site and Participant Selection

Study context.

The decision for selecting the site for the qualitative study was based on the population size and socio-economic status of candidates for this study (Székely & Campos, personal communication, July 16, 2012). The researcher chose Iztapalapa and Coyoacán as the research site because Iztapalapa is the largest borough in Mexico City; it has the largest population of young people, and people with the lowest educational level. Moreover, Coyoacán is a contiguous borough where the National University of Mexico (UNAM) is located and it is a meeting point for many young people from all of Mexico City. In addition, the researcher conducted a preliminary analysis of the 2010 Mexican National Census (INEGI, 2010) to better understand the socioeconomic aspects of the targeted locations. In 2010, 1.8 million people lived in Iztapalapa, representing 21% of

the total population of Mexico City. In addition, Iztapalapa reported a high number of young people aged 15-29; this group represented 26.7% of the total population, while the average for Mexico City was 25.5%. Moreover, the 2010 Mexican Census reported lower educational levels in Iztapalapa than the average reported for Mexico City. In Iztapalapa the average number of school years was 9.6 and in Mexico City it was 10.5 for people 15 and older. Furthermore, Iztapalapa reported 236,615 (13%) people 18 years and older with a professional degree, conversely, in Mexico City there were 1,698,490 (19%). Iztapalapa also reported lower percentages in other key indicators, for example, 60% of people were covered by health services versus 64% in Mexico City. The number of public libraries in Iztapalapa was 66, representing 16% of the 480 public libraries of Mexico City. In addition, the use of these libraries was 46% lower than in Mexico City, as reported by the number of queries made in public libraries that was 377,803 per library in Iztapalapa versus 4,392,431 in Mexico City. These and other census indicators are included in table 3.1.

Table 3.1

Selected Indicators from the 2010 Mexican National Census (INEGI, 2010)

2010 Census Indicators Comparison Iztapalapa and Coyoacán in Mexico City					
Selected Activities	Mexico City	Iztapalapa	% (Mexico City)	Coyoacán	% (Mexico City)
Tertiary activities					
Traditional bazaar (Tianguis), 2009	1,415	441	31%	109	8%
Environment					
Urban surface areas (Square kilometers), 2005	591.9	98.1	17%	53.9	9%
Population					
Total population, 2010	8,851,080	1,815,786	21%	620,416	7%
Total population men, 2010	4,233,783	880,998	21%	292,491	7%
Total population women, 2010	4,617,297	934,788	20%	327,925	7%
Percentage of population 15 to 29 years, 2010	25.5	26.7%		24.4%	
Male-female ratio, 2010	91.7	94.3%		89.2%	
Natality and mortality					
Births, 2012	153,631	32,999	21%	9,052	6%
General Deaths, 2010	55,995	9,677	17%	4,079	7%
Marriage					
Marriages, 2012	35,536	5,169	15%	3,191	9%
Divorces, 2012	11,105	271	2%	275	2%
Household					
Households, 2010	2,388,534	453,752	19%	173,741	7%
Average size of households, 2010	3.6	3.9		3.4	
Male-headed households, 2010	1,638,790	322,153	20%	117,285	7%
Female-headed households, 2010	749,744	131,599	18%	56,456	8%
Education					
Population >18 years w/ professional level, 2010	1,498,598	200,081	13%	150,523	10%
Population >18 years w/ graduate degree, 2010	171,270	11,196	7%	22,013	13%
Avg. degree of schooling population >15 years, 2010	10.5	9.6	91%	11.7	111%
Pupils in secondary graduates, 2011	130,568	25,498	20%	8,588	7%
Pupils in technical professional graduates, 2011	7,665	1,430	19%	440	6%
Pupils in high school graduates, 2011	79,332	8,526	11%	7,250	9%
High school achievement index, 2011	55.8	54.0		56.9	
Total of schools, 2011	8,789	1,611	18%	622	7%
Schools in secondary, 2011	1,406	207	15%	103	7%
Schools in technical professional, 2011	91	17	19%	7	8%
Schools in high school, 2011	583	53	9%	46	8%
Literacy rate of men 15 to 24 years , 2010	99.5	99.4		99.7	
Literacy rate of women 15 to 24 years , 2010	99.6	99.5		99.7	
Health					
Population covered by health services, 2010	5,644,901	1,096,323	19%	411,833	7%
Population not entitled to health services, 2010	2,971,074	695,478	23%	184,184	6%
Public safety and justice					
Crimes occurring and recorded 2010	195,450	30,160	15%	13,357	7%
Culture					
Public libraries, 2011	408	66	16%	19	5%
Queries made in public libraries, 2011	4,392,431	377,803	9%	200,026	5%

In addition to the empirical reasons described above, other personal reasons support the selection of Iztapalapa and Coyoacán as the sites for the qualitative study. The researcher lived in Iztapalapa for more than 30 years and is knowledgeable of the different neighborhoods and culture. His knowledge of the site facilitated locating specific areas for conducting the pre-interview questionnaire and locating the subjects for analysis. In addition, the researcher graduated from the UNAM that is located in Coyoacán. The convenience of being familiar with both locations provided the researcher with easy access to the research sites as recommended by Merriam (2009) who emphasizes the importance of having “sufficient access to the potential data, whether to interview people, review documents or records, or make observations in the “field” (location 764 of 4664). Figure 3.2 includes the map of Iztapalapa and Coyoacán.

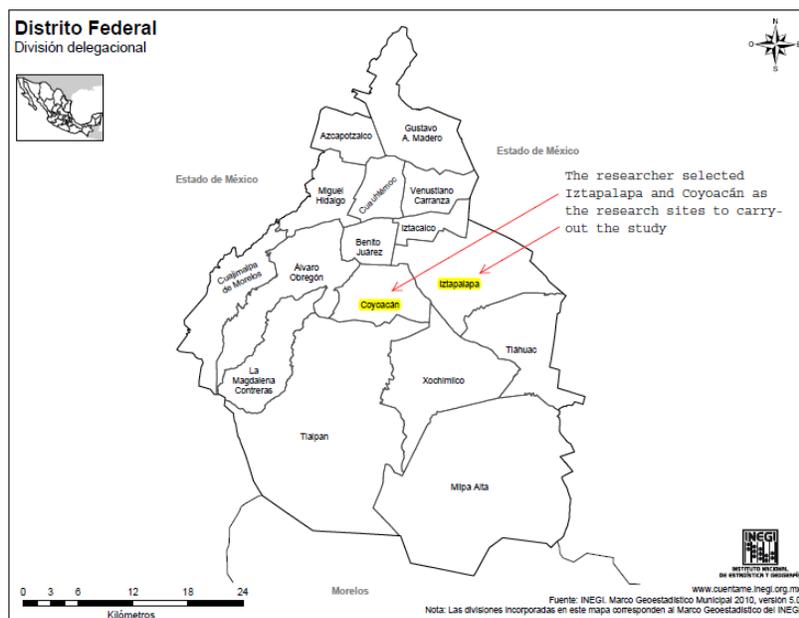


Figure 3.2. Map of Iztapalapa and Coyoacán in Mexico City (INEGI, 2010)

Sample selection.

Individuals in NiNi status.

The researcher employed a modified Bynner and Parsons' (2002) criteria for the purposeful selection of 12-16 individuals living in NiNi status for the qualitative study. The selection criteria define the NiNi status as six months or more outside formal school or work activities in a two year period. The age for participants was 18-29 years old since 18 is considered adulthood in Mexico, and with that, the capability to exercise free will. The subject selection looked for maximum variation in the sample (Merriam, 2011) in order to identify a diverse sample of participants. As Finlay, et al. (2010) claims, it is incorrect to classify these individuals in one big category because of the particularities and needs of each individual. Consequently, the sample of participants included 9 males and 7 females.

In Mexico, there is no official record of individuals in NiNi status—as there is in the UK; which makes it more difficult to recruit the targeted sample of participants. In addition, NiNi status is synonymous with laziness, problematic people, and other negative characteristics; consequently, individuals do not want to be associated with the NiNi status. To overcome these limitations, an experienced anthropologist (C. Albertos, personal communication, August 28, 2012) advised the researcher to develop a purposeful sampling strategy based on referrals and individuals recruited through the pre-interview questionnaire. The strategy included the recruitment of a large sample of individuals from which the researcher used a funneling process to select individuals with the desired characteristics (see figure 3.3). To select participants within the timeframe of a doctoral dissertation study, the researcher conducted the following two activities:

(i) Increasing access. The researcher established contact with Mexican organizations working on youth development in Iztapalapa, in Mexico City and

distributed a link with an online survey so they could invite individuals with defined characteristics to participate in the study (snowballing sample). Similarly, the researcher asked family members and friends for help recruiting subjects for the study. The online survey is included in the protocols section (Appendix A-Bis: “Pre-Interview Questionnaire Protocol”). To access the online version click on the following link: https://qtrial.qualtrics.com/SE/?SID=SV_3W35eMoAddNGPZz).

(ii) *Two-level sampling strategy*. The strategy included the recruitment of large samples of participants to subsequently select a small group who met the purposeful sampling characteristics. The first level of the strategy included the application of a pre-interview questionnaire to an average number of 40-50 young people in targeted locations—such as soccer fields, basketball courts, “tienditas” (grocery stores), public markets, shopping centers, and churches. In the second level of the strategy, the researcher identified individuals with the targeted characteristics for the semi-structured interviews. The purposeful sampling strategy is depicted in figure 3.3.

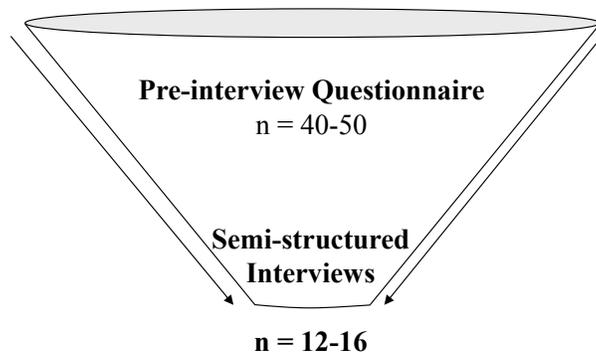


Figure 3.3. Purposeful Sampling Strategy for Individuals Living in NiNi Status

Participation was voluntary. The samples of participants for this study received the consent form prior to engaging in the research study. Participants decided to

participate in both activities or just in one of them (i.e. complete the questionnaire and/or interview). Since the study collected limited identifiers (such as name –associated with a pseudonym, gender, age, maximum school level, and email address (if any), the GW Institutional Review Board (IRB) approved to waive the documentation of consent. This means that participants received the standard GW consent form but did not sign it. In line with IRB criteria, participants could withdraw from the research at any time and could decide to not answer some of the interview questions. At the end of the interview, the researcher provided a 125 pesos gift card (approximately \$10) to each sample member as a token of appreciation for his/her participation. The use of a small incentive is a practice utilized by some researchers (Maguire & Rennison, 2005; Merriam, 2009; Thompson, 2011).

Adults.

The selection criteria to recruit the sample of 12 adults for a 60-minute long semi-structured interview consisted of the following: (i) 30 years old or older; (ii) to be currently working; and (iii) equal number of 6 men and 6 women. The sample of adults included three age generations in order to analyze historical changes in everyday life activities. To select participants, the researcher was referred by family members and also visited public shopping centers. The sample of participants received the consent form prior to engaging in the research study. Participation was voluntary. Since the study collected limited identifiers (such as name –associated with a pseudonym, gender, age, maximum school level, and email address (if any), the IRB approved to waive the documentation of consent. This means that participants received the standard GW

consent form but did not sign it. In line with IRB criteria, participants could withdraw from the research at any time and could decide to not answer some interview questions.

Pilot of data gathering instruments.

The researcher conducted a pilot test of the data gathering instruments with two independent samples. The pilot had the following objectives: (i) to increase clarity and conciseness of questions included in the protocol instruments (pre-interview questionnaire and semi-structured interviews), and (ii) to determine if the collected information would help answer the research questions. The pilot tests included the application of data gathering instruments using email and telephone with the support of NGOs working on youth development in Mexico. In addition, the researcher conducted pilot face-to-face semi-structured interviews with young people. These experiences gave him useful information; as a result, he understood that interviewing young people differs greatly from interviewing adults. Young people are more concrete in their responses and they feel more comfortable in an informal conversation interview. The researcher made minor adjustments to the questions included in the instruments to improve clarity.

Phase II: Data Collection

The researcher employed the following four data gathering methods to answer the research questions (see figure 3.1): (i) the analysis of documents, (ii) a pre-interview questionnaire to identify and qualify sample participants, (iii) 16 semi-structured interviews with individuals living in NiNi status and 12 working adults, and (iv) field observations. These four data gathering methods are described below.

Analysis of documents.

The researcher conducted the socio-economic analysis of Iztapalapa and Coyoacán by reviewing public documents and information. These documents included the 2010 National Census Survey, the National Income and Expenditure Survey (name in Spanish *Encuesta Nacional de Ingresos y Gastos de los Hogares - ENIGH*), the National Labor Survey (name in Spanish *Encuesta Nacional de Ocupación y Empleo - ENOE*). In addition, the researcher conducted the analysis of other relevant publications and information included in local and national media. The protocol for the analysis of documents is included in the appendix section (Appendix E).

Pre-interview questionnaire.

In order to qualify and select people for the study, the researcher developed a pre-interview questionnaire (see appendixes A and B) to randomly selected groups of people in public places—such as soccer fields, basketball courts, “tienditas” (grocery stores), public markets, shopping centers, and churches. The researcher carried non-alcoholic beverages (sodas, juices and water) to provide to people in exchange for completing the pre-interview questionnaire. The pre-interview questionnaire included closed and open-ended questions to identify and qualify potential participants for the study.

Semi-structured interviews with individuals in NiNi status.

The researcher conducted 16 semi-structured interviews with individuals living in NiNi status purposefully selected for the study. The objective of these interviews was fourfold: (i) examine the everyday life experience of people living in NiNi status [What activities are they doing?]; (ii) identify their meaning making processes; (iii) understand how they learn and develop through their performance of everyday life activities, and (iv) identify their impediments for their learning and development. The semi-structured

interviews were conducted in popular restaurants with easy access for participants and in streets and parks located in their communities. The researcher paid for the food and non-alcoholic beverages of participants for the interviews conducted in restaurants. In addition, the researcher provided a 125 pesos gift card (approximately \$10) as a token of appreciation.

Protocol questions are included in Appendix C. The theoretical support for these questions is included in figure 3.4. The researcher audio-recorded the interviews for transcription and member checking (interviewed participants gave their approval to be recorded). The researcher gathered their emails (if they provided one) to email them the transcription to verify that their views were properly represented.

Semi-structured interviews with adults.

The researcher conducted 12 semi-structured interviews with a purposefully selected sample of adults to make a historical analysis of everyday life activities performed when they were younger. The selection criteria included: (i) to be currently working, (ii) an equal representation of men and women, and (iii) representation of four age generations (veterans, baby boomers, generation X and generation Y). In these interviews, the researcher asked the same questions used with the sample of young people in NiNi status to conduct a historical comparison of everyday life activities of young people across four age generations. The researcher examined their everyday life experiences when they were 18-29 years old. Each interview lasted approximately one hour and was conducted in convenient sites, coffee shops, and restaurants located in the community to allow easy access for the participants. The researcher covered the cost of food and non-alcoholic beverages for the participants for interviews conducted in coffee

shops and restaurants. The researcher asked participants' approval to audio-record the interviews for transcription and member checking. The protocols for semi-structured interviews are included in the appendix section (Appendixes C and D).

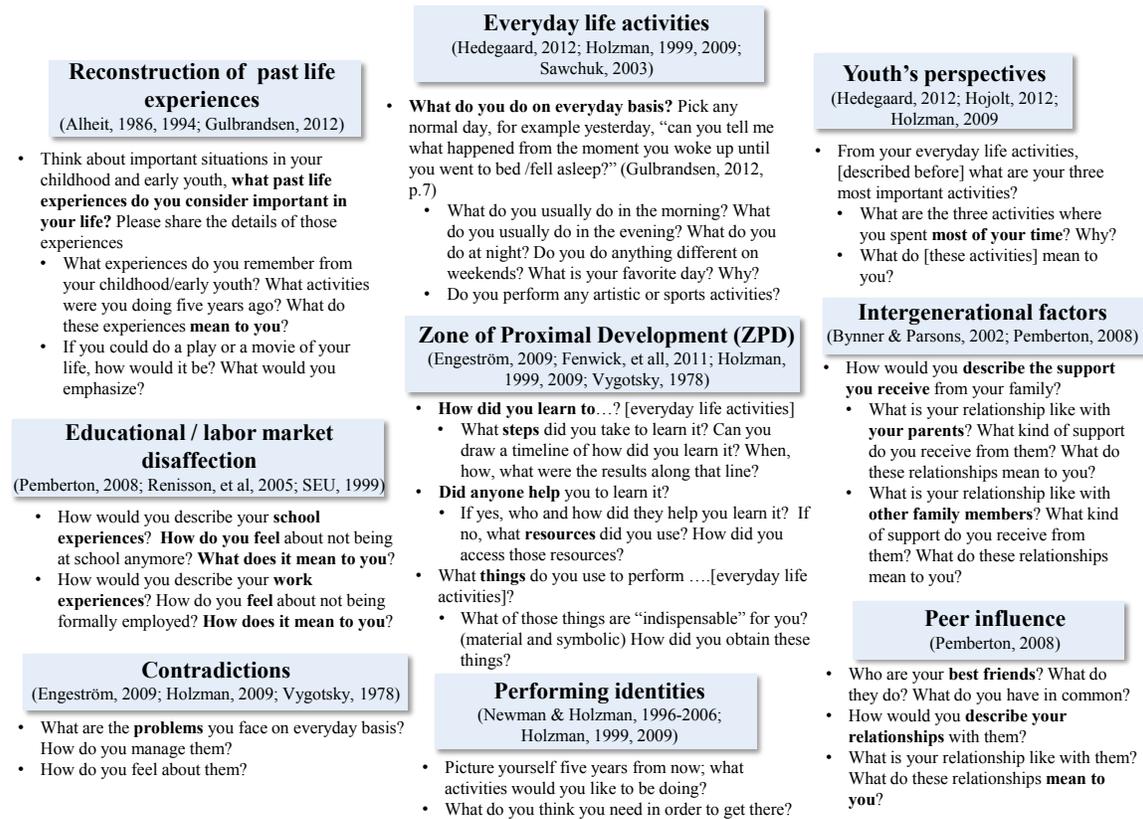


Figure 3.4. Theoretical Support for Questions Included in the Interview Protocols

Field observations.

The researcher conducted field observations of selected research sites in the two trips focused on data gathering. These observations included the following: a visit to a youth development center where youth participated in the construction of a greenhouse, a soccer field where women played a soccer game in their local league, two visits to marches organized by the MAES to protest against the exclusion of students from college education, a performance of a group of musicians and jugglers in University City, a

soccer court in the neighborhood where youth play soccer with their friends, and a visit to a local shopping center. Following Merriam's (2009) suggestion, the researcher took detailed notes during the observation and documented the observations immediately after they occurred using a defined protocol. In addition, the researcher took pictures and recorded video, with the participants' permission to better document the observations. The protocol for field observations is included in the appendix section (Appendix F includes the observation conducted to musicians and jugglers in University City).

Phase III: Data Analysis

As discussed in previous sections, data collection and data analysis are not completely separated. During data collection, the researcher constructed main themes or categories to subsequently conduct a more detailed analysis of the data with the purpose of answering the research questions. As Merriam (2009) says, qualitative research does not separate data collection and analysis as positivist studies do: "A qualitative design is emergent.....The process of data collection and analysis is recursive and dynamic...Analysis becomes more intensive as the study progresses and once all the data are in" (p. 169).

The construction of themes or categories followed the inductive process based on the actual views and comments of the interviewed participants—and not the views of the researcher. This approach is known as "emic" and is used to achieve a rich description of the "cultural portrait of the group" (Creswell, 2007, p. 72). The emic approach to data analysis is fundamental not only to data analysis but also to capture the perceptions and meanings of involved participants about the NiNi status. The study does not emphasize facts or statistics but rather "personal experiences, experiences of family members,

metaphors and concerns” (Keys Adair & Pastori, 2011). As Watson-Gegeo (1988) claims, “An analysis built on emic concepts incorporates the participants' perspectives and interpretations of behavior, events, and situations and does so in the descriptive language they themselves use (see also Spradley, 1979)” (p. 580). Niblo and Jackson (2004) claim that cultural researchers should get fully immersed in the culture of participants to achieve “a valid emic description” and they also suggest to get “...exhaustive information on social, familial, cultural, religious, historical and political backgrounds needs to be acquired.” (p. 132)

The first phase of the analysis process helped establish a method for organizing and managing collected data. For this, the researcher developed specific codes to classify and easily retrieve all collected data including field notes, comments, ideas, memos, and other relevant notations. The transcription of information for member checks and the use of Atlas TI software facilitated the organization, coding, and retrieval of information. As Merriam (1999) states, the use of categories should meet the following five criteria: (i) answer the research questions; (ii) cover important topics or findings, (iii) distinguish one category from another, (iv) capture the essence of the finding, and (v) classify findings at the same level. The construction of these categories started with an inductive approach and will later combine inductive and deductive methods of analysis before reaching final conclusions.

The researcher kept a reflective journal to capture personal reflections and memos in order to later refer to these journal entries during the analysis of information. The journal supported data analysis and the elaboration of the final results. Ortlipp (2008) says that researchers carry “baggage” that influences all aspects of the study but the

baggage is not fully acknowledged. “The interviewer’s thoughts, feelings, fears, and desires impact on the interview, but they are not visible in the data or the transcriptions. The process of reflection helps to bring the unconscious into consciousness and thus open for inspection.” (p. 703). Moreover, Orlipp claims that a reflective journal enhances the trustworthiness of the study — particularly in interpretive-constructivist studies, because it allows documenting and acknowledging the researcher’s feelings, thoughts, and personal experiences. “Keeping and using reflective journals enabled me to make my experiences, opinions, thoughts, and feelings visible and an acknowledged part of the research design, data generation, analysis, and interpretation process” (p. 703).

During the more intense data analysis, the researcher followed Creswell’s (2007) six step process for qualitative study’s data analysis and representation (pp. 156-157). The process included the following: (i) establish “data managing” methods to organize files and information, (ii) read and understand collected information to define the preliminary themes or categories, (iii) conduct a description of the study context including its social and cultural elements, (iv) analyze and classify information in “themes or patterns”, (v) interpret data and develop generalizations to explain how the phenomenon under study is present in the defined culture, and (vi) present a complete description of the qualitative study, “using narrative, tables, and figures.” (p. 157)

During the data analysis phase, the researcher created little vignettes of each participant to exemplify key events of participants’ everyday life experiences, expectations and challenges faced with short stories. Barter and Renold (2000) conducted investigations of peer violence in youth’s homes in the UK and found that vignettes were appropriate for engaging youth in the research process and for communicating research

findings. As they reported, "...the vignettes provided an opportunity for young people to comment on types of violence they had not encountered as well as violence they had experienced, but felt too uncomfortable to disclose through direct discussion" (p. 313). In addition, Barter and Renold found the use of short stories portrayed in the vignettes very positive; youth found them interesting and engaging. As they reported,

Feedback on using the vignettes was positive with many young people conveying their enjoyment, such as Lucy's comment in response to asking whether she wanted to read another story: 'Yeah, I like these stories, they're good, coz they're realistic'; Kay's comment in response to asking whether she wanted to read another one, 'they're top'; and Mark who said he thought they were 'wicked' and 'better than just talking all the time cause that's boring'. (p. 318)

Overview of coding and analysis.

Following the principles of qualitative analysis proposed by Creswell (2007), Maxwell (2005), Strauss and Corbin (1998), and Saldana (2009) the researcher employed a three-cycle coding process using the ATLAS.ti 7 software for qualitative data analysis (table 3.2). Interview transcripts were coded and checked by three different researchers in order to provide multi-rater reliability for the study. Saldana defines a code as "...a word or short phrase that symbolically assigns a summative, salient, essence-capturing, and/or evocative attribute for a portion of language-based or visual data" (location 197 of 4352). The first coding cycle process started with structural coding and InVivo coding to capture the actual voices of participants. Saldana (2009) claims that structural coding is appropriate for all qualitative studies that include multiple participants and semi-structured protocols; as he says, "Structural coding is a question-based code that "acts as a labeling and indexing device, allowing researchers to quickly access data likely to be relevant to a particular analysis from a larger data set" (Namey, Guest, Thairu & Johnson, 2008). In addition, Saldana says that InVivo coding is particularly useful for projects

involving adolescents because the use of their actual words allows a deeper understanding of their worldviews. In the first coding process, the researcher identified a list of 732 codes that are included in Annex 1.

The researcher conducted the second coding cycle using axial coding; this second coding process allowed gaining a deeper understanding of the data and reorganizing codes into axial categories. As Strauss and Corbin (1998) claim, axial coding allows for rearranging of the coded data. As the authors explain, during the initial coding process, researchers may “split” or “fracture” the data and axial coding allows it to reorganize it into categories and subcategories (p. 124). The use of Atlas.ti facilitated the process of organization and refinement by arranging codes into categories and subcategories until the codes achieve their “best fit” (Glaser, 1978, p. 62). Another benefit of axial coding, as claimed by Strauss and Corbin, is to achieve saturation that is “when no new properties, dimensions, conditions, actions/interactions, or consequences are seen in the data” (p. 136). The second coding process resulted in 9 categories and 81 codes (Appendix J.)

The third coding cycle process used theoretical coding (Strauss & Corbin, 1998) for re-arranging each code according to the study’s conceptual framework and research questions in order to find the core category “that appears to have the greatest explanatory relevance” (Strauss & Corbin, p. 104). The third coding cycle process allowed for the consolidation of the information in 9 categories and 77 codes. To facilitate the understanding of categories and codes, the researcher developed a definition of each category.

This third coding cycle was also focused on the development of themes. For that purpose, the researcher examined the interaction of codes with the research questions. As

Merriam (2009) says, these themes “are in effect, answers to your research question(s); it is these questions that guide your analysis and coding of the raw data” (p. 201). The third coding and analysis process is depicted in appendix K. The final codes and themes are included in appendix L. The researcher also included a visual map of major codes for each typology of young people in NiNi status and working adults (Appendix M).

Table 3.2

Three Coding Cycle Processes Used in the Coding and Analysis of Data

Coding Cycle	Method	Product
First coding cycle	Structural coding and InVivo Coding (Strauss & Corbin, 1998)	Appendix I (First coding process)
Second coding cycle	Axial coding (Strauss & Corbin, 1998)	Appendix J (Second coding process)
Third coding cycle	Theoretical coding (Strauss & Corbin, 1998) and codes to themes (Merriam, 2009; Saldana, 2009)	Appendix K (Third coding process) Appendix L (Final codes and themes) Appendix M (visual map of major codes for each typology) Appendix N (Analysis of most frequently occurred codes for each typology)

The themes that emerged from the three-cycle coding process for young people living in NiNi status and working adults are directly linked to the study’s research questions. To develop these themes, the researcher conducted various analyses using the Atlas.ti software. These included frequency analysis to identify codes with a higher number of occurrences and the development of network views to visually depict the association of codes with research questions and network views presenting the

relationships among codes for each typology and for working adults (see appendix M). Although learning to use the software was a daunting task at the beginning, it paid off because the software allowed the researcher to slice and dice the information; moving from participants' comments to codes, categories, and themes. The final themes are shown in table 3.3. The following section further explains these themes.

Table 3.3

Comparison of Themes for Young People in NiNi Status and Working Adults

Research Questions	Themes	
	Young People in NiNi status	Working Adults
1) What is the everyday life experience of people living in NiNi status? [What are they doing?] (Descriptive dimension).	1. Everyday life activities include working on a temporary basis, doing household work , taking care of children, doing exercise, listening to music, playing soccer, and going to parties.	1. Older generations entered the labor workforce at an earlier age and younger generations focused on cultural and recreational activities.
2) How do they make meaning of their everyday life experiences? (Subjective, phenomenological and interpretive dimensions).	2. Friends influence the engagement of everyday activities and mothers are the main source of emotional support .	2. There is a historical shift from family to friends in the influence of everyday life activities.
	3. Past school and work experiences do not help young people to make a successful transition to higher education or as pathways to careers .	3. Life experiences fostered meaning-making processes.
	4. Feeling bad for not doing productive activities.	4. Generational differences influence people's meaning making processes
3) How do they learn and develop through their performance of everyday life activity? (Historic, cultural, and performative dimensions).	5. Learning occurs through imitation and collaboration with others.	
4) What are the impediments for their learning and	6. The lack of opportunities creates a movement away	6. The lack of emotional support

development?	from institutions.	has been the main limitation for the development of working adults.
--------------	---------------------------	---

Phase IV: Final Report

The researcher prepared the final qualitative study report following scholarly writing principles and APA style. In specific, the final report was written to be reader-centered and emphasizes “interesting” (Davis, 1971) findings to advance theory and practice. Moreover, the researcher seeks to join a scholarly conversation (Huff, 1999) around the NiNi/NEET and the CHAT tradition.

Subjectivity Statement

I am a doctoral student with more than 23 years of experience in Human Resources and Organizational Development interventions. I work for an international organization dedicated to promoting sustainable development of countries in Latin America and the Caribbean. I am the first of a middle-class Mexican family to earn a college degree. I studied in public schools and graduated in Business Administration. In addition, I earned a Master’s from Johns Hopkins University in the field of human resources and organizational development.

I have worked for consulting firms, multinational corporations and now I work for an organization dedicated to foster sustainable development in Latin America and the Caribbean. Moreover, I have extensively studied the NiNi phenomenon and the perspective of performance from the cultural and historical activity theory (CHAT). For over three years, I have actively participated in online and face-to-face courses to learn performance-based approaches proposed by Newman and Holzman to support youth

development. My knowledge and experience in the area of performance from the CHAT tradition has allowed me to successfully redesign a summer teen program that is annually offered to 32-young people 16-18 years-old from three organizations dedicated to promote sustainable development in the world. The performative approach significantly increased the relevance of the program and the level of satisfaction of young participants who consider it an important development experience. I presented a paper about the summer program at the 2014 AERA conference in Philadelphia (Justo, 2014).

In addition, I consider that my knowledge of the Mexican culture, together with my professional, scholarly and life experiences make sensitive to the challenges faced by young Mexican people who are at risk of dropping-out of school. I have personally experienced difficult life situations during my childhood that forced me to start working at the age of 13. I worked in my aunt's furniture store for over 10 years. I managed my time to meet school and work demands, but sacrificed social and recreational activities during the day. I learned that young people require not only perseverance and hard work but also guidance and support. This epistemology is aligned with the theoretical perspective and epistemological orientation of the study that requires being sensitive to adverse situations and difficult life experiences of many individuals living in NiNi status in order to explore the phenomenon in depth. Nevertheless, I acknowledge my possible bias because I was given support and I was able to make personal sacrifices. Consequently, I used trustworthiness techniques such as member checking and rich and thick descriptions, to examine and describe the everyday life experience of individuals living in NiNi status in Mexico City.

Trustworthiness

The researcher used the following six trustworthiness methods to “promote validity and reliability” (Merriam, 2009, p. 229) of the study: (i) maximum variation in the sample, (ii) audit trail, (iii) member checks, (iv) rich thick descriptions, (v) triangulation of data sources, and (vi) a reflective journal. These methods provide readers with sufficient information about the study and its main findings, so they can determine applicability to other situations. As Lincoln and Guba (1985) suggest, in the notion of transferability, “the burden of proof lies less with the original investigator than with the person seeking to make an application elsewhere. The original inquirer cannot know the sites to which transferability might be sought, but the appliers can and do.” (p. 298). The first trustworthiness method, maximum variation in the sample was achieved by selecting a diverse sample of participants living in NiNi status as described in the previous section. As Merriam (2009) says maximum variation enhances transferability of findings. The second method, audit trail, helped to document the different activities, questions, and reflections of the study in a research journal. As Merriam says, “an audit trail is a detailed account of how the study was conducted and how the data were analyzed.” (p. 223). The use of audit trail is particularly important given the volume of information that was collected. The third method, member check, ensured that participants’ views were properly captured to avoid personal biases. As Merriam says, member check “...is the single most important way of ruling out the possibility of misinterpreting the meaning of what participants say and do and the perspective they have on what is going on, as well as being an important way of identifying your own biases and misunderstanding of what you observed” (p. 217). The fourth trustworthiness method, rich thick description, helped provide greater detail to readers so they could identify the applicability of results to

particular situations. In line with the characteristics of qualitative research, the use of quotes from participants reinforces the impact of the conclusions in the final report. These quotes provide readers with sufficient information on the learning experiences of the NiNi status. The fifth trustworthiness method, triangulation of multiple data sources, helped identify main themes and “comparing and cross-checking data collected through observations at different times or in different places” (Merriam, p. 216). As Merriam says, in qualitative research, triangulation is the most effective method to ensure validity and reliability. The sixth trustworthiness method was a reflective journal. It allowed the researcher to explain “...assumptions, experiences, worldview, and theoretical orientation to the study at hand. Such a clarification allows the reader to better understand how the individual researcher might have arrived at the particular interpretation of the data.” (p. 219)

Protocols

Appendices A, A-Bis, B, C, D, E, F, G, H and H-Bis include the protocols used during the data gathering process. These protocols include: (A and A-Bis) pre-interview questionnaire protocol for young people aged 18-29 (written and online), (B) pre-interview questionnaire protocol for adults aged 30 and older, (C) semi-structured interview protocol (for young people aged 18-29), (D) semi-structured interview protocol (for adults aged 30 and older), (E) protocol for the analysis of documents, (F) protocol for field observations, (G) recruitment communication (printed and email) to participants, and (H and H-Bis) research consent form for young people aged 18-29 and adults over 30 respectively.

Ethical Considerations

This study took precautions to minimize possible risks for participants involved in data gathering and dissemination of findings. The study adheres to the requirements established by the GW Office of Human Research Internal Review Board (IRB). All individual participants had reached adulthood (18-29 years old and older) at the time of the study. In addition, participation was voluntary; subjects received the George Washington University Social/Behavioral Consent Guidance Document consent form prior to completing the questionnaire and attending the semi-structured interviews. Individuals were also informed that the study was for research purposes only. Sample participants could withdraw from the study at any time and they need not respond to specific questions if they did not want to. Additionally, participants were asked to conduct member check of collected data and could eliminate or modify sensitive information or any misrepresentation. Moreover, all information was kept confidential, a pseudonym was used for every participant to avoid identifying the subjects and all records were stored securely; only the researcher had access to them.

Semi-structure interviews were conducted in popular restaurants, parks, streets, sports courts, and houses located in the participants' communities for participant's convenience. When the interviews were conducted in popular restaurants, the researcher covered the cost of food and non-alcoholic beverages of interview participants.

Summary of Methodology

This qualitative study analyzed the everyday life experience of 16 young people living in NiNi status (neither studying nor working) in Mexico City. In addition, the study included the perspectives of 12 working adults to carry-out a historical examination of everyday life activities of young people across four age generations (veterans, baby

boomers, generation X and generation Y). The study sought to better understand the needs, opportunities, and limitations faced by young people and their families wanting to participate in school and work activities. The theoretical lens included the perspective of performance proposed by Newman and Holzman (1993, 1997, 1999, 1996-2006; Holzman, 1999; 2009) from the cultural historical activity theory (CHAT) tradition. The unit of analysis was located at the intersection of culture and performance because individuals appropriate and create culture with their engagement in everyday life activities. The research design was structured in four phases with four data gathering methods including the analysis of public documents, a pre-interview questionnaire to identify and qualify interview participants, semi-structured interviews, and field observations. The study employed various trustworthiness methods to promote the validity and reliability of the findings.

CHAPTER 4: RESULTS

Overview

This chapter presents the results of a qualitative case study focused on the analysis of the everyday life experience of 16 young people living in NiNi status in Mexico City. The aim of the study was to understand their everyday life activities, their meaning making processes, how they learn and develop in everyday life activities, and the impediments for their learning and development. In addition, the researcher interviewed 12 working adults to conduct a historical analysis of everyday life activities of young people across four age generations. These working adults shared their life experiences from when they were 18-29 years old. The study included the following four sources of information: (i) analysis of public documents with census data of Mexico City (INEGI); (ii) 16 semi-structured interviews of young people 18-27 years old living in NiNi status for six months or longer during the past 2 years (Bynner & Parsons, 2002); (iii) 12 semi-structured interviews of working adults from four age generations to carry-out a historical comparison of everyday life activities when they were 18-29 years old; and (iv) field observations.

As described in chapter three, the researcher combined inductive and deductive methods of analysis (Merriam, 2009) to examine the different sources of information. As Merriam claims, “Data analysis is a complex process that involves moving back and forth between concrete bits of data and abstract concepts, between inductive and deductive reasoning, between description and interpretation” (p. 176). The inductive and deductive approaches allowed the researcher to examine the situations and perspectives of involved participants and to establish a link to theory and practice.

This chapter begins with a description of the context of the study. Then it presents a biographical description and the analysis of themes of the 16 young individuals living in NiNi status classified in four typologies based on their everyday life activities. The third section provides a biographical description of the 12 working adults interviewed and the corresponding analysis of themes. The fourth section presents a summary of main findings.

Context of the Study

The case study was bounded in the contiguous boroughs of Iztapalapa and Coyoacán in Mexico City. As described in chapter 3, the researcher chose these two locations as the research site because they presented many advantages. Iztapalapa is the largest borough in Mexico City; it has the largest population of young people, and people with the lowest educational level. Similarly, Coyoacán is the borough where the National University of Mexico (UNAM) is located and is the meeting place for many young people from across Mexico City. In addition, the researcher also considered aspects of accessibility, as recommended by Merriam (2009) who emphasizes the importance of selecting a site where the researcher has “sufficient access to the potential data, whether to interview people, review documents or records, or make observations in the “field” (location 764 of 4664). Although the researcher lives and works in the US, he is knowledgeable with both locations because he was raised in Iztapalapa and he graduated from the UNAM. The convenience of being familiar with both locations provided the researcher with easy access to carry-out the different data gathering activities.

Young Individuals Living in NiNi Status

The researcher interviewed 16 young people living in NiNi status, including 9 males and 7 females. The average age of the group was 20.5 years with a median of 19 years old. The average time outside of school and work was 1.8 years with a median of 1.25 years. Three of the 16 young people (19%) studied up to 8th grade, five (31%) studied up to 9th grade (secondary school in Mexico), two (13%) studied up to 10th grade and 4 (25%) completed 12th grade (Preparatory school in Mexico). One person was a college drop-out and another one did not finish elementary school. The complete list of these 16 young people in the four typologies is included in table 4.1.

Classification of young individuals in four typologies.

In order to better understand the experience of people living in NiNi status and consistent with the Vygotskian conceptual framework that is focused in the analysis of everyday life activities, the researcher classified young individuals in four typologies based on the activities they do on daily basis. They are the following: (i) young people trying to enter a public university, (ii) young mothers taking care of their children, (iii) young people engaged in performing arts/sports, and (iv) young people engaged in street activities. The following section describes each typology and presents a summary of the biography of each individual.

Table 4.1

Four Typologies of Young People Living in NiNi Status

#	Typology	Cover Name	Gender	Age	Last School Grade	Time in NiNi Status
1	Typology 1: Trying to enter a public university	Lucy	Female	18	12th Grade (Preparatory School)	1 year
2		Amy	Female	19	12th Grade (Preparatory School)	1.5 years
3		Paul	Male	19	12th Grade (Preparatory School)	1 year
4	Typology 2: Taking care of child(ren)	Maria	Female	20	12th Grade (Preparatory School)	2 years
5		Patricia	Female	25	9th Grade (Secondary School)	3.5 years
6	Typology 3: Performing arts / Sports	Adele	Female	18	9th grade (Secondary school)	1 year
7		Emma	Female	21	10th Grade (Preparatory School)	1 year
8		Andres	Male	18	9th grade (Secondary School)	1 year
9		Oscar	Male	26	University (Music Incomplete)	8 months
10		Jane	Female	18	10th grade (Preparatory School)	8 months
11	Typology 4: Street activities	Mike	Male	19	10th Grade (Preparatory School)	1 year
12		Raul	Male	19	8th grade (Secondary School)	2 years
13		Pedro	Male	19	9th grade (Secondary School)	2 years
14		Diego	Male	19	8th grade (Secondary School)	3 years
15		Tony	Male	23	8th grade (Secondary School)	2 years
16		Adam	Male	27	Elementary School (Incomplete)	>5 years
Average				20.5		1.8

Typology 1: Individuals living in NiNi status who are trying to enter a public university.

Typology 1 includes three young people who are living in NiNi status because they did not pass the entrance test for the National Autonomous University of Mexico (UNAM) and cannot afford a private university. The everyday life activities of individuals classified in typology 1 consists of doing housework, running errands, occasional work in low-level jobs and looking for alternatives to continue their studies. As part of these alternatives, these three young people attended three marches organized

by the MAES (Movimiento de Aspirantes Excluidos de la Educación Superior –“The Movement of Candidates Excluded from Higher Education”) to protest against the exclusion of poor young people from free college education. The MAES demands free college education for all Mexican citizens. Their argument is that public education is paid with the taxes of all Mexican citizens and consequently all Mexicans should have access to it. The movement started in 2006 and every year it attracts more young people who are not accepted by the public Mexican universities. In its internet page, (<http://aspirantesexcluidos.blogspot.com/p/historia.html>) the MAES opposes the national public actions to promote technical and vocational education because they consider that these school alternatives are not aligned with the three basic functions of high level education regarding teaching, research and dissemination of culture. They say that these technical schools focus on preparing workers for the local labor market only—and they do not promote the integral development of individuals. The MAES argues that during the last 35 years, Mexico has created 66 technical universities and is planning another 25. In contrast, no major university like the UNAM has been created, despite the significant increase in the number of young people that apply every year. The MAES also argues that by limiting the access of young people to public education, the country is limiting the development of poor people.

The individuals classified in typology 1 are two females and one male. Their cover names are Lucy, Amy and Paul. The following section provides more information about their biography, everyday life activities, challenges faced, and future expectations.

Lucy. Lucy is an 18 year old female who has been outside school and work for one year. She completed her high school education and took the entrance exam to the

National University of Mexico (UNAM) but did not pass. She lives with her parents and six siblings (two brothers and four sisters). The everyday life activities of Lucy consist of doing household work, reading, going-out with her friends, and doing other recreational activities. During the weekend she takes choir lessons.

The first activity I do, is take a shower, do housework, then, I do not know, maybe watch a movie or read. Then, I go out and walk for a while, and that is it. Then I come back and sleep.... [On the weekend] I'm going to a choir. I go to the choir only Saturdays and Sundays and at night at a party or something like that.

Lucy's expectations consist of graduating from college as an Attorney at Law. In five years she would like to be working in her college profession. The challenges that Lucy faces are not only related to her impossibility to access a public college but to the negative labels that society puts on people like her who are neither studying nor working,

They consider you lazy, they think that you do nothing that you are always outside home, and they call you everything. I would like to say that they should find a solution for the problem and rather than putting labels on many young people like me who are not studying and not working, we should have the opportunity to do it in the future.

Amy. Amy is a 19 year old female who lives with her parents and has a strong relationship with her mom who is her role model and inspiration in life. She also has an older brother who lives and works in Acapulco, Guerrero. Her three pronged 5-year plan includes finishing college in a public university, completing a specialization and starting a business. Amy has 1.5 years living in NiNi status and her situation creates tension at home.

Amy's everyday activities consist of doing exercise, household work, running errands and going out with her friends.

I get up, I do exercise with my dogs, and then I return to make breakfast for my parents. After that, I sell gelatin yogurt that I prepare it myself. Then, I shower

and I do my household chores, I cook –I help my mom to cook. After that I take some time off in the afternoon, just like now, to read a magazine or so. After that, at night, I go with my mom to buy bread for dinner, we return home, cook dinner and I go to sleep, every day....[On the weekend] I go out.... let me see, what do I do? ... Well, sometimes I go out, or I stay at home to rest or I go visit my mom to her work.

Amy's main expectation is to study at a university and find a job that allows her to combine school and work. Amy's challenges are related to not being able to access a public university; this situation is creating problems in her relationship with her mother.

I sometimes complain that I am sick of this, and that I want to be in a private school, but we have economic problems and we cannot afford it. The monthly fees are increasing constantly. We are looking for a cheap school that does not increase their monthly fees; some schools just want to trap you with fake scholarships. Those are the fights or silly arguments we have but we solve them within a minute or two.

Paul. Paul is a 19 year old male who lives with his working mother and his younger sister who recently completed high school and is also living in NiNi status because she did not pass the entrance exam to the public university. Paul has one year outside of school and work. His father abandoned his family and he does not provide them any economic support. Paul's mother is the head of his family household.

Paul's main expectation is to graduate from college in Engineering. As he says, "I want to feel happy that I finished my studies and I can go out with pleasure and pride that I am a realized person and those types of things." Paul faces some challenges; he likes math but gets easily distracted at school,

The problem is that I get distracted ... well I am one of those who gets distracted very easily. But if I am alone or if I put a lot of attention at school, I learn, but if I am talking to someone else, I get distracted very easily and I do not learn anything, or very little.

Themes.

Theme 1: Everyday life activities include working on a temporary basis, doing household work, taking care of children, doing exercise, listening to music, and going to parties.

As described in the biographical profiles included above, the everyday life activities of Lucy, Amy and Paul consist of doing housework, running errands, working sporadically in low-level jobs, and looking for alternatives to continue their studies. These alternatives include their participation in marches organized by the MAES (Movimiento de Aspirantes Excluidos de la Educación Superior –“The Movement of Candidates Excluded from Higher Education”) to protest against the exclusion of poor young people from free college education. They do not have an ongoing participation at the MAES; they just attended the organized marches. The researcher attended two of these marches to conduct observations and to interview them.

Theme 2: Friends influence the engagement of everyday activities and mothers are the main source of emotional support.

Friends influence the engagement of everyday activities for individuals in typology 1 (individuals who want to study in a public college education). In most cases, their friends are studying and working and consequently, they are good role models for them. For example, Lucy says that her “best friend is a guy who is already studying at a university”. Lucy also says that there is a difference in the communication and trust she has with her friends and the communication with her family. Lucy’s best friend, for example, is a male college student with whom she goes-out and spends time, sharing many personal aspects of her life. She has known him for over three years and he is a good source of emotional support for her as she feels comfortable to openly share her

feelings with him. She says that she has more confidence with him than with her family, “I would tell my family things that are important to me but to my friends, I would tell them deeper things about how I feel, and things like that.”

Similarly, Amy has a group of friends who work and with whom she has many things in common. They like to go out together, they listen to the same type of music, and they are good people. She usually invites them to eat at her house and they are a good source of emotional support. She says that her friends “are always there” when she needs them,

They mean a lot to me. They are like my brothers. Some are just friends and others are very close to me because they are always there, even when we get angry about little things. When they see that we are in trouble, they are there. If you do not tell them about your problem, they learn about it by someone else and they are there, supporting you, and you say, "Wow that is cool!"

Paul has two types of friends, his friends from his neighborhood that he has known since he was a child and other friends who represent the access to temporary employment, “I have a friend who sometimes needs help in his work....If I need money I can ask him, ‘get me some work OK?’ And he says yes.” He says that his street friends are very different to him because they are “unmotivated” and they do not try hard in life,

I do not know what they think but as I know them, I think that they are unmotivated. They think that life can be solved by itself. They still do not realize that we have to fight for what we want. And that's the way I see them. They are my best friends. I have a friend, who has lived across the street from my house for about 8-10 years, and we get along well, we like almost the same things, but I say that he thinks very different, and I think he is very different.

The main source of emotional support from their family for Lucy, Amy and Paul comes from their mothers. The relationship with their fathers is not as strong as it is with their mothers. The difference as explained by Amy is the ability of her mother to establish an emotional connection with her.

I can tell her everything and she is very understanding. If I tell my dad something, he gets mad and says “do not do this or that”. My mother, on the other hand, explains to me why I should not do certain things, or she gives me advice, saying “you should do this”, but with my dad, oh, no!

Lucy says that her mom and dad give her good emotional and economic support; however, she considers she has a better relationship with her mom as she is more supportive. Paul’s mother is the head of the household and she performs the role of emotional and economic provider to him and to his younger sister. Paul says that his relationship with his mom is very close and he constantly engages in conversations with her. These conversations are one of his most important activities because his mother helps him to make meaning of his life. As he says, “I want to know what she thinks about what I think”.

Theme 3: Past school and work experiences do not help young people to make a successful transition to higher education or as pathways to careers.

Past school experiences did not prepare young people from typology 1 (those who want to study) for a successful transition to higher education as they were unable to pass the entrance exam to the public university. Lucy considered that high school was “*a bit stressful*” because she had a lot of homework and in that time she also worked and it was very difficult for her to combine school and work responsibilities. She worked hard to get good grades and she considers that receiving school diplomas were important events in her life. She quit her job to prepare for her college entrance exam but she failed the admittance test. Paul described his high school experiences as fun and boring at times; he says that he likes numbers; however, as explained in his biographical information above, he has trouble concentrating.

Amy considers that she had “good” high school experiences and she usually had good grades, however, she realizes that school was not enough to help her pass the entrance exam to the national public university. When she describes her high school experiences, she says, “They were good but they should have taught us a little more. I understood everything and I did well.”

Past work experiences reveal a similar trend, this group of young people described them as “hard”, “good” and “okay” but they were not effective pathways to careers because they were mainly in low-level and temporary jobs not related to their areas of interest. Lucy for example, worked in customer service in a telecommunications company. She enjoyed her work experiences, particularly the interaction she had with people, but she quit to study for the public college entrance exam. As she says, “I was doing well. I had a good job. I liked it. I had relationship with many people... [I quit] Because, let’s say that I finished high school. I studied hard for my exam in that period - two months before leaving my job, I studied hard and quit my job.”

Paul does not have good memories from his past work experiences. For him, work for people without an education is hard as described in the following quote, “Work is hard, for people who do not study, work is hard. People have to figure out how to get financial resources to cover home expenses. I think it is hard.” Amy worked as hostess in a popular restaurant. As she says, her work experiences were okay but her mom asked her to quit and concentrate on her studies.

My work experiences were okay. I was paid well. I liked them. I worked as a Hostess at Potzolcalli.... [I quit] because my mom told me she did not like it and she told me to go back to school.

Theme 4: Feeling bad for not doing productive activities.

The fact of not being accepted by a public university and not having the economic resources to pay a private university generates negative emotions and dissatisfaction in individuals classified in typology 1 (those who want to study). These young people are starting their careers and consider college education an important vehicle to foster their development. The fact of not having access to a university despite putting a lot of effort in what they do makes them feel bad, unproductive and disappointed. Moreover, not being able to pass the entrance college exam makes them believe that they, as individuals have some type of problem. Lucy for example, shared the negative emotions she had when she failed the entrance test,

At first I was disappointed; ...for not being accepted; for not doing something productive.... They consider you lazy, they think that you do nothing that you are always outside home, and they call you everything.

Similarly, Paul feels bad for not doing productive activities, as he recognized it during the interview. He said: "I do nothing in my house. I do nothing productive.... It is a serious problem for me. One year without studying is a lot". Also, Amy says that she feels bad because she is waiting for a response from the government and nothing happens. As described in Amy's biographical profile, not being accepted by a public university and not having the economic resources to pay a private college creates a feeling of frustration and anger. This situation fosters tension in her home and frequent conflicts with her mom.

Theme 5: Learning occurs through imitation and collaboration with others.

The analysis of learning processes of young people from typology 1 (those who want to study) reveals that learning occurs through observation, experimentation, conversations and in collaboration with their networks. When participants were asked

about how they learn, Paul mentioned that he watches Internet tutorials several times “until he understands”.

If I see that I do not understand, I search in the Internet for tutorials and I try until I understand. It is easier for me that way, and it is no longer necessary to be asking others, I repeat the tutorial until I understand.

Lucy says that she has to be “listening to something”, and she describes how she learns to sing through imitation and experimentation with the help of her choirmaster. As she says, “He tuned us up. It is to the ear. You have to go sharpening your ear to fine tune until you find the tone of voice that fits you; the one that suits you better.” Amy also says that she learns with the support of her teachers and also with the computer, the Internet, and email.

One learns with the education you get from your teachers; with the examples that they give you. They also include some exercises to develop your mind. They teach you little by little. If you have any questions you ask them and that is the way you learn.

Amy also criticizes the effectiveness of educational institutions and teachers because what she learned was not enough to pass the college exam. As she says, “...they should have taught us a little more. I understood everything and I did well”. In addition, Amy says that she learns through observation and experimentation in her everyday life activities. In the following comment, she describes how she learned to dance Zumba with the help of an instructor,

The instructor plays a song and you have to move, you already know if it is a fast or slow movement, depending on the music. The girl gets in front of the group so you can see the steps and movements and then she pauses and teaches us the steps and she tells us “do this and do that”. If we do not understand, she explains it to us again.

Theme 6: The lack of opportunities creates a movement away from institutions.

The limitations faced by young people classified in typology 1 (those who want to study in a public university) are related to the lack of opportunities to study because they failed the entrance exam to the public university and they are not able to afford a private university. These young people have followed the processes defined by institutions to access public college education, such as studying for the entrance exam, taking the admission exam to public universities, and applying to additional slots in public universities. However, since these institutional processes are not helping them, they are moving away from these institutional processes and are attending public marches organized by the MAES to protest against the exclusion of students from public college education.

When they ponder the potential benefits and risks they find out that they do not lose anything by trying, as demonstrated by the following quote provided by Paul, “I do not lose anything by trying. Right now if I do not stay here, I can explore a technical university near my home. That is why I think that I do not lose anything here.”

In addition, these young people have learned that they need to participate in activities to get what they want. Contrary to the belief that young people in NiNi status stay in isolation doing nothing, their activity of protesting reveals a movement from formal institutions to join an informal institution to make their voices heard. The following quote provided by Amy reveals a critical view to the institutional processes that limit the access of a segment of young people to public college education.

Yes, you see things in a different way. You know about things that the government does and you say, “Oh C’mon!” They were saying that we were going to be given more places at the University and you find out that it is not true, everything is a lie and some boys and girls are in their houses, typing on their computers expecting to enter college and they do not know what to do. We are here to find answers to our demands.

Similarly, Paul considers that people need to fight for what they want because nothing is free...

I learned that you have to fight for what you want. Because in this life nothing is easy, nothing is free..... People should not fear the government, but the government should fear people because without people there is no government.

Typology 2: Young people who are taking care of their children.

Typology 2 (young people who are taking care of their children) includes two stay-at-home mothers. In October 2013, the International Labor Organization adopted a new conceptual framework that recognizes household chores as productive work in the System of National Accounts (Negrete & Ramirez, 2013). With the new framework, work is not synonymous with employment, and not holding a job is no synonymous with not working. Household chores and other volunteer and care activities typically performed by stay-at-home mothers are now considered “essential to the social reproduction not mediated by market transactions” (p. 3). Consequently, 40.6% of the working age population previously included in NiNi status “is now seen as part of the overarching process of social reproduction. Not surprisingly amongst women, the figure is bigger, so 57.9% previously defined as negative becomes under this light part of a continuum” (p. 6). From a census perspective, the new conceptual framework recognizes the historical role of stay-at-home parents as stewards of cultural values, principles and civic education of young family members. However, from a human development perspective, the creation of a new census category is not enough and requires better understanding this group’s perspectives, opportunities and limitations. For that reason, and according to the dissertation proposal, the researcher interviewed two young females

who stay-at-home to take care of their children and to carry-out other home responsibilities. In both cases, these women consider their family as the most important priority and it is worth it for them to stay-at-home. The following section provides more information about their biographies, everyday life activities, challenges faced, and future expectations.

Maria. Maria is a 20-year old woman who lives in free union⁴ with her partner in a small room in her mother's house. She spends all day taking care of her two-year old baby and doing household work. Every day she wakes up, feeds her baby, cleans the house, washes her clothes, and cares for her two year-old baby. She says that her current situation is temporary because she aspires to graduate from college as a lawyer; she wants to study in a public university but she did not pass the entrance exam. She has worked before in a formal job, and although her mother took care of her newborn, it was impossible for her to combine home and work responsibilities, so she decided to quit her job. Her partner, who completed secondary school (9th grade), told her that she could study but she could not work. When I asked her if her partner would allow her to work after graduating from college, she smiled and said: "Well, yes. I think so. Who knows [chuckles] I think so".

Maria's main expectation consists of raising her 2 year-old baby. In addition she wants to complete a college level law degree.

In 5 years I hope to have finished my major, because time it's short and then you say: "I did nothing" because I am already twenty something years old and I will have nothing. I see myself finishing my major.... Yes. I would like to be a professional person.

⁴ The Civil Code for the Federal District Mexican establishes in the articles 291 Bis, Ter, Quarter, and Quintus the rights and obligations for people living in free union. They have the same rights and obligations than married couples when they have a child or after two years of living together.

The main challenges that Maria faces are related to the lack of opportunities at work and school for young people like her with small children.

....we need nurseries and day care centers, and jobs....Yes, we need more jobs for single moms and things like that....I remember that when I looked for a job they asked me: "Do you have children?" I said yes and they asked me: "Do you have somebody to look after him?" And I said "yes" but they did not give you [the job] and you suffer a lot and they ask you to come back again and again.

Patricia. Patricia is a 25 year-old woman, mother of two elementary school children who has lived in a free union with her partner since she was 15 years old. They live in her partner's parent's house. Patricia has worked before as a waitress in a restaurant and she loved her job but her mother-in-law has a traditional mindset and she considers that women with small children should be at home raising them. Her mother-in-law told her son that Patricia might be cheating on him because she was paying too much attention to her physical appearance. As revealed in the following quote, Patricia had to choose between keeping her job or her family; in the end, she quit her job.

... [My mother-in-law] was one of the triggers for me to stop working, because she gave him ideas... I lost a lot of weight because I had pressures at work, I had pressures from my children, and I had pressures at home. I was living at a different pace, and I lost weight. In addition, I had to dress well because I was a waitress and my presentation was paramount. I worked at the University City (CU) and because of the type of people I worked with he was very jealous and we had many fights, many conflicts, and I decided to quit.

Patricia's everyday life activities are no different than those of most Mexican stay-at-home mothers; she takes care of her children and does household work.

I wake up, I wake my children up. They have breakfast. I put them in the shower, I shower, I take them to school, they go to school, I go back to do my work, the household work, I prepare the food. I pick them up from school at 12:30. I go home, I finish preparing food, I go pick up my daughter at school at 2 pm, I come back, they change, we eat, and we do homework. At 6 pm we go outside so they

can play for a while, at 7-8 pm we go back home, they take a shower and they wait for their dad to have dinner and then they go to sleep.

Patricia's expectations center on receiving more support from the government to have good day-care facilities and more involvement and support from her partner,

I would like to have more support; it would be good that they have more knowledge about children's needs so that mothers can go out, either to study or to work....They should have good facilities for children...it is important that they [partners] get more involved with their families, it is not only a matter of providing for food, money, clothes; not only that, they have to be fully involved to see what their partner's needs are or what they want to do; they need to provide support.

Patricia has three goals for her future: (i) raise her kids, (ii) move with her partner and children to their own house, to avoid problems with her mother-in-law, and (iii) go back to school to study nursing. The challenges faced by Patricia are the lack of support from her partner who is always working and the involvement of her in-laws in her family life.

I fight with my partner because sometimes his work is very absorbent....That bothers me, the fact that he does not spend time with my children, he leaves at about 6 am and my sons are sleeping and when he comes back it is past midnight, 12:30 am and they are sleeping. That has always been my fight. The fact that he does not see my kids, because for me it is very important that my children see him, that he is present. But I must also understand that he does it so we are okay, as we are....

I live in the house of my husband's mother, well when we started to live together I rented, but they invited us to live with them, to support us. Big mistake I made! Because we got lazy and we got used to it, because we do not pay rent, we do not pay electricity, water, and you get lazy, and you get used to spending money. This is something I should not have done. Then in 5 years I see myself out of here, either renting or owning but outside of here.

Themes.

Theme 1: Everyday life activities include working on a temporary basis, doing household work, taking care of children, doing exercise, listening to music, and going to parties.

Maria and Patricia are stay-at-home mothers whose everyday life activities include taking care of their children, paying attention to their partners, and doing household work. Maria has a two-year old baby and Patricia is the mother of two elementary school children. Maria says that taking care of her baby is the most important thing she does, “I just want to be with him and make sure that he is fine.” Similarly, Patricia says, “...the most important thing in my life is my family; first of all my children and my husband. I put them as my first priority, and after them are my mom and dad. I have a solid concept of family”. The following quote describes the everyday life activities of individuals classified in typology 2 (stay-at-home mothers).

I take care of my baby. Here at my house....I get up, I give him, well, we have breakfast together, and then I clean the house, wash our clothes and I'm with him, I take care of him, we play, yes, that is almost what I do. [Maria, 20 years old]

Theme 2: Friends influence the engagement of everyday activities and mothers are the main source of emotional support.

Maria and Patricia indicate they have friends with whom they engage in certain everyday life activities. Maria says that she has both male and female friends but she gets along better with a female who is similar to her, “She is a very quiet and peaceful girl; she is not very open with people, she is very shy.....very introverted, she works, but she’s cool, well, she is cool with me, very quiet.”

Patricia plays soccer with a group of friends in a women’s league –I interviewed her after a game. Every week, she plays soccer with her friends and on the weekend she

plays soccer with her two children and her partner who played semi-professional soccer in Mexico. She says that she prefers to be with her family than with her friends on weekends, “On weekends, on Saturdays and Sundays we come to play [soccer] because my husband plays and it is the only distraction we both have in terms of going out.”

Although stay-at-home mothers live with their partners, they maintain a close relationship with their mothers or their mothers-in-law. Maria for example, shares a room with her partner in her mother’s house. She says that she has a lot of confidence with her mother. Maria’s partner and her mother and family provided her “unconditional support” when they found that she was pregnant. In addition, Maria’s mother took care of her newborn when she was working but Maria decided to quit because she was unable to balance work and home responsibilities.

Patricia has a good relationship with her father and mother, she is the youngest of three children; her two brothers are 10 and 9 years older than she is. Before moving in with her partner, Patricia was very spoiled at her house. When she was 15, she decided to live with her partner. They moved to her partner’s parents and for the last 11 years, they have been living on the second story of her in-laws house. Patricia wants to move out from her in-law’s house because her mother-in-law is constantly involved in her family’s decisions. As described in the following quote, Patricia has a close relationship with her mother-in-law, however, not necessarily the type of relationship she would like to have,

My husband’s father does not get involved, he does not influence, but logically I am a mother and I have a very strong personality, I get mad very easy, as Mexicans say, when my husband makes me angry, I say many things to him and I send him to... and logically she hears, because she lives downstairs and as a consequence, she thinks that I’m a bad person, she thinks that I treat her son badly and she always get involved.

Maria and Patricia understand the importance of emotional support and they focus on providing support to their partners and their children. As Patricia says, not even grandmothers care for their children as mothers do. They also feel that they receive good support from their partners to face their everyday problems and pressures from home responsibilities, as Maria says, "...we try to mutually support each other."

Theme 3: Past school and work experiences do not help young people to make a successful transition to higher education or as pathways to careers.

Early pregnancy is the main reason for participants from typology 2 (stay-at-home mothers) to be in NiNi status, however, both participants reported that they have plans to continue their studies and find a job once their children grow. These young women have decided to care for their children and partners full time but they see this role as temporary. Patricia for example, thinks that staying-at-home to take care of her two small children is a personal sacrifice that is worth it. Nevertheless, her future plans include studying nursing and joining the labor market. As described in the following quote, Patricia still misses her job but her children and her family are her priorities,

I liked my job, I was doing well, but the kids needed my attention. So I decided to give more time to my children, to be with them because they're little, maybe later I would be able to work or study something short, like nursing, being nurse appeals to me.

Maria feels proud of graduating from preparatory school (high school) regardless of having a baby during her last school year. As described below, her unplanned pregnancy did not stop her from graduating from preparatory school (high school). In five years she wants to be a lawyer,

I think that when I finished preparatory school [high school] was also important, because I had a child and there many girls dropped-out of school.....I kept

studying, yes, when I finished it was very important..... In 5 years, I hope to have finished my major, because time is short and then you say: “I did nothing” because I am already twenty something years old and I will have nothing. I see myself finishing my major.

Regarding past work experiences the opinions are divided. Patricia enjoyed her job a lot but she quit because her mother-in-law got into her life and told her partner that she might be unfaithful. Conversely, Maria was not able to balance home and work responsibilities with a newborn and decided to stay-at-home for some time. Her work schedule started at 7 am and finished at 2 pm and sometimes at 4 pm. Then, she went home to feed and take care of her newborn, cook, and clean the house. She described her experience as, the “worst”. Although she said that she was well paid at her job, it was very hard for her to combine a full work schedule with home responsibilities.

Theme 4: Feeling bad for not doing productive activities.

Both stay-at-home mothers consider the activity of raising their children the most important activity; however, these women also reported their interest in accessing other activities, such as studying and working. Nevertheless, the lack of viable alternatives to access part-time schools and part-time jobs creates a feeling of dissatisfaction with available options to foster their development. The limitations faced by stay-at-home mothers create a feeling of dissatisfaction for not being able to join activities to improve their socio-economic status. Maria, for example, considers that there should be more opportunities for stay-at-home mothers to study and to have a productive job.

I would like jobs for young people with children, who also want to study. Because in these situations, if the two are young, then bad luck, one drops out of school and then the other continues studying. More than anything, I feel that there should be part-time jobs where people may come for some hours and then go to study, so that the two of them can study, one in the afternoon and one in the morning. Yes, I feel that more than anything, that is what we need, support with our kids, day care nurseries, right?

Patricia also indicates that the provision for part-time opportunities for studying and work should be complemented by their partner's support. As Patricia says, the responsibility of partners is not limited to providing economic support but taking an active role in the care of children and assuming other home responsibilities as well.

...it is not only a matter of providing for food, money, clothes; not only that, they have to be fully involved to see what their partner's needs are or what she wants to do; they need to provide support. If you, as a wife want to go to work, you have to have the confidence that you are going to be supported. I do not know, the spouse should stay with the kids or supporting her with the daycare so she can study or work, that's what it takes, because there is much "machismo" [gender discrimination] and if a man thinks that when the woman goes to work, she will be with other men; as some men think –some, not all. I think that women who work, they do it because they want to give something better to their children, because it's very difficult to get out of your house and let your kids alone to earn some money. *The partner should provide support.*

Theme 5: Learning occurs through observation, experimentation, conversations and in collaboration with others.

Participants from typology 2, (stay-at-home mothers) report that they learn through conversations and imitation in everyday life activities. For example, Maria says that she learns by experimenting with the advice of other people,

I think it's as they say, "You learn by making mistakes" [chuckles]. So I learned with the advice that other people gave me, "Feed your baby by placing his milk bottle like this". I got advice and maybe experimenting and trying it as well. If not, you will never learn how things are done.

Similarly, Patricia learns when she observes others and experiments on her own. For example, when she plays soccer, she watches what other players do and then she practices those movements over the weekend with her kids and in her weekly soccer games because she is part of a women's soccer team. She says: "Eventually you learn

some tricks, because there are many people who know much more.” Both, Maria and Patricia consider formal schooling important for their formal learning and development processes and they would like to continue their formal studies in the future. Maria wants to be a lawyer and Patricia wants to be a nurse.

Theme 6: The lack of opportunities creates a movement away from institutions.

The lack of part-time opportunities from educational institutions and part time jobs for mothers with small children creates a movement away from these institutions and the replication of cultural patterns to stay-at-home to take care of their children. Although the decision to stay-at-home is a conscious one, many stay-at-home mothers would prefer to combine the role of mothers with other activity but they cannot do it because there are not alternatives for them. Maria says that when she was looking for a job, employers asked if she had small children, after explaining to them that her mother was taking care of her baby, they did not call her again.

I remember that when I looked for a job they asked me: “Do you have children?” I said yes and they asked me: “Do you have somebody to look after him?” And I said "yes" but they do not give you [the job] and you suffer a lot and they ask you to come back again and again.

Mothers who are able to get a job struggle to combine the responsibilities of a full-time job with their responsibilities at home. In addition, they have to go against traditional mindsets ingrained in society that consider that mothers should stay at home taking care of their kids. According to Maria and Patricia, there are not opportunities for mothers with small children. In that sense, Maria emphasizes the need for nurseries, day care centers and time-part jobs.

Well, more than anything, we need nurseries, day care centers, and jobs. Because many times they ask you, “how many children do you have, 2 or 3, oh no!” Yes we need more jobs for single moms and things like that.

Another interesting finding related to the movement of young mothers away from institutions is related to the preference of young people to live in a free union instead of getting married. Although these two stay-at-home mothers followed the traditional path of staying at home to take care of their children, they preferred a free union in order to keep their independence. As explained by Patricia, "I'm not interested in getting married; I'd rather live like that. I do not know if tomorrow we may not get along well and it's easier for everyone to go their way and the children will always be children of the two". This finding is supported by Mexican Census information presented in annex 1 that shows a consistent 30% decrease from 1993 to 2012 in the number of marriages in the borough of Iztapalapa. Mexican law supports women living in a free union by giving them the same rights and responsibilities as married people after living 2 years as couple. In case they have a child, the 2-year requirement is not necessary to guarantee the same rights and responsibilities.

Typology 3: Young people in performing arts/sports.

Typology 3 includes three young females and two young males engaged in performing arts/sports activities. These individuals constantly seek freedom to exercise their creativity and resist the limitations imposed by school and work institutions. The following paragraphs include selective information about their backgrounds, everyday life activities, challenges, and future expectations.

Adele. Adele is an 18 year-old female who has been outside formal school and work activities for one year. She was born in Oaxaca (state located in the south of Mexico) where Adele previously lived with her parents and two brothers. She travels

around the country with a group of street musicians. Adele describes herself as a juggler and artisan and her everyday activities center on juggling on the streets and selling crafts.

I usually get up and exercise. I like to exercise when I get up. Then, I grab my stuff, I go to traffic light and I work..... I do tricks with juggling clubs and I also make crafts.

Adele's expectations center on continue learning about crafts, juggling, and traveling to other continents.

In 5 years I will be doing more crafts, I will become into a heavy craftswoman. I will be learning more about juggling. Right now, I know Mexico, but by then I want to know other continents and meet new people, other cultures, everything.

Although Adele says that she lives a happy life free of pressures from formal institutions, her challenges are the discrimination in society to artisans and jugglers who are not "bad people" and do "honest work".

Mexico City is big, it is ugly, and it is horrible. Honestly, people should start thinking about supporting artisans and jugglers, because in the end it is honest work. Everything we do, we earned with our effort. And we're not bad people, we are not bad people.

Emma. Emma is a 21 year-old female who has been living in NiNi status for one year. She describes herself as a juggler who travels around the country with a group of friends dedicated to juggling and playing music in the streets. Her divorced parents live in Veracruz. She has a younger brother who lives with her dad. Emma loves her freedom and juggling. She says that juggling creates a special energy, "It is a matter of coordination or sometimes geometry because you make some circles, you move, everything flows, and it feels good, it feels good to let that energy out and download it into something creative." Emma's everyday life activities center on juggling and traveling around the country with a group of friends.

I'm a juggler, this is what I love. A normal day for me is going out to the stop light, juggling with fire at night, something that looks nice, right? It's mostly as a hobby but you can tell it's a job because it pays my meals and also my regular expenses.

Emma's expectations include working in a formal job in order to have economic resources to buy a house and then travel around the world. She wants to go to Europe; specifically to Cadiz, Spain.

I imagine myself in Europe. I want to go to Cadiz, Spain. Lately I talk a lot with a guy over there and he tells me about the traditions and everything they do and I am very curious to go. Right now my plan is to get to Playa del Carmen and stay there for a while and have a normal job—not being, like they say, a hippie. I would like to work in a hotel or something like that. I have to learn English to have a good job, I want to have a base, a house there, so I can escape and travel the world, when I get tired I do not want to be seen as a hippie, then I have a place to go.

The challenges faced by Emma are related to the discrimination in society. She does not like that people stare at her; she would like for people to be “nicer and friendlier.”

Every day I go out and I talk to people. I do a count and there is always a point, why do people stare at you? Sometimes they move to the side and they even say something [bad to you]. In Veracruz people answer you in a good way, but here there is a lot of pressure and people are defensive. I would like everything to be nicer, and friendlier.

Jane. Jane is an 18 year-old female who has been living in NiNi status for eight months during the last 1.5 years. She loves to play soccer and she has won national soccer championships. Jane lives with her parents and has a stronger relationship with her dad who shares her passion for soccer. Jane also takes Zumba classes with her father. Jane has two siblings (an older half-brother and a younger brother who is in her words “too spoiled” by her mom). Jane's everyday life activities include working with her father

–who is teaching her the dental technician profession, doing household work and playing soccer at a competitive level.

I help my dad to get materials for his work [dental technician] and then I help my mom do the household chores. I spend some time there and then I'm going to train or play if I have a [soccer] game.

Jane's three pronged, five year plan includes learning about her father's job (dental technician), completing high school in the Open Education System⁵, and continuing to play soccer. She considers sports essential to keep kids out of drugs and to bring back kids who dropped out of school.

I've always believed that sports make healthy kids; it could be boxing, swimming, or any sport. From there they will start liking to study, because now schools are more focused on sports. For example, in a week I go to Acapulco to participate in another national tournament.

Jane's challenges are related to the environment where she lives where many young people in NiNi status are engaged in street activities. Her participation in competitive soccer and the support of her father, who also shares a passion for sports, have been important elements not to follow the same path of other youth engaged in street activities.

Andres. Andres is an 18 year-old male who has been living in NiNi status for one year. He lives with his mother; a divorced psychologist who provides therapy at her home office. His father has a chain of dry cleaners in the northern part of the country and provides the economic support for his family. Andres has an older brother who lives and works in another city. Andres was expelled from school and he prefers to study in the

⁵ The Open Education System (Sistema de Enseñanza Abierta –SEA is an open modality for people who prefer to study preparatory school [high school] on their own. Students have the support of an advisor who guides them through the process to ensure the successful completion of the program. More information of SEA can be found at: https://www.escolar.unam.mx/bachilleres/inducccion/ind_sintesis.pdf)

Open Education System (Sistema de Enseñanza Abierta – SEA). Andres exercises daily, and dedicates his time to housework, running errands, and spending time with his friends.

I get up at 8 am every day, because I follow routine of exercises. I start at 8 am and I finish at about 11 am, except on Saturdays and Sundays. After that, I have breakfast; I help my mom in various household activities—in whatever she asks me, because I live with my mom, I go to the supermarket to buy bread or to bring other things, sometimes she sends me to pay some bills. After this, at about 4 or 5 pm, I have my “free time”, I go out with my friends, and we go to different places.

Andres loves to mix music. His main expectation is to work as DJ and tour around the world. The challenges he faces are related to the difficulty to conform to norms; he describes himself as hyperactive and having concentration problems. He likes to do things differently and he rejects the norms established in institutions. Although Andres has the emotional support of his mother and the economic support of his father, he does not have access to people from whom he can learn to be a DJ.

Oscar. Oscar is a 26 year-old male who has been living in NiNi status for 8 months. He spends six hours a day mixing music. He lives alone in a house that his parents are renting to him. His father is a blacksmith and his mother stays-at-home. He has two older brothers. He dropped-out of college twice (from sociology and music) because he found school too restrictive and limiting. As he says, “If something does not attract my interest I do not do it. I get bored and I quit”. Oscar is a creative person who hates the routine and the rigid roles of school and work.

Well, in sociology the truth is, I could not talk much because...I was in the wrong place, I made a bad choice because I was not interested in it, but regarding the school of music, it is very simple, it is a place to develop artists, right? ...they should give them [students] freedom to play what they want. They should give them freedom to be artists. And how is this accomplished? By experimenting...You cannot set limits. The problem of the National School of Music—I do not about other schools, is that it sets limits. When you start you have to play certain type of music, you cannot play anything other than that kind

of music. You have an age limit to play music. Everything in that school is about limits. And apparently for many other schools too, education in the arts in Mexico is like that, if you do not start as a small child you cannot be an artist.

Oscar's expectations center on producing music professionally in Europe.

I see myself doing the same, but every time in a more professional manner. I see myself doing the same but no longer locked in my house... I'd like to be in Europe; most surely I will be there; because I'm looking for it. I am already committed to that, right? I think it would be very hard to be in a situation to let me out of where I am.

The challenges faced by Oscar are related to his inability to adapt to current institutions. He claims that institutions force people to conform to the system rather than fostering a culture of innovation. His past work and school experiences have not being successful because he thinks that organizations do not use their employees' creativity; they just ask them to follow defined rules.

I think the main thing, I mean, what is essential for an educational institution is freedom. To let students find their passions; or to wake up their passions; to let us find our purpose; to find happiness. That it's very important, right? Because they impose on you what you have to do. They impose it on you because they think that this is the way to learn, I think that learning is like.....it differs greatly for each person, right?

For Oscar, the NiNi phenomenon is positive because it is an awakening of young people, who are looking for alternatives not provided by formal institutions.

....there is an awakening of young people, and it is good right? I mean the fact that it is happening means that something is wrong right? And people are starting to look for alternatives, right? Including me, we are trying to do it from the outside, right? So if we have to take a look at the problem, I see it positive, right? Because we are fighting against the institutions and I include myself in it. The struggles themselves are making us to wake up just in time for that problem, right?

Themes.

Theme 1: Everyday life activities include working on a temporary basis, doing household work, taking care of children, doing exercise, listening to music, and going to parties.

As described in their biographical profiles above, young people from typology 3 are engaged in activities related to the performing arts/sports such as mixing music, traveling, juggling, doing crafts and sports activities. Adele, Emma, Jane, Andres and Oscar work on a temporary basis to cover their needs and they prefer to be self-employed to exercise their freedom and creativity. Two thirds of the group works on a temporary basis to access economic resources and the other third are supported by their parents.

Music is important for all young people, however, for young people in the performing arts/sports, music is constitutive of who they are. Oscar defines himself as a musician, Emma loves rave parties where they play electronic music, Jane says that she is always listening to music, and Andres likes to mix music because he wants to be a DJ.

Theme 2: Friends influence the engagement of everyday activities and mothers are the main source of emotional support.

The emotional relationship that young people in performing arts/sports have with their network of friends influences their engagement in everyday activities. For example, Oscar's friends were musicians and he wanted to be a musician as well; Jane says that her friends are like her and they share the same interests and activities. Emma and Adele learned from their friends about juggling and after trying it out, they traveled the country juggling with other young people. Emma, for example, who always thought that street kids were only wasting their time and doing drugs, started juggling because she met a group of street friends.

I did not usually hang out with people who work on the street, selling ice cream, or things like that, no I did not do that. I was the typical girl who stayed at home. But they began to arrive and found out about juggling - I always went through the streets and I used to say: "Damn kids, they do nothing but use drugs", but then I saw that it was something good. At least that moved me. Everyone has their thing, right?

Young people from typology 3 (engaged in the performing arts/sports) mainly receive emotional support from their mothers and friends. In most of the cases, mothers are able to maintain good communications by establishing an emotional connection with them. Andres' parents divorced and he lives with his mom, although his father provides the economic support; the emotional support from his father is nonexistent. He describes the support provided by his mother as the "best support of all".

It is the best support of all; my mom is a psychologist, an emotional therapist. Whenever I have a question about something big, I prefer to talk to my mom. I am very close to my mom because I live with her.

The emotional connection from mothers is maintained regardless if the youths moved out of their parents' home. Emma for example, decided to travel across the country with her group of friends and she maintains good communications with her mom, with whom she reports via messages and phone calls on average every three days,

With my mom I have more communication, but because, it is normal for a mother to be concerned about where her daughter is.... Dads are like..... If she tells me she is okay once a week it is fine'.

In a few cases, fathers are able to establish good communications when they engage in young people's favorite activities and when they make an effort to understand their needs and views. Jane for example, says that she receives a lot of support from her father who spends time with her in soccer games and also takes Zumba classes with her. Similarly, Oscar, who has built a strong bond with his mother for many years, recently

achieved a good emotional connection with his father because he approached him in a different way; rather than telling him what to do, he listened to him and he tried to understand his views and needs.

My dad sometimes asks me: “Hey what are you going to do? I talk to him, I tell him about the things I’m doing, and he tries to understand. Because it is difficult for him to understand, but, yes, he does not say anything, and today for example, he brought me something to eat, because he knows that I do not have much money.

Andres considers that parents should spend more time with their kids to earn their trust and positively influence them.

You have to approach your children. You have to find a way to win over your children. Just because you are their father doesn’t mean that they will trust you. You must pay attention to your child and learn what they like. For example, if your child likes to eat burgers at “Galerias” you should say, "Let's eat hamburgers at “Galerias”. He/she will be more relaxed at “Galerias” and you will be able to have a conversation with him/her.

Theme 3: Past school and work experiences do not help young people to make a successful transition to higher education or as pathways to careers.

Young people engaged in performing arts/sports do not enjoy current schooling methods and their past school experiences did not help them as pathways to careers.

These people like to exercise their creativity, they learn in groups and they have trouble following rigid rules. Adele for example, was constantly disobeying and was expelled from high school.

In elementary school I was an excellent student. In high school I started to disobey. I was part of a problematic group of friends and I was disobeying. I was expelled when I was a senior in high school. I did not like school.

In the case of Jane, she reported having good memories from high school; however, those memories are only related to her participation in the school's sports activities. As reported in her biographical information, Jane prefers to study high school in the Open Education System. Jane loves soccer; she has been playing it at a competitive level and she has participated in three national soccer tournaments. As she says, "...I've always been in sports. I stayed in sports and in high school I went to three nationals...."

Andres reported that he had many problems with his teachers because he did not follow the rule of no talking in class, "I started having trouble with some teachers because they said I talked a lot in class or I was distracted a lot." Similarly, Oscar considers himself a very bad student; he needs to enjoy activities, otherwise he quits.

I have always been very bad student. I have never been disciplined. I find it hard, I'm very distracted and then, well, when I do not like something, I usually quit. I mean, I'm not someone that you can call determined, right? Many people tell me that to pursue a career one needs to be disciplined, rather than being intelligent, or being brainy. One needs to be obstinate, right? To be strong-minded and that's what I'm not, right? Simply put, I do not do something if I do not enjoy it.

The analysis of past work experiences reveals a similar trend; former jobs have not being effective pathways to careers in the formal labor market. Although juggling and doing crafts allow Adele and Emma to make some money toward covering their expenses, these jobs are performed outside of the labor market. They are part of the informal economy and will not help Adele and Emma to integrate as productive members of society.

Jane has temporarily worked in a factory but she does not like that job and she is not thinking to make a career out of it. More recently, she is learning the dental technician job of her father and she says that she wants to develop in that area. Also, if

she continues playing soccer at a competitive level, she might play in a professional league in the future.

Andres has worked in McDonalds but he quit because he did not like it. His father told him that he will be managing his business chain of dry cleaners in the future; however, his father does not want to teach him the business because he considers that he should be studying but Andres has other plans, he wants to be a DJ and tour around the world.

Oscar has worked as a musician for a circus and he toured around the US but his past work experiences were not successful because he considers that organizations do not use their employees' creativity and they just ask them to follow defined rules and conform to the system. He has been labelled as a problematic employee.

I'm not someone who does not like to receive orders, but I do not want them to cross the line. Then I do not accept it and that has always affected me in the workplace, it has always brought me problems because they say that I do not have good attitude...Then my attitude at that time is: "I will not do it because it is not my responsibility" and sometimes I ended up doing it, right? But I think it's fine at least it's good to let them know they are doing something wrong. In my last job as a musician, I worked for a company and it turned to be similar. My creativity was not being used. It was just my technical ability or my..... Because it turned to be the same, right. I worked in a circus where I had to play every day the same.

Theme 4: Feeling bad for not doing productive activities.

The creative nature of young people engaged in performing arts/sports clashes with the rules established in school and work environments. These young people are constantly searching to do what they like best and to exercise their freedom and creativity; when they do not find these elements in school or jobs, they typically quit, as reported by Oscar.

I have never been disciplined. I find it hard, I'm very distracted and then, well, when I do not like something, I usually quit. I mean, I'm not someone that you can call determined, right? Many people tell me that to pursue a career one needs to be disciplined, rather than being intelligent, or being brainy. One needs to be obstinate, right? To be strong-minded and that's what I'm not, right? Simply put, I do not do something if I do not enjoy it.

These people do not find the freedom to exercise their creativity in formal school and work activities. Moreover, they need to work to cover their immediate needs. Emma, for example, claims that neither school nor her previous jobs motivated her to do her best. Consequently, her decision to be a juggler was a conscious one because she needs to enjoy what she does.

I worked at many things. I've been a promoter, supervisor, vendor, demonstrator, I was even a Manager in a company but I did not find anything that motivates me to get up to go to work and so on.

Although participants from typology 3 (engaged in performing arts/sports activities) reported feeling well performing their everyday life activities, they need money to cover their expenses as the activities they like to do not provide them with the economic resources to make a living. Consequently, they need to work in other activities that they do not like. Moreover, the difficulty of getting a job increases their need for economic resources to cover their expenses as reported by Oscar,

...my only pressure is money, that is my only concern and it is not even a big concern but I need to eat, to go out, to do whatever I want to. But I do not feel bad because as I say, I have everything I need in my house. I can say that the first step to happiness I have it at home and I'm doing it. Being employed is my only concern; I have sought jobs because if I'm not making money doing what I do, I need to get money from a different way. I started to seek employment weeks ago and nothing....

Young people engaged in the performing arts/sports also feels bad about the discrimination existing in society toward people engaged in activities that are not

considered “productive”. As described in the following quotes provided by Oscar, people in typology 3 experience discrimination in two different ways, one is the discrimination in the way they dress and the way they look and the second type is the discrimination to certain jobs.

Because they see that I have 6 tattoos or piercings or because I have longish hair, they say "You do not fulfill", practically, you do not fulfill for any job.... The main thing to change is the discrimination, right? I think that changing that I could apply for many jobs. The truth is that many jobs, what is called employee jobs have basic functions that anyone can perform, but because there is discrimination they believe or they do not believe that anyone can do it, then that's the first reason, and I do not know, I think that's the main reason, right? Everything starts from that.

Theme 5: Learning occurs through observation, experimentation, conversations and in collaboration with others.

The analysis of learning processes for individuals in typology 3 (performing arts/sports) reveals that learning occurs through creative imitation. They start observing others and then they experiment on their own. For example, Emma uses YouTube videos to practice her juggling movements, “I rehearsed and rehearsed them and I did not get tired because I really liked them”. Jane says that she learns her dad’s job by listening to him and by “...watching how he does it and trying it out”. Andres says that he taught himself how to mix music. Adele learns how to juggle and to do Mexican crafts with her group of friends, “I met artisans or jugglers, we exchanged tricks and they taught me to make macramé, bracelets, and other juggling tricks.” Oscar says that he learns by imitation.

I think that it is very simple, it is like imitation. In my case is imitation because I do not have, well I decided to do it like this and I am aware of that. It is not that I have said no to school, or no to learning, but I decided to do it self-taught. I decided to get out of the institutions and perhaps from the system, so to speak,

and learn by myself, right? Then, well with the internet now is very easy, right? Although the Internet's a double-edged sword, right? It could be very, very productive or the opposite and take off all your time, right?

Theme 6: The lack of opportunities creates a movement away from institutions.

Young people from typology 3 (engaged in performing arts/sports) decided to stay away from formal institutions because these institutions do not give them freedom to express their creativity. Oscar, for example decided to stay away from educational institutions and learn by himself because institutions want people to conform to the system.

They should give them freedom to be artists, right? And how is this accomplished? By experimenting... It is not that I have said no to school, or no to learning, but I decided to do it self-taught. I decided to get out of the institutions and perhaps from the system, so to speak, and learn by myself.

Having freedom to do what they want is important for young people from typology 3 (engaged in performing arts/sports), as explained by Adele who prefers to be juggling on the street and selling crafts instead of working in an organization, "Because we have freedom to do what we want. If you want you can work, if you want to learn something, you can do it. We decide what to do. Each person decides what to do." Adele says her past jobs were not worth it and she prefers to work on her own.

It was very bad, very stressful, very bad for the little money you get paid. In comparison, crafts sell good, if you do well, you sell a lot of crafts. If it's in season, you can sell a lot. You are comfortable seated selling your crafts.

Emma also says that enjoying what she does is very important for her. When I asked about juggling, she said that juggling was very important to her because it stimulated her emotions.

...if I would not need any money, what would I actually like to do? Something that really moves me, so I can say, I'll do it. Never mind the money, if I make a lot or not, but I'll be happy with what I'm doing. And that's the point. In the years I worked for the government I did not find anything in that way, something that moved me so I can wake up every day with the desire to go to work. Something that I say I'm going to put all my effort, because one creates our own energy.

Typology 4: Young people in street activities.

Typology 4 includes six young males engaged in street activities. Their everyday life activities focus on housework, working on a temporary basis in low-level jobs, playing sports and doing exercise such as soccer, pull-ups, and hand fronton [a squash-like sport played with the hand]. These young people reported that their parents provide them basic economic support that includes a house to live and food but they have to earn additional resources for clothes and other recreational activities. The need for economic resources is one of their main concerns as reported by Mike, "...because if you don't have a job, you have no money and if you have no money, you can't do things". Similarly, Pedro says that not having money "...is one of my biggest problems". For Diego, the need for money and his interests to do "other things" were the main reason for dropping-out of school. Adam said that if he could make a wish, he would ask "...the basics and right now it would be what helps to succeed and that is money." The following section provides more information about their biography, everyday life activities, challenges, and future expectations.

Diego. Diego is a 19 year-old male who has been living in NiNi status for three years. He lives with his mom, his stepfather and three brothers -her older sister is already married. His father had a drug addiction and used to beat her mom when he was "high". He now has a physical deficiency as a result of a street fight. Diego is part of the informal

economy. He likes to smoke marijuana and sometimes he sniffs glue⁶. He works an average of two-three days per week as an assistant for low paying jobs -running errands, helping to do basic things for people working in trades, among other basic activities. The following quote describes Diego's everyday activities.

I get up, I make my bed, I have breakfast—if I have time, if I have to work I do not have breakfast.... Sometimes I have work and sometimes I don't. Sometimes I work in different jobs, for example, I help my stepfather, I help two men who work over there, where I live in Retoño [name of the neighborhood] and they give me something, \$150 [about \$12 dollars] a day or so.

Diego would like to finish high school and he plans to build a room for himself in his mother's house. In addition, he would like to work as a construction contractor. The main challenge he faces is the environment where he lives that is pulling him to a life of poverty, abuse from employers of low-level jobs, drugs, and possible other criminal activities. Diego feels bad of being discriminated because he does not study and does not work. As he says,

I feel bad. Because, how can I tell you? People do not see you the same way as a man with education, you know? It is something else. A man on the street that does nothing, people see him differently, you know? It is obvious, people are going to ask: "What does he do? What does he do for his life?" And yes, there have been people who told me "You!" because you know, right? [He refers to people that treat him badly]. And yes, it sometimes makes you feel bad and then you say: "What is happening?"

Mike. Mike is a 19 year-old male who has been in NiNi status for one year.

Mike lives with his two working parents and a younger brother. He receives basic economic support from his parents but "low emotional support because they are

⁶ The most common drug for poor people living in the streets is the use of intoxicative inhalants, such as sniffing glue. Typically youth use these products as recreational drugs and they produce an intoxicating effect.

working”. He has a good relationship with his mom. His everyday activities consists of doing household work at home and spending time with his friends in the street playing soccer, running, and doing pull-ups. The following quote describes Mike’s everyday activities.

I get up, I come here with the band, and we talk for a while, after that, well, we play, we play soccer challenges, at 5 or 6 pm – it is something that entertains us, right? We are here until about 8 pm when the soccer matches start and we see them. Then, I go home, I eat something, I fall asleep and it's the same the next day.... I do not work.... I watch over the cars [cars parked on the street].

Mike’s Expectations include finishing high school, doing his military service and becoming a Federal Agent. He considers sports essential to keep kids at school and keeping away from drugs.

Give them sports. I do not know, I would organize more soccer tournaments here for kids who are playing or construct other type of courts, there are some who like basketball, they like to do exercise, soccer, that's what I would do.

Among the challenges faced by Mike is the lack of a supportive environment to succeed. He considers that his parents do not give him enough emotional support because both of them are working. In addition, he says that his friends are a negative influence and they are the main reason to be in NiNi status. He describes them as “a mess”, “[Drug addicts]”, and “drunks”. He would like to move-out from his neighborhood with his family.

Raul. Raul is a 19 year-old male who has been living in NiNi status for two years. Raul lives with his two working parents and his 12-year old sister that he walks every day to school. He does household chores and cooks –he feels uncomfortable living in NiNi status and he tries to contribute in all he can to avoid problems at home. He occasionally works to get some money by doing basic activities, such as reserving parking spaces on

the street and helping women take out the trash from their houses. The following quote describes Raul's everyday activities.

I get up and every day, well, when we are not on vacation, I take my sister to school and I help in the household chores. After that, I go to pick her up and I am also dedicated to my personal matters that include washing my clothes and taking care of my personal hygiene. After that, in the evening I go out here with my friends. And this is what I do on everyday basis.

Raul's main expectation center on enrolling in a technical short course study and he considers that having a part-time job and a part-time school would be ideal. Raul regrets having dropped-out of school and says that he feels bad because he sees that his cousins are progressing and he is not.

.....there are times when you feel less, right? Well, my cousins are moving forward, right? Some of them already finished their majors and there are times when you really feel bad, right? There are times when you feel bad.

The main challenge faced by Raul is the lack of support from his parents. He acknowledges that he needs help but he doesn't know how to ask for it because communication with his parents is broken. Raul says that the relationship with them is deteriorated because he does not work and he does not study. There is no trust among them and he does not feel comfortable asking for their help.

Well, because right now as I do not work or anything like that, my dad and my mom tell me all the time: "Start doing something, study" I do not know, right? "Start doing something". And yes, we have come to a time that we do not have much communication because of the problems we've had, and I do not have, I do not have the confidence to say: "Well, help me", or something like that, right? There is certain distance. I do not feel confident to say: "Help me", please "Help me, yes, I'm going to start doing something, but help me".....as I say, and I do not have much support from my parents, not at 100%, well a part-time job and a part-time school would help me a lot to cover my expenses and not having to ask nothing to anyone.

Pedro. Pedro is a 19 year-old male who has been outside formal school and work activities for the last two years. He likes to run, play soccer and hand fronton. He helps his mom run errands and prepare dinner. He occasionally works with his aunts delivering printed T-shirts that they produce. Pedro lives with his parents and he will be a dad soon. He and his pregnant partner are planning to move to his mother's house. The following quote describes Pedro's everyday activities.

I get up in the morning and then I prepare juice, I have breakfast, I go running. I do nothing else, I go running, I go do exercise. Then I come home, I sleep a little longer. In the evening, my mom sends me to run errands, I prepare dinner and that's all. Hmm... at night, time flies, as they say time flies while doing nothing.... sometimes I'm helping my aunts deliver the T-shirts, I deliver them. So they send me in their cars, I get out and I take them, I take all their T-shirts and they give me something.

The expectations of Pedro consists of “putting a lot of effort” to sustain his pregnant girlfriend and newborn. Although his parents will provide him a place to live with his girlfriend and newborn, he will need to work more consistently to sustain his family. The challenges he faces are related to the environment where he lives; he considers it important to stay-away from bad friends because they influence kids to use drugs and to do other “bad things”. His future plans include working more consistently with his aunts, continue reserving parking spaces in the street, and he hopes to find another job.

Well, I need to put a lot of effort, much effort. Leaving my, well several of my "friends"...it's important not getting along with bad friends, right? More than anything are bad friends those who pull you, and then we start not progressing and that's it.

....with the job with my aunts and the work that I'm doing here, it will be two [jobs] for me and I'm going to get another job here, and with that will be enough.

Tony. Tony is a 23 year-old male who has been living in NiNi status for the last two years. He has some tattoos. He lives with his younger brother, stay-at-home mother and working father. Tony is very close to his mother and one of his tattoos has her name. He loves sports -especially doing pull-ups and hand fronton. Tony occasionally works as a blacksmith; but only when his boss cannot do the work himself. That way, the boss does not have to pay him a regular salary. As he says, “It is eventual; it’s for certain occasions, only when the man has work, he suddenly calls me”. The following quote describes Tony’s everyday activities.

I go to play hand fronton and sometimes I work; occasionally.... I work as a blacksmith, blacksmithing....It is eventual, it’s for certain occasions, when the man has work he suddenly calls me, when there is no work, well, he does not give me any work.

The main expectation of Tony is to be accepted in a factory job and receive social security and other benefits. However, the main challenge he faces is the discrimination from potential employers. Tony considers that employers should give him an opportunity before making a judgment based on his tattoos.

They should give us a chance, right? For example, in my case it is because of my tattoos, just because of that..... They should give us an opportunity, nothing more; just give us a chance before judging.

Adam. Adam is a 27 year-old male who has been outside formal school and work activities for the last five years. Adam temporarily works as assistant bricklayer when his boss needs some help. He also helps people in street markets to earn some money; he carries boxes of fruit and helps in other physical tasks. In the afternoon he plays soccer with his friends in the street. He is part of the informal economy and he works on average 3-4 days per week. The following quote describes Adam’s everyday activities.

I regularly try to earn something for eating. I help people in “tianguis” [street markets]. I help them to carry their boxes, their fruits, why? To earn some money to eat, and then, in the afternoon I do an activity with my friends, like playing soccer.

Adam’s main expectation is to work as a construction contractor; moreover, he would like to give employment to his street friends.

In 5 years I would like to be a contractor, a good contractor and why not? Employ friends or boys who are looking for a job and I will take them with me as long as I have a good job. I think this is my biggest aspiration, right? Now that I still can. That's what I want. Right now, I want to learn, learn well the trade job, so tomorrow I can do something good because I still have time, we all have opportunities and we all have our time.

The main challenge faced by Adam is not having a formal job. He regrets not finishing his studies to have better options in life; he did not even complete elementary school. He tries his best to avoid grabbing other people’s things. He remembers that when he was a child he used to take food away from his classmates, when I asked him why, he said that he did it because he had not eaten in a day or two. Below is part of the interview where Adam describes this important life event.

Q: Think of your childhood when you were younger and tell me three situations that have been important in your life.

A: Well, for me it was not bringing money to recess and sometimes taking food from my classmates [chuckles].

Q: Was that important in your life, so you can remember it as something that has influenced your life?

A: Yes, it influenced me because it is something I do not wish to anyone, right? Because it’s so ugly and it’s something that influenced my life and I try avoiding that, and I avoid grabbing things that are not mine, right?

Q: So you took the food away from your classmates? Really?

A: Really, to eat because sometimes I had not eaten in a day or two, then that's what led me to take their food away, to have that reaction.

Themes.

Theme 1: Everyday life activities include working on a temporary basis, doing household work, taking care of children, doing exercise, listening to music, and going to parties.

Diego, Mike, Raul, Pedro, Tony, and Adam are engaged in street activities. As described in their biographical profiles above, their everyday activities center on doing household work, doing sports, spending time with their friends on the street, and working on a temporary basis to earn money towards covering their expenses. Mike reserves parking spaces in the street; Raul takes out trash from people's houses; Diego runs errands and helps people in a variety of low level tasks "to earn something"; Tony assists a plumber when he needs help, and Adam, works as a brick-layer's helper when there is work, other days he works as a helper, carrying fruit boxes in the local markets.

These young people like to exercise and soccer is their most important activity. Mike also likes to jog and he regularly does pull-ups; similarly, Raul considers exercise essential "...for people not to fall into drugs"; Tony considers hand fronton his most important activity and he is the best player in the neighborhood. Adam likes to exercise, play soccer, and do pull ups as well. They play soccer in the evening and they have good memories of occasions when they have won soccer championships. Similarly, many of them acknowledged doing drugs. Diego says that smoking marijuana is what he likes best and he also sniffs glue but "not on a daily basis". Adam considers that his friends have little vices but apart from that, they are good kids.

Theme 2: Friends influence the engagement of everyday activities and mothers are the main source of emotional support.

The analysis of information reveals that friends are the main influence for individuals grouped in typology 4 (street activities). The code “Relationship with Friends” was the largest frequently occurring code for this group. This finding reveals that these young people are not alone; they carry-out their everyday activities in collaboration with their group of friends. These activities include playing soccer, doing pull-ups, playing hand fronton [a squash-like sport played with the hand], and looking for temporary work. Mike and Pedro say that their friends were the ones who induced them to do drugs and other “bad things”. Also, Mike says that he started having problems at school when he met his street friends.

I was quiet, I did not like to spend much time on the street, and I liked school. And then it was the opposite when I met them.....I consider myself an average student, I did not have low scores but neither high ones, and I did like going to school, it is just that in the Bachilleres [High School] that I was going, well, in 10th grade I was doing well, I did not flunk in any class, but when I started to get together with these dudes, everything went bad, and there were more than 12 classes that I did not pass and they no longer gave me an opportunity to continue.

All youth from typology 4 (engaged in street activities) consider that their mothers are the main source of emotional support—in addition to their friends. They have good communications with their mothers and they are their role-models. As Mike says, his mother “...is the one who works harder, she is the one who have been there for us...” Raul says that he communicates well with her mother and he describes her as “...very hard working, and very responsible with her things.” Pedro says that her mother gives him frequent advice; she wants him to change for the better, especially now that he is going to be a dad. He plans to live with his partner and his newborn in his mother’s house. Tony says that his mom is everything to him and Adam says that he has more confidence in his mom than with his dad.

Interestingly, mothers have been revolutionary during the last century and they have evolved their traditional roles of care givers and emotional providers to assume the role of economic providers as well –while maintaining their other two historical roles. The analysis of Mexican census data included in annex 1 shows a 250% increase in the economic participation of women from 1921 to 2014. Moreover, the indicator of women as a head of family reported a 33% increase in the borough of Iztapalapa from 2000 to 2010.

Theme 3: Past school and work experiences do not help young people to make a successful transition to higher education or as pathways to careers.

Past school experiences of young people classified in typology 4 (street activities) have not helped them to stay in school or as pathways to careers. Most of them completed secondary school (eight and nine grades), one dropped out of the 10th grade (preparatory school) and one did not finish elementary school. Being a troublemaker is typical of young people classified in typology 4 (engaged in street activities). Having fun with friends and not paying attention to school tasks were the main causes for being expelled from school. Raul remembers the day his mother took him out of school because of his behavior, “She took me out of high school because I was a real mess...” and Tony says that he did not like school and he wanted to do other things, “I dropped out of school because I no longer wanted to continue studying... I did not think it was important. I wanted to do other things.” Pedro remembers that he liked to be fooling around in school, “I sometimes behaved well but not much, right? At school you start fooling around and that’s it.” Similarly, Raul focused on having fun and did not pay attention to school tasks.

...my mom took me out of high school, right? She took me out of secondary school because I was a real mess, she said: ‘No, you're not going to do anything,

you do not like school'. You are in an age [and I said]: 'No mom! She took me out of secondary school; I was already in the ninth grade.

Mike remembers the feeling he had the first day he dropped out of school, he was excited for not doing the same routine and having time to do what he wanted but he soon realized that street activities also become a routine,

Well, at first I said, that is cool! My day! I'm not going to study; today I'm not going to do the same things. But then, over time you say: 'No, I should have continued studying'.

Similarly, past work experiences in low-level jobs in the informal economy are not effective pathways to careers. These temporary jobs are seen as ways to get a little money for specific purposes, not as permanent jobs. Mike reserves parking spaces in the street, Raul takes-out the trash from people's houses, Diego helps trade people running errands and helping them in a variety of low level tasks, Tony is being called when a plumber needs help, and Adam, the 27 year old assistant bricklayer, works an average 3-4 days a week as a brick-layer's helper when there is work, other days he helps people in markets to carry boxes of fruit.

Theme 4: Feeling bad for not doing productive activities.

The analysis of codes for young people from typology 4 reveals a paradox in the lives of young people engaged in street activities. They are constantly searching for fun and in theory, they have time to do what they want, however, the lack of economic resources limits what they can really do. For example, Mike contrasts the joy of the first day he dropped-out of school with the reality of his current situation.

Well, at first I said, that is cool! My day! I'm not going to study; today I'm not going to do the same things. But then, over time you say: 'No, I should have continued studying'.

For Mike, the lack of economic resources represents a major obstacle; however, he recognizes that he does not do anything to change his situation.

....if you don't have a job, you have no money and if you have no money, you can't do things.....but more than anything, it is me, because if I would like to, I could get a job but I do not want to get out of here.

Tony feels bad for not having a formal job. He says that he is discriminated from jobs because of his tattoos and he would like to have an opportunity, "They would decide if they hire you or not but first they should test you before judging... They should give us an opportunity, nothing more; just give us a chance before judging." Similarly, Diego feels bad because he thinks that society discriminates people like him who do not study and do not work.

Another source of negative emotions is present at home because parents are constantly scolding their children because they consider that they are not doing productive activities. These negative feelings clash with the joy experienced during the day when they go out with their street friends to play soccer, hand fronton, do pull-ups, and sometimes engage as a group in temporary jobs to access a few economic resources. To avoid problems at home, Raul tries to have good behavior at home and does household work, runs errands, and keeps his things in order.

Well, so that they do not tell me anything at home, well, almost anything, I try to help in household chores, right? At least to do something, right? I wash my clothes; I'm not one of those that his mom washes their clothes. I have my affairs in order right? And all my personal things, right?"

Lastly, young people from typology 4 (engaged in street activities) feel bad because they consider that they are not progressing. Raul for example, says that he frequently feels bad when he knows that his cousins are moving forward and he is not.

Because there are times when you feel less, right? Well, my cousins are moving forward, right? Some of them already finished their majors and there are times when you really feel bad right? There are times when you feel bad.

Theme 5: Learning occurs through observation, experimentation, conversations and in collaboration with others.

The analysis of learning processes for young people engaged in street activities reveals that learning occurs through imitation based on conversations, observations, and experimentation. Mike says that he sees how other people do things and he tries to do it better. Tony uses observation and practice to learn. As he says, "...you learn by watching, suddenly you start trying it and you keep doing it until you know how to do things. You practice until you can do it". The following are excerpts of the interview with Raul, a 19 year-old male who has been in NiNi status for the last two years. Raul explains how he learns in everyday life activities.

Well, just by looking, I always learn by observing. I learned to drive by observing my dad and then one day [I asked him] 'Let me try it dad...'I also learned to dance by observing.....just looking, seeing. Trying in dances, [I said to myself] 'Let's try this step...' ...I don't know, you learned many things observing, other things by talking.

Theme 6: The lack of opportunities creates a movement away from institutions.

The lack of opportunities in school and work institutions is moving people away from these institutions instead of creating new opportunities for them. Young people from typology 4 (engaged in street activities) did not succeed at school because they have an average or below average academic performance and a troublemaking attitude. In addition, they cannot get a formal job because they lack preparation and they feel that they are discriminated against. The only available options are low-level and temporary

jobs consisting of reserving parking spaces in the street, helpers in trade jobs, and other low level jobs. These jobs will not help them achieve economic independency and their future integration as productive members in society. Being engaged in street activities has become a street trap for them, characterized by low level jobs, poverty, and dissatisfaction with their situation. All of them responded that money was the most important thing for them. Their need for economic resources also represents a risk of falling into illicit and criminal activities.

An important finding from comparing codes from the interviews of working adults revealed that this group is challenging the traditional practice of doing drugs. In the past, the use of drugs was secretive and exclusive for adults. Nowadays the use of drugs is public and children start doing drugs at an early age as revealed by Felix, a 61-year old car muffler repairman.

The thing about today's youth is very different from before, it was more respectful before. I mean, if you wanted to smoke a cigarette you had to hide to smoke it, when I was a kid, during my youth. Not now, they do not care if their dad or their mom sees them. It is not the same as before, and youth have a different life, even more crazy than when I was a child. I remember that they smoked marijuana and they did not invite me, only grown-ups smoked it and they hid from others. You see them today, now they walk in front of you.

Working Adults

Based on the Vygotskian conceptual framework that emphasizes the importance of culture and history, the researcher interviewed 12 working adults from four generations about their everyday life activities when they were between the ages of 18 and 29 in order to conduct a historical comparison of everyday activities of young people. The focus of this analysis was on: (i) what they did as a youth, (ii) how they make meaning of their youth experiences, (iii) how did they learn, and (iv) the obstacles they

faced in their learning and development. The sample of interviewed adults included 6 males and 6 females. The average age of the interviewed adults was 53 with a median of 54 years of age; five of these working adults (42%) had a college education, two completed higher education degrees (17%), and two of them studied high school; one studied middle school, and two of them did not complete elementary school. Table 2 includes the list of working adults.

The sample of working adults included an equal number of males and females. The researcher classified these working adults according to their age in four generational groups (McIntosh-Elkins, McRitchie, & Scoones, 2007). Each group included three working adults as follows: (i) two males and one female from the silent generation for people born prior to 1945, (ii) two males and one female from the baby boom generation (born between 1946 and 1962), (iii) one male and two females from the generation X (born between 1963 and 1977), and (iv) one male and two females from the generation Y (born between 1978 to 1986). The following section provides more information about the biographies of these working adults, their everyday life activities when they were 18-29 years old, their youth expectations, and their challenges faced during those years.

Table 4.2

List of Working Adults from Four Age Generations

#	Cohort	Age	Cover Name	Gender	Profession	Last School Grade
1	Silent Generation (Born before the end of WWII - 1945)	86	Hector	Male	Carpenter	College (Architecture - Incomplete)
2		72	Nelson	Male	Facility Keeper	Elementary School (Incomplete)
3		70	Frida	Female	Owner of a Beauty Parlor	High School
4	Baby Boom Generation (Born between 1946 - 1962)	61	Leo	Male	Mechanic	Middle School + Car Mechanics
5		61	Felix	Male	Car Repair Mufflers	Elementary School (Incomplete)
6		57	Olga	Female	Optometrist	College (Optometrist)
7	Generation X (Born between 1963 - 1977)	51	Cesar	Male	Researcher	Masters Degree (Psychology/ Sociology)
8		41	Gina	Female	Owner of a Pet Store	College (Veterinarian)
9		38	Selma	Female	Police Woman	High School + Police School
10	Generation Y (Born between 1978 - 1986)	32	Belen	Female	Social Worker	College (Philosophy)
11		32	Bruno	Male	Social Worker	College (Anthropologist)
12		31	Gaby	Female	Teacher/ Service Agent	Masters Degree (International Relations)
	Average	53				

Silent generation (born before the end of WWII and 1945).

The sample of working adults from the silent generation includes two males and one female.

Hector. Hector is an 86-year old male carpenter who volunteers at his church giving counseling and advice to young people when they are in trouble or when they want to quit drugs. He lost his mother when he was in fifth grade and was raised by his father from whom he learned the carpentry trade. The everyday life activities of Hector, when he was 18 years old, included attending college and playing basketball.

I was in school, I did not realize it but I liked woodworking. My dad was a carpenter and I did not learn everything from him because I thought that I was

studying, right? Then it came a time when I screwed up because I combined school with playing basketball.

Hector studied architecture but he dropped-out of college because he was not successfully meeting the academic school requirements. After dropping-out he worked for two years with an architect as a cartoonist and later decided to learn the carpentry trade from his father, who was a positive learning influence to him. He remembers that his father worked more than 10 hours a day. When he came back home, he had dinner and after that he worked until midnight in his backyard making wood furniture that they sold over the weekends. He described his father as a very responsible person who took care of him and his sister after his mother's death. His example helped him to discover his vocation because he did not want to focus on making money; he wanted to help other people, specifically poor people.

The woodwork put me to test when I was studying; I was desperate because I had an idea. I did not want to do it for the money; I did not want to do it for obligation either. I wanted to do it to serve all people who would need it, even if they were the poorest. My intention was to be an architect, to do something appropriate for the peasants, for the humble and common people, and for the elderly.

Hector faced several challenges when he was 18-29 years old, those included not having the support of her mother, low academic performance at school, and a condition of shyness from which he recovered in his adulthood. As a result of his shyness, Hector never had a date and he never married.

I fell in love with a girl and she was the love of my life.... I feel like crying, just remembering her [He begins to sob and speak with broken voice]. I was lost about her.... I had that problem; I was too shy to approach her.... It was painful for me to reveal it to others. That was my mistake.

After his job as a cartoonist, Hector worked doing collections and when he found that he was not able to successfully perform these functions, he decided to focus on carpentry.

We all have a tendency toward something and we have to develop it, the important thing is to discover it. I could never discover in advance what I was going to do for a living. I discovered it because I tried to be an accountant. I have a friend who was with me in fourth grade, he got a job and he was working very well and he invited me to work, but not to make accounting statements but to do collections, but I had a big problem of mental concentration. It was terrible; it was the worst thing that could have happened to me at school.

Nelson. Nelson is a 72 year-old male facility keeper. He comes from a poor family of 18 siblings (12 survived into adulthood). The interview was rich in details of how larger families were a source of emotional and economic support, something that has changed with new generations because today's families are small and in many cases both parents work. His family followed the traditional model where the mother stayed at home and the father provided the economic means. Siblings played an important role; they supported each other and when they reached adulthood they contributed to the family's income, they bought a house for their parents and supported their siblings' education; all his youngest siblings are college graduated while the oldest ones did not even complete elementary school. The following quote describes Nelson's everyday life activities when he was 18-29 years old.

I started working at the age of 9. I did not study. I studied up to 4th grade of elementary school and then I started working because I had 18 siblings..... I worked for the spinning and weaving factory "Nueva Aurrera" ... at the age of 15. It was forbidden to employ minors. [But] There was a lot of need for labor in Mexico and they did not really care. They were interested in having labor force and there was no one to choose from. Then, at the age 15, I started working there.

...my four youngest brothers completed a college degree. The youngest is a pharmacist and works at the Bayer Laboratories. He was given all the support to study because all the oldest brothers already worked.

The expectations of Nelson when he was 18-29 years old focused on working to support his poor and big family. He was raised under strict discipline, his father used to beat him and his siblings a lot. Beating children was a common practice to educate them at the time, both at home and at school where teachers had the right to beat badly behaved students. Nelson said that if the teacher beat them, parents beat them at home, again, so they preferred not to tell them. Nelson does not remember receiving affection from his mother because she had to cook and wash clothes for his 18 siblings. In those days there were neither washing machines nor gas stoves. They cooked using oil stoves. As he says, "My mom did not have time to hug us and kiss us; only when we were sick, but nothing more". When Nelson was 23 years old, he decided to get married and then he had to work harder to sustain his family.

I was kind of bored because my father was very strict, and... he beat us a lot. There were many beatings. I was tired and bored of that life and looked for ways to.... because at that time no one left home as it is now that young people say: "See you later! I am going out with a friend." In those days, young people have to live under the tutelage of their parents. So, I decided to find a woman and get married. I married when I was 23. And I needed to work harder. We had 7 kids; we bought our stuff, our house, and I continued working there for 34 years.

The challenges faced by Nelson when he was 18-29 years old were related to poverty. His family focused on fulfilling basic needs for eating and dressing. When he was a child, he and his brothers were "hungry all the time". As he grew-up and he and his siblings worked, his economic condition improved.

Well, to me the problems were lack of money, and scarcity of food to eat. We used to eat a full pot of beans daily. We did not eat meat. I usually tell my kids that on Sunday my mom bought two sardine cans and she prepared them with

tomato and avocado and she also bought a cheese called "Supreme". We had a little sardine with cheese as the main dish. We were hungry all the time. When I started working I felt like eating ham and bought a quarter of the best ham, but given that we were so many brothers I decided to eat it myself and I went under the bed and I ate the ham there. I did not share it.

Frida. Frida is a 70 year-old female who owns a beauty parlor saloon. She is single and lives with her mother and younger sister. She has forty years of work experience in the beauty parlor business and has trained many young people. She started working at the age of 18 as a cashier, secretary and chauffeur. Then she studied interior design and later started her beauty parlor business. The following quote describes Frida's everyday activities.

I worked as a cashier, secretary, and chauffeur.... I think there was a boom in Mexico from the 70s but before the 70s it was a very poor life... there were more needs and we had to work hard.

Frida considers that discipline was important for her development and she learned discipline at home,

In our houses we learned to be responsible. It was not like you can leave if you do not like it, no, no....there was discipline. Now there is none at all. Since I remember at 7 am we were up, we have to be fast to shower and make your bed, while my mom was preparing breakfast, we had breakfast and we left. We returned, take off our uniform, set the table and eat. We were involved in the different tasks.

The expectations of Frida since she was a young girl focused on making money. As she says, those were different times in Mexico and people lived with limitations.

I mostly liked to make money..... I wanted to make money and in our house there were many needs.....when I was 18 years old, I worked in an office, I had two pairs of high heel shoes; one pair black and one pair brown to be nicely dressed. But once you arrived home, you take off your high heel shoes, and put on your flip flops, we needed to take care of our clothes because it was not like it is today. We used to take care of our clothes because it was hard to make money. We had

our house, there was hot food, we had a place to shower and rest but we had limitations, and we needed to work.

Frida learned the beauty parlor techniques in a beauty school. The teacher was a 60-year old teacher who was very strict. She considers that new generations are not open to learning because the school system has become a commodity; technical courses are not preparing people like they did in the past.

We used to study this major [beauty parlor] during three years, now it takes only six months and young people think that in six months they are already stylists and that's a lie.

The challenges of Frida when she was 18-29 years old were related to sustaining the beauty parlor business that she bought with her life savings. She did not know the basic functions and needed to learn fast to cover the operating expenses that included the salary of lady who worked with her.

Well, the first thing I learned was manicure. I was in much need because I had the beauty parlor and a lady who helped me. When I got the beauty parlor that lady stayed to work with me and I was observing how she did it. The most urgent to learn was manicure and pedicure. So I bought the tools and I started practicing with my family. My whole family had their fingers with cuts!

Baby boom generation (born between 1946 and 1962).

The sample of working adults from the baby boom generation includes a female and two males.

Leo. Leo is a divorced 61 year-old male mechanic. He started working at the age of 8, selling newspaper and bubble gum in the streets. At the age of 15 his father taught him the basics of mechanics and later he enrolled in an auto mechanic school. Leo's father abandoned his family when he was 17 years old. The everyday life activities of

Leo when he was 18-29 years old combined working as a mechanic and studying mechanics in a technical school. The following quote describes Leo's everyday activities.

When I was 18 to 20 years I had already worked....First I worked selling newspapers and bubble gum, and I also went to the cemetery to carry water to earn some cash. At that time I was about 8 to 13 years old. When I was 14-15 years old my dad took me with him. My dad was a mechanic. He taught me the mechanic trade.... He was like young people are today that they marry their partners but they do not attend to them, he simply liked to have fun with other ladies, right? He was going here and there, and because of his vices, he spent everything he earned there. He was only dedicated to himself. Later, I started working with him but I did not like working with him. I learned the basic things and then I went to study at the CECATI and that's where I learned many other things and then I started working on my own.

Leo's expectations when he was 18-29 years old focused on having his own business; a car repair workshop, however he has not been able to do it because the partnerships he has started have not been successful.

Well, I dreamed of having my own, but unfortunately I couldn't make it. I started about three partnerships but... goodbye, partnerships with other people are not good because they will abuse, because they start to see a lot of money and they begin to spend it instead of investing it. The other party pulls it and you invest it, you invest money and the other party pulls money and when you realize it you say: "What's up man?" Not anymore! So it is better to be alone; if you do it well alone, if you do it badly, alone. When I was 18 to 20 years that was my goal and I still think to have my own.

The challenges faced by Leo included the abandoned of his father, the poverty in which he lived and the abuses and humiliations from employers. These challenges became his motivation to do his best and succeed in his everyday life activities.

The events are the poverty in which you live, that is what gets you through. The....how can I say it? The ambition, the desire to be somebody else, in addition to your needs, the people who humiliate you and you don't want them to humiliate you again.... they humiliate you and they tell you many things that one can't say because, well....one prefers to let them forgotten in the past, right? People feel powerful and they don't realize it, they just realize it when you're already up or when you are almost done.

Leo has suffered the abuse of power from many employers; consequently, he recommends the creation of co-operatives⁷ to avoid these abuses. As he says, a co-operative fosters the development of all members of the co-operative, “In a co-operative everyone is, so to speak, a partner....”

Felix. Felix is a 61-year old male muffler repairman who has a mobile workshop (his workshop is his car) and is well-known in the community. He studied up to second grade of elementary school –he knows how to read but has difficulty writing. His mother died when he was 12 and his stepfather asked him and his brothers to leave his house. He lived with his married sister for some time but he left because he had trouble with his sister’s husband (she suffered from domestic violence). He moved with his older brother and he also lived alone. He spent one year as a vagabond. Later, he married and spent about 17 years as an alcoholic but recovered with the support of his wife. Felix has two sons and has taught the muffler trade to about 35 young people including one of his sons. Since the age of 14, the everyday life activity of Felix has been working in car muffler repair.

I was 14 when I started working in car muffler repair... I studied up to second grade to be honest. There was no chance for it, my parents worked....my dad was a shoemaker, my mom washed clothes, she ironed clothes, washed houses, I mean she cleaned houses and they did not have time to study with me. In addition, I was so unlucky that my teacher was a mess. He used to take his girlfriend with him.... He asked us to do anything, to write, or to do something but he was more focused on making out with his girlfriend.

⁷ A co-operative is own and managed by its members to meet their economic, social and cultural needs and aspirations.

The expectations of Felix when he was 18-29 years old focused on quitting a life of poverty and vices. He was continuously fired from jobs because he was an alcoholic and he got into stealing –to survive. At the age of 19 he got married but he continued drinking alcohol and living in the “system of not progressing”, as he described it.

I spent 17 years doing nothing...I was already married. I was between 20 to 37 years old... I mean in the system of not progressing. I did work and everything but I refer to the fact that I was not progressing. I once told my wife: “Well, get yourself something because with me you have no future.”

The main challenge of Felix when he was 18-29 years old was to quit a life of poverty, vice, and crime. Most of his childhood and youth years he was isolated from others but later in life he received the support of his work mentor, his wife, and his brother. This group of people helped him straighten up his life.

[...my life] has been always lonely [broken voice] for me. It was lonely because all the time I lived alone, I was alone....I started to drink alcohol and I was fired from job to job. I mean, when I was 18 years old. At 19, I started living with my wife and then I started to straighten up a bit, but I had plenty of problems. So to speak, I had to survive right? And I occasionally took things, I was...well, for me that was not stealing, it was a necessity to survive, to eat....

...my boss taught me—may he rest in peace. He taught me the trade of car muffler repair....And I give thanks to that man because, as they say: “He relieved me from hunger”, he was very nice with me.

....I said: “I want to have a mobile workshop”.... The idea came from my brother.... my son worked in a factory, we went with his employer, and he lent us some money. I brought him my car’s title; an old Galaxy that I had. He said: “I do not want any papers. I believe in your word”. Gosh! It really feels good that someone else believes in the one’s word. With that money I bought the tanks, the barometers, and other necessary things.

Olga. Olga is a married, 57 year-old female from the baby boom generation who works as optometrist and has a 32 year-old daughter and a 31 year-old son. When she was a teenager she worked as a receptionist to contribute to her household. Her father

died when she was 18 years old and her once stay-at-home mother started to work to sustain her family. Olga's everyday life activities when she was 18-29 years-old combined work and studies.

I studied every day and in addition to studying, I worked. I came from a large family; in my house they needed the economic support of the children. Whether you want it or not, if we lived at home we had to contribute to our household, even if we were women because we do not know who we would marry and if we would have to work, so we needed to study in order to develop as a person and work.

Olga's expectations when she was 18-29 years old centered on starting a career in the optometry profession. Her parents raised her to be independent; to be able to sustain herself. As she explains, her expectations were "...to succeed...to be somebody, to rely on myself. Because I told you that I had a very large family and we would not always depend on mom and dad." Consistently, Olga's main challenge when she was 18-29 years old was to become an independent adult. She had a difficult time because her dad died and her stay-at-home mother started to work to sustain her younger siblings. During that period, Olga matured and started a solid career in the optometry profession.

My dad died when I was very young, I must have been about 18 years old. I used to get along very well with him and I felt that I could have had a very good relationship with him. He talked to us a lot, with both men and women. My mom was a little more reserved but when my dad died, my mom was responsible for my family. I think that we grew up and learned with her.

I am dedicated to eye care optometry; I have 42 years practicing this profession...it gives me much satisfaction, and I always say that I'm in love with my profession. I come to work every day with great pleasure and I think some people do not believe it but I feel that selling is a gift and I sell every day.

Olga has trained about 15 young people during her 42 years working in the optometry profession. She identifies contradictions in current jobs that make difficult for

young people to get and maintain a job. She considers that jobs should allow people enough time to have a social life and to have fun but that is not possible because current work schedules require people to work all-day long—including weekends.

We should give them a good work schedule, sometimes we want young people to work from 6:00 am to 8:00 pm. It is very difficult that they work from 6:00 am to 3:00 pm. Can you imagine if they would work until 8:00 pm?

Generation X (born between 1963 and 1977).

The sample of working adults from the generation X includes two females and one male.

Cesar. Cesar is a 51-year old male researcher who studied psychology and sociology and worked with marginalized groups. He suffered from late acne and focused on school and work. He considered that his parents did not provide him the required support when he needed it most. Throughout the years Cesar accepted himself and discovered his abilities to positively influence groups based on discussion and practice.

The everyday activities of Cesar when he was 18-29 years old consisted of studying psychology; when he graduated from college, he worked as a research assistant.

....when I was 18 to 20 years old I was in the School of Psychology and when I was 21, I started as a research assistant. I was mostly doing support work; that was my role. Somehow I finished my major, I got my college degree and I was assigned the technical researcher role at the Faculty of Psychology....I dedicated myself to study, nothing more. I studied more than anything. What happens is that I went through a process of late acne, it hit me hard, and I hid myself in books, in college, and that is what I did all the time.

The expectations of Cesar when he was 18-29 years old were related to improve his acne problem. That problem represented a major obstacle that affected his social life. He was not comfortable with himself.

I was not comfortable with anything. I did things because I had to, right? Because I did not know what to do with my time. I was just doing that. I studied the specialty and when I finished, well, I continued. I've been getting into that, I also went to the Faculty of Political Science and I studied Sociology.

Cesar's main challenge when he was 18 to 29 years old was accepting himself.

His acne problem led him to isolation; he avoided social relations and hid in school. He found an escape to his problem and the path to his learning in books. As he says,

I was not comfortable with myself physically. Because of what I went through during that period of time I did not feel comfortable. Then is when I started to get into this, I said to myself: 'I have to keep learning, learning, and learning.' And that helped me to get ahead. More than anything it was that. And that was the stimulus to get ahead. And from there I already got into it, I forgot everything else and I got myself into it, I got into it, I got into it. I could meet women but I run away and I was stuck in my stuff, my own stuff, my own stuff and right now this is what I do for a living.

Gina. Gina is a 41 year-old female veterinarian who owns a pet store. She has two sisters. Gina's family history was marked with gender discrimination and female abuse. Her father saw that education allowed to change that culture of female abuse and also to achieve the socio-economic empowerment of his daughters. As a consequence, Gina and her two sisters received full support from her father and mother –their parents moved to Mexico City when their daughters entered college to better support them and the three sisters graduated from college. Gina's everyday life activities when she was 18-29 years old fully focused on studying; she also did volunteer work during the weekend for an organization with people with disabilities. Gina's father was fully committed to support his daughters' education and he told them that studying was their only obligation. The following quote describes Gina's everyday activities when he was 18-29 years old.

After school, I came home, ate, and did my homework. My dad told us that our work was to study; studying was our only obligation.... my parents had 3

daughters and my dad wanted us to study because he did not want us to live as they lived, he did not want us to repeat the pattern of my granny and he always said he wanted us to study for tomorrow, in case we had a bad husband he wanted us to have enough weapons to keep a child and to not be dependent of any man, and that is what we have done.

Gina's expectations when she was 18-29 years old centered on becoming "someone in life", that is to graduating from college and being able to sustain herself. Her father's ideas were influential and she concentrated on graduating as a veterinarian from the National Public University of Mexico.

It was my dad's idea that we needed to be someone in life. I think that his ideas were the foundation and my mom supported him....we studied at the UNAM...I wanted to be a veterinarian...The three of us gave my parents the gift of graduating from college..... My older sister is teacher of classical literature in Greek and Latin and my youngest sister is Architect Engineer from the Poli [National Polytechnic Institute].

The main challenge faced by Gina when she was younger was to understand that achieving her college graduation goal required some personal sacrifices. When she was younger her parents sometimes did not allow Gina and her sisters to go to parties and they did not understand why.

....sometimes they [my parents] would not let us go to parties and we did not understand why. We were in middle school and high school.at the time you get mad and everything but now you see it as something normal, they were trying to educate us and keeping us away from excesses.

[Later when living alone with her sisters] ... we were with our friends and skipped classes during the first year. I had a hard time to get the message but I also had the mindset that I wanted to be a veterinarian, and then I saw that I had to break a sweat because I was going to fail in many classes...

Selma. Selma is a 38 year-old divorced police woman, mother of two boys. She enrolled in the school of chemical engineering but she dropped out to help her mother

because her father abandoned her family when she was 14. Selma has a great relationship with her mom, who still lives with her. Her mother has “always supported” her. Selma’s everyday activities when she was 18-29 years old consisted of studying and later working.

I was studying Chemical Engineering.... I did not finish. For one reason or another, my life changed. My mom had a very difficult economic situation, I stopped studying to help my mom, I started working and my priority was to help at home because my mom was divorced and my brother was still studying....

Since she was a child, Selma’s expectations centered on being a cop and she fulfilled her dream. She has special preferences, she loves weapons, she enjoys horror movies, she says that she’d “kill to see a ghost” and her dream was to see a dead body. Her dream came true during her training as a police; one day seven bodies came to the Medical Forensic Service.

I wanted to be a cop. I initially wanted to be Federal Judicial cop but my mom did not let me.....eventually I achieved my dream: to be a cop.....I like guns. In my house there were always guns, it was a power in some form and also the desire to help people because a cop must make quick decisions of what to do, how to solve things and what is right and what is wrong.... My dream was to go to the Medical Forensic Service and I did it, we saw 7 [bodies] in one day. The most impactful was a man who had his kidneys here [points to her throat] because he hit so hard that everything moved up to his throat.

Selma’s challenges were many; the abandonment of her father was difficult to overcome because she was a teenager when it happened. In addition, she dropped out of school to become a cop and help her mother. Everybody in her father’s family is college graduated and she is not.

My dad.....my dad disappeared when I was 14, he left our house. He recently appeared again...after 22 years, and he now says that, it is logical, he now says: “that he left us, that he abandoned us, that he was not with us, that we missed the other part,” but I say, “that speech no longer works, now it is useless”.

...in my house, from my dad's side, all of them have a college education; I'm the only one who did not finish. But I said that for me, my career was in the police force....

Generation Y (born between 1978 and 1986).

The sample of working adults from the generation X includes two females and one male.

Belen. Belen is a social researcher who started working in her family business when she was a child. Her parents divorced which contributed to her independence from an early age; when she was 18, she lived some time with her sister and then she moved in with her boyfriend—which was very unusual at the time in Mexico, City. Belen's everyday activities when she was 18-29 years old combined going to school and work.

She started working in her parents' store.

Well, my parents had a store and since we were little ones we were used to work. But when I was 18, I moved and lived for a while with one of my sisters and I worked in another place to pay for my studies. I used to get up very early, I went to work and then I went to high school. After that I did my homework, my dad picked me up or I went home myself, I did homework and ate.

Belen had different types of friends; a group of very dedicated school friends and other friends for partying, with whom she had a rock band, drank alcohol and used drugs. She did well at school and completed her college degree. She thinks that nowadays youth face many more difficulties to continue their studies or to get a job. Consequently, she considers that we must open their possibilities and provide them with other options such as workshops of photography or printing where they can develop key skills.

Now I think that they are very young and I think: "how can they get drunk?" But I remember in high school I did the same, but now it's different.... now it's much more difficult because of the increase in the population bonus.... we can give them

workshops; there are life-changing workshops, such as photography workshops or printing workshops that provide kids a different perspective. I think that we should open healthy interaction spaces, different spaces, because they help a lot.

Belen's expectations when she was 18-29 years old focused on having a college education to have a better job. Working in her parents' store was difficult for her because it included working on weekends.

I really wanted to have a career because I previously worked in my parent's store and I did not like that kind of slavish life. I did not like to spend all day dealing with people in a store.... I had it very clear what I wanted to do in life. I was finishing college and devoting myself to something related to my studies. I had clear goals.

Belen had many challenges when she was 18-29 years old. She needed to learn how to achieve her career goals while enjoying life with her friends. The divorce of her parents helped to mature her at an early age. When she was 18 she was living with her boyfriend –something very unusual for a college female student at that time in Mexico. Women who live with a partner typically dropped-out of school and became mothers. In addition, she was living the “dark” movement; she dressed in black, joined a rock band, and regularly drank alcohol and was a recreational drug user. At the same time, she was successfully completing her college education.

Well, I was very independent. Precisely at that stage of my life, since I was 18 years old, I was no longer living with my parents. I first went to live with my brothers and then with my boyfriend who was at the time eight years older than me. So I was maybe different from the other college girls my age. In other contexts it is more common to have babies and all of that, but I moved at a university level and it was difficult to know that a girl my age already lived with her boyfriend. Then it was a distant relationship [with my parents], basically I was very independent.

I had a rock band, but the truth is that we always got drunk [chuckles] and we did other things afterwards. So I think that during that period in which there was this family breakdown, I matured, I matured very fast, abruptly, because I was almost always at parties and I had to work and study. At that time I had friends from high

school who are still my friends, my best friends, who are still very drunk [chuckles].

Well, as I remember when I was about 16 years old in high school, I liked to read a lot, a lot, a lot. Then I was doing relatively easy in high school. I studied very little; sometimes I did not study at all and I still could answer things.

Bruno. Bruno is a 32-year old college graduated male who studied anthropology at the National School of Anthropology and History (ENAH). He works as a social researcher with at-risk youth. Since he was a small child, he had a good support system at home because his parents emphasized the importance of education; he did relatively well at school and he was accepted by two public universities and he studied the first semesters of the majors of history and anthropology at both universities. He later decided to focus his studies on anthropology and dropped the history major. Since he was a child, his parents instilled in him the habit of reading; everyday Bruno and his brothers had to read a book after breakfast, something he did not enjoy at the time, but later, he developed the love for reading that was a key element for his good performance in school. Bruno enjoyed cultural activities and frequently participated in museums, expositions, movie clubs, theater and other cultural activities. The following quote describes Bruno's everyday activities when he was 18-29 years old.

When I was 18 to 29 years old I mainly studied college, there was also a time when I was not studying. Roughly when I was 18 I left high school, but later, when I was 18-19 years old I did not study because of the strike of the National Autonomous University of Mexico. I wanted to study but the university was on strike and there was no way to study. Chronologically at 18 I was dedicated to..... I have always liked to read, I also spent time with my friends on the street, and I used to go to parties as well. I liked museums a lot, cultural activities, circus and theater, that sort of things. I spent time in museums, movie clubs, and movie marathons.

Bruno's expectations when he was 18-29 years old centered on graduating from college and making a career. He was proud of being accepted by two public universities, the National Autonomous University of Mexico and the National School of Anthropology and History.

It was gratifying to know that I was studying; first I had the privilege and the opportunity to study, I had cousins and friends who wanted to enter the University and they were not being accepted. I felt like I was privileged to be studying at a public university, at the UNAM. I also enjoyed a lot the Anthropology classes, they were very enjoyable.

The challenges Bruno had when he was 18-29 years old were many; his family was in economic distress, his father went to the US to work as an immigrant to payoff large debts, his mother had to sustain his family working in a clothing business, one of his brothers spent a year not going to school and his parents did not know. Bruno decided to be self-sufficient and combined school with work to help his parents during their difficult economic situation.

I was trying to adopt an almost stoic position for studying and self-sacrifice, no matter what I needed to work on Saturday and Sunday, but it was not healthy, I was not eating well, not sleeping well, and I was not successfully performing at school, it was complicated. When I was at the university I developed a strong gastritis. So, it was not easy. It was hard to get money for books, for my practices. I spent very little time with my family; I distanced myself from them at that time....Also, we had family problems that affected our integration, my brothers and I did not see each other often. The economic problems created tension; we were all angry and grumpy. My mom came home angry with many pressures from home and work.....I was more pessimistic and I was very angry with life, I was very critical of the situation and all of that helped me to grow. That was what encouraged me to be better and to do things, to move.

Gaby. Gaby is a 31 year-old female who graduated with a major of International Relations. She belongs to a third generation family of middle school teachers. She studied French and that language has been developmental because it allowed her to complete a

study program in Canada and a Master's Degree in France. She returned to Mexico, got married and was expecting her first child at the moment of the interview. Gaby works as French Teacher at the UNAM and also works as a service agent for Air France. The following quote describes Gaby's everyday activities when he was 18-29 years old.

From 18 to 23 years old I was going to college. I liked being there all day long. I took classes in the morning, in the midblock I took languages. I had to take advantage of CELE at CU because it cost pretty penny. And later I eat and I took evening classes because I liked being at school all day.

Gaby's main expectation when she was younger was to find her vocation and start her career. She had her parent's example who worked as secondary teachers (middle school), but she did not want to follow their path. She learned French with a teacher that became her role model.

I used to say: "I do not want to be like my parents". But when I started working I realized that it was what I liked and it was what I had been avoiding for many years. Later, I knew that, yes, it was what I liked because I love being in groups in schools.... I like the academic environment, I like being there, but I would not have known it, if I had not done everything else, being in an office or so.

Gaby's main challenge when she was younger was to find a meaning in her life. Although she liked school and spent most of her time at the university, Gaby suffered from constant depression.

I was depressed. Despite everything I used to be depressed a lot. I remember that I went to.... My parents did not know what to do with me and they took me to the National Institute of Psychiatry. They gave me an entrance examination and all of that, I mean, to see if you are depressed and things like that.... I was busy I was feeling good but I felt alone. Well, I think it was because of the situation lived by my parents. I always needed them to be there or I do not know, but I felt sad and I was existentialist, I did not find meaning in life because I used to say: "Well you study and work and at the end you die". I remember that I was constantly depressed.

Themes.

Theme 1: Older generations entered the labor workforce at an earlier age and younger generations focused on cultural and recreational activities.

The historical analysis of working adults reveals that older generations entered the workforce at an early age because their families' were in economic needs and they needed to contribute to their families' household. As described in their biographical profiles above, younger generations have combined school with part time jobs, and they have focused on cultural and recreational activities. According Nelson, a 72 year-old male from the veteran generation, the entrance to the labor market was easier because there "was a lot of need for labor in Mexico".

Working adults from older generations played a meaningful role in their families and contributed to the family's income so their younger siblings could study. For example, Nelson had 18 siblings and twelve of them survived into adulthood; he and two of his older brothers worked so his younger siblings could study. While Nelson did not complete elementary school, his youngest siblings graduated from college. Older siblings not only provided economic support but also emotional support and positively influenced their younger siblings to assume responsibilities to study or work. Consistent with this finding, Mexican census data from 1995-2010 (INEGI, 2014) reveals a 40% decrease in the number of households with 9 or more people in the borough of Iztapalapa (see table 4.3). The reduction in the number of family members per household also reduces the emotional and economic support provided by older siblings.

Table 4.3

Reduction in the Size of Households with 9 or More People in the County of Iztapalapa

Households with 9 or more people (Indicator: 1003000014)

Year	Mexico	Mexico City (Federal District)		Borough of Iztapalapa	
	#	#	As % of Mexico	#	As % of Mexico City
1995	1,292,521	75,924	5.9%	18,855	24.8%
2000	1,078,680	64,514	6.0%	16,689	25.9%
2005	878,460	53,095	6.0%	13,958	26.3%
2010	723,320	43,345	6.0%	11,395	26.3%
Difference 1995 Vs. 2010	-44%	-43%		-40%	

Theme 2: There is a historical shift from family to friends in the influence of everyday life activities.

For older generations the influence of family members is higher than the influence of friends; conversely, for younger generations the influence of friends is higher than the influence of family members. For example, Nelson and his older siblings provided economic support to his younger siblings so they could focus to study.

...my four youngest brothers completed a college degree. The youngest is a pharmacist and works at the Bayer Laboratories. He was given all the support to study because all the oldest brothers already worked. My oldest brother and I bought a house in Iztacalco.My third oldest brother also worked hard so my youngest brothers could study. [Nelson, 72 years old, Silent Generation]

Conversely, for younger generations, friends have been more influential in their engagement of everyday life activities and the acquisition of learnings. For example, Bruno, a 32 year-old male, reported that his friends helped him to make his high school years more bearable because they shared similar interests. He compared two of his school experiences: one in which he dropped-out because he did not have any friends with

whom he could share similar interests and another one where he met friends with similar interests.

I met friends with the same interests, with the same anger, and an appetite for culture in general....My friends made high school more bearable because there were the same problems but they were there and we supported each other.

The influence of friends has not always been in the intended way, in some cases friends have also exercised an influence to engage in vicious activities, as revealed by Felix, a 61-year-old male who spent 17 years living as an alcoholic. His friends frequently invite him to drink alcohol and they know that he has been sober for a year.

I have been completely sober for a year now. But, for example, “The Bags” [nickname of a person], precisely “The Bags” has always been insisting and insisting, especially these days that he likes to drink: “Hey mufflers come and drink a beer with us”. If you don’t want to do it, you don't do it.

Theme 3: Life experiences fostered meaning-making processes.

Working adults reported that past life events have been developmental in their lives as they have helped them to gain consciousness and develop. For example, Hector, an 86 year old male, described his mother’s death as a “watershed” that helped him gain consciousness and improve in his studies. Leo, a 61 year-old male, suffered humiliations from his employers and these experiences gave him the motivation to do his best and to avoid being in those situations again. In the case of the 32 years-old Bruno, his father developed a heart condition and he decided to provide economic support to his family. Olga, a 57 year-old female had a meaningful life experience with an older mentor who helped her understand that learning was her responsibility. As she remembers,

I had a person that I worked with that honestly one day he even made me cry.....he told me: 'Do not tell me that you cannot do something because in this life we can do everything and everyday I'm going to ask you to do the same, until

you can do it and if you do not want to do it, then forget about this profession and go sell bubble gum'.

Meaning-making processes are emotional laden, as revealed by Felix, who had a conversation with his wife that helped him to quit 17 years of alcoholism. As he remembers,

I once told my wife: "Well, get yourself something because with me you have no future' Sometimes women give us a slap without even feeling it right? All she said was: 'Don't you love us anymore?' Because we already had two children. 'If you no longer love us tell me and I'll definitely disappear from your life, as you wish.' And at that moment I started thinking and I started another life. I went to work in a factory and I stayed three years.

The impact of life experiences in people's meaning-making processes is a historical process, not necessarily related to the life experiences of the same individual. Life experiences of other people foster meaning making processes as well. For example, the parents of Gina, a 42 year-old female, decided to overcome their family history of gender discrimination and supported their three daughter's education. Gina and her two sisters were able to graduate from college and achieve economic independency.

My father saw female abuse from the perspective of alcoholism. Then my parents had 3 daughters and my dad wanted us to study because he did not want us to live as they lived, he did not want us to repeat the pattern of my granny and he always said he wanted us to study for tomorrow, in case we had a bad husband he wanted us to have enough weapons to keep a child and to not be dependent of any man, and that is what we have done.

Similarly, the analysis of themes reveals that meaning making from life experiences is a cultural process as well because the exposure to other cultures makes people to make sense of their lives and to develop. For example, Gaby, a 31 years-old female, learned French and completed a study program in Canada and later a Masters'

degree in France; those experiences were constitutive of her learning and development.

As she remembers,

....I realized that French was a communication tool to meet other people, another culture, to go further. The exchange moved me, it moved everything on me because I left this reality to see another reality in Canada that was completely different to what I lived and I questioned why we are like this and why they are so good. Well, I said something like that, and I said I want to travel; I want to speak this language very well... How do you think you positively influence young people you work with?" I tell you, we need to show them another way of doing things, another culture, language, even the grammatical structure.

Theme 4: Generational differences influence people's meaning making processes.

The analysis of codes for working adults of four generations reveals that generational shifts influence people's meaning making. While older generations value hard work, discipline and being responsible, younger generations seek balance in their lives. Moreover, individuals from older generations consider their responsibilities come first and happiness second; younger generations consider that happiness and meaning in life are a priority. The following quotes exemplify worldview differences between working adults from different age generations around the value of discipline.

....in our houses we learned to be responsible. It was not like you can leave if you do not like it, no, no. "Learn how to do it!"....there was discipline. Now there is none at all. [Frida, 70 years old]

It is because I loved it all! From the aircraft, the uniform, the care of passengers, I found amazing all of that. In Migration, what I could hope for was to be answering the phone, checking emails, filing all the migratory alerts and all the documentation, and always in a small room....I said: I am not interested. I do not like it. [Gaby, 31 years old]

Similarly, the following quotes reveal generational differences regarding the institution of marriage. Working adults from older generations who decided to start a family got married and younger generations preferred to live in free union.

That was my daily routine until I got married, I was kind of bored because my father was very strict, and very... he beat us a lot. There were many beatings. I was tired and bored of that life and I looked for ways to.... because at that time no one left home as it is now that young people say: "See you later; I am going to go with a friend." On those days, young people have to live under the tutelage of their parents. [Nelson, 72 years old]

Well, I was very independent. Precisely at that stage of my life, since I was 18 years old, I was no longer living with my parents. I first went to live with my brothers and then with my boyfriend who was at the time eight years older than me. So I was maybe different from the other college girls my age. In other contexts it is more common to have babies and all of that, but I moved at a university level and it was difficult to know that a girl my age already lived with her boyfriend. [Belen, 32 years old]

Another important generational shift is related to the consumption of alcohol and other substances. Older generations consider that the consumption of alcohol and other substances may be for "people with problems" and new generations consider that alcohol and other substances may be consumed by productive members of society.

Look it is not often a lack of understanding, not a lack of knowledge, or the pressure from somebody else. For example, I was, well I am, because I am not going to say that I completely recovered, I like to drink, and with them probably there is a reason, their parents may be separated....I remember that they smoked marijuana and they did not invite me, only grown-ups smoked it and they hid from others. You see them today, now they walk in front of you [smoking marihuana]. [Felix, 61 years old]

Some people can use drugs but they are generating knowledge, products. It's part of our culture. Let's think about the Greeks for instance. The Greeks are the best example of an advanced culture, about ideals, philosophy, intellectual advancement, and fine arts. The Greek society was super drunk, at the age of 16 they used to live drunk and they were generating knowledge. [Bruno, 32 years old]

Another generational shift is found in the instruction methods at school. In the past, teachers had the right to beat students and nowadays students challenge their teachers.

At school they were very strict. When I studied, school teachers were very strict.... The teacher had the right to beat us. I remember that our teacher used to put our heads on our chairs with a stick from the same chair, and he beat us. [Nelson, 72 years old]

Back in college I liked what I was doing.... I was an idealist, I was uncomfortable with many aspects of society, and that anger drove me to going further, to try to better understand things. In high school I liked to challenge my teachers, and then I had the need to seek for other sources and say, 'I think this is different'. I think that anger helped me to develop, it helped me to grow. [Bruno, 32 years old]

Maybe the most important generational shift is the entrance of women in the workforce. While older generations still think that married women should be at home taking care of their children, younger generations embrace the principles of gender equality in the workforce.

I see a problem when both women and men work, because there is no respect, don't you think? The man cannot complain because he is being told: "I work, I am contributing to the household too", or [they say] "but I make more money than you". I never allowed my wife to work and she never told me that she wanted to work. She was always devoted to taking care of our home and I dedicated myself to work: to get them ahead in life. I see a problem when the woman works because they start living separated, or the man leaves and the woman is living with the children, parents are drunk, parents are drug-addicts, and they cannot punish their children. [Nelson, 72 years old]

...my parents had 3 daughters and my dad wanted us to study because he did not want us to live as they lived, he did not want us to repeat the pattern of my granny and he always said he wanted us to study for tomorrow, in case we had a bad husband he wanted us to have enough weapons to keep a child and to not be dependent of any man, and that is what we have done. [Gina, 41 years old]

Theme 5: Learning occurs through observation, experimentation, conversations and in collaboration with others.

The analysis of codes of working adults reveals that similar to the youth in this study, their learning occurs through observation, conversations and imitation. The following quote from Felix, a 61 year-old male reveals how he learned to be a competent welder by observing, imitating, and engaging in the activity.

I started learning by observing. I observed how they did it and everything. And when I was alone, I tried it myself, even if I do not know how to do it, even if I fail, I tried it out. I was welding and all of that.....when they arrived if the job was not well done they fixed it, they completed it... I practiced with some cars. And so this is how I did it. Later, I went to other places such as Vallejo to fix trailers.... but that was when I was a Master. When I had the right to say or to be asked: “How much you want to make?”

Similarly, Leo a 61-year old mechanic described that he learned the basis of mechanics by observing his dad and later continued learning in a mechanical school, “I learned by experience when I worked with my dad, and then as I told you, when there were things I did not understand, I went to school because I was very interested to learn it.”

Learning processes are emotional laden, as revealed by Olga; a 57-year old female optometrist described how emotions and imitation were constitutive in her learning and development processes. Olga learned the optometry profession by observing an experienced mentor she worked with. She remembers that she had just started her career in the optometry profession and she asked her mentor help to adjust a hard pair of glasses from a client. Her mentor did not help her, he asked her to do it herself. She thought that his responsibility was to help her and teach her, but her mentor said that he was not going to teach anybody, if she was interested, she should learn herself. She responded that she cannot do it and he replied to her that everybody can do anything, but if she did not want to do it, then she could forget her profession and go sell bubble gum.

That event hurt her feelings; she fixed the glasses and then she went to the bathroom to cry. She remembers that at that moment, she realized that learning was her responsibility. “I understood that he did not have to teach me, I had to learn it by watching him, I had to learn how he was handling situations, how he was performing.

Theme 6: The lack of emotional support has been the main limitation for the development of working adults.

Some of the working adults lacked emotional support because they were hit by personal life situations, such as the death/abandonment of one of the parents. For example, Hector, an 86 years-old male lost his mother when he was in fifth grade. He had the support of his father from whom he learned the carpentry trade and he also received support from the university where he studied the first semesters of architecture; however, he received limited emotional support. Hector suffered during almost all his adolescence and adult life from a severe condition of shyness. The lack of emotional support fostered his isolation; he managed to find a solution to his problems alone. About 10 years ago, he participated in a neo catechumenate course provided by a Catholic Church for learning how to read the Bible that helped him overcome his shyness problem, which was discussed in his profile above.

Similarly, Felix a 61 year old-male lost her mother at the age of 12. His stepfather asked him and his siblings to leave. He said: “I already fulfilled my responsibilities, do what you want to do, from now on, I am going to live with my three children.” Felix spent about a year and half as a vagabond with other children his age. Later he lived a period of time with his sister, then with his brother, and finally he live alone until he got

married. Felix lived 17 years as an alcoholic in what he describes as “a system of not progressing” in his biographical information included above.

Some working adults did not lose their parents but they received limited emotional support to deal with their everyday life problems. Such is the case of Cesar, a 51 year-old male who suffered from late acne when he was 18 years old. His acne made him uncomfortable with his physical presence. Although Cesar received the necessary support to graduate from psychology at the University and to later complete advanced studies in sociology, he lacked emotional support from his parents and he did not know how to deal with his problem. The following quote describes the feelings of frustration experienced by Cesar.

I went through a process of late acne, it hit me hard, and I hid myself in books, in college, and that is what I did all the time....I walked away from everything...I was not comfortable with anything....I initially thought that they [my parents] were going to worry about me, because of what was happening to me during that age. Before I did not really care if they approached to me or not, I was self-sufficient....I knew I could achieve what I wanted but when I went through that stage it was very difficult and I thought that I was going to have their support and because I did not have it, I went away from them.

Conversely, other working adults received effective emotional support that fostered their integral development; such is the case of Frida who had two very caring parents. As she says, “My parents were very strict.... but there was a lot of love”. In addition, Frida a 72 years-old female, who had access to schools to learn the required skills to successfully manage her beauty salon for over 40 years. Similarly, Gaby a 31 years-old female received proper emotional support from her parents and grandparents. She remembers that her mother and grandfather encouraged her to do her best at school.

....my grandfather made me believe it. He said: “You have to be the best”, “You're very smart, my daughter”, he always said that. He said that I was very good at

school. They applauded everything I did in school—my mom and my grandpa. And I saw that it gave them satisfaction, if I got 10 [A's] wow! I think that was it, in the beginning it was to make my family happy, but in real life I realized that the grades did not matter.

Summary of Main Findings

The following section presents main findings of the case study examining the NiNi status in Mexico City. As previous research has informed, there are many economic and social factors associated with the NiNi status making it difficult to generalize it. For that reason and in line with the Vygotskian theoretical framework that considers activity as the central element for human participation and development, this study focuses on the analysis of everyday life activities performed by the group of 16 interviewed young people living in NiNi status. Consequently, this research has identified the following four groups of individuals in NiNi status: (i) young people who are trying to enter a public university but they failed the entrance test and they were not able to pay a private college, (ii) stay-at-home mothers who take care of their children, (iii) young people engaged in performing arts/sports, and (iv) young people engaged in street activities. In addition, the researcher conducted a historical analysis of working adults from four age generations to examine changes in youth's everyday activities across the years. The main findings are presented below.

Main finding 1: Everyday life activities of people living in NiNi status include working on a temporary basis, doing household work, taking care of children, doing exercise, listening to music, and going to parties.

The type of household chores includes cleaning the house, cooking, washing clothes, taking care of siblings/children, running errands, etc. By carrying-out these

household chores young people try to avoid problems at home, as revealed by Raul in the following quote:

Well, in order for them to not tell me anything in my house, well, almost anything, I try to help in household chores, right? At least to do something, right? I wash my clothes; I'm not one of those that his mom washes their clothes. I have my affairs in order right? And all my personal things, right?

In some cases, by doing extra household chores young people are able to receive additional economic resources from their parents, as reported by Andres, "If I need more money, I have to talk to my dad or my mom and then I need to do special household chores like cleaning the whole house and other similar things." In the case of stay home young mothers, taking care of their children and doing household chores represent most of their everyday life activities. Maria for example, said that a regular day consist of taking care of her two-year old baby and cleaning the house, "I get up, I give him, well, we have breakfast together, and then I clean the house, wash our clothes and I'm with him, I take care of him, we play, yes, that is almost what I do." The historical analysis of everyday life activities reveals that household chores have been present in the everyday life activities of working adults as well.

Another group of activities performed by young people in NiNi status is related to temporary, low-level jobs performed in the informal economy. These jobs consists of reserving parking spaces in the street the days of "Tianguis" (street markets) in their neighborhood, helping women to take-out garbage from their houses, helping people to carry things, running errands, and helping people in trades with basic activities. These activities provide them with few economic resources to buy clothes and to pay for their recreational activities.

An important finding is freedom of choice. Young people reported that their most important activities are those activities they have voluntarily chosen to do and are meaningful to them; for example, individuals who are trying to enter a public university dedicate time to study for the annual university entrance test and they attend public marches organized by the MAES to protest against the exclusion of young people from public universities; young mothers dedicate all their time to raise and provide care and affection to their children; individuals in performing arts/sports dedicate long hours to listening and producing music, juggling, doing crafts, and playing soccer; and individuals in street activities gather in their neighborhood to play with their friends. In addition, young people in NiNi status mentioned that recreational activities like attending parties, playing sports (particularly soccer), listening to music, and dancing are important for them. Some individuals reported using drugs (marijuana and alcohol) to find happiness and to relax from their everyday life problems.

The historical analysis of working adults reveals a difference between older and younger generations; older generations entered the workforce at a younger age because of economic need. Families were bigger and the father who was the main economic supporter was not able to sustain the whole family. Nelson, for example, is a 72-year old male who started working at the age of 9 because of the economic need of his family composed of 18 siblings, 12 of them survived into adulthood. In contrast, younger generations have smaller families and in many cases both parents work; as an example, Mike, a 19-year old male who has been living in NiNi status for a year reported that he had a younger brother and both parents worked. Mexican census data included in table 4.3 reveals a steady decrease in the number of large families in Mexico. The data

provided by the INEGI from 1995 to 2010 shows a 40% reduction in the number of households with 9 or more people living in the same household in the borough of Iztapalapa.

The analysis of people's meaning-making processes reveals the influence of societal values; older generations were raised with social values based on discipline, respect, and responsibilities. Conversely, the social values for younger generations reflect the historical evolution around the search for happiness and meaning in life.

Main finding 2: Young people experience the NiNi status as a temporary state of happiness; however, they soon they feel frustration when they find out that their life does not provide a path to a more meaningful future.

The analysis of codes and themes of young people in NiNi status reveals a paradoxical feeling resulting from not having school and work responsibilities and having the opportunity to engage in the activities they want, such as doing sports, going to parties, taking care of their children, and playing with their friends. The sense of novelty and false freedom creates short-term satisfaction, however, this novelty eventually becomes a routine, the lack of economic resources creates major limitations to what they can really do, and they soon realize that they are trapped in a "system of not progressing".

For example, Mike remembered the first day he stopped studying, he said:

Well, at first I said, that is cool! My day! I'm not going to study; today I'm not going to do the same. But then, over time you say: 'No, I should have continued studying'.

Furthermore, Raul mentioned that he feels bad because he sees that other people are progressing and he is not, "Because there are times when you feel less, right? Well,

my cousins are moving forward, right? Some of them already finished their majors and there are times when you really feel bad.”

Even young mothers who decided to stay at home to take care of their children reported a feeling of dissatisfaction for their voluntary sacrifice –despite their priority is their children’s education and well-being of their family. In the interview, Patricia said:

I would have to study something more to have better opportunities. I worked, I worked 3 ½ years in a good job, I worked as a waitress, because other jobs require preparation and I cannot get it. But I liked my job, I was doing well, but the kids needed my attention. So I decided to give more time to my children, to be with them because they're little, maybe later I would be able to work or study something short, like nursing, being a nurse calls my attention.

The historical analysis of everyday life activities reveals the same feeling of dissatisfaction in working adults who spent time in NiNi status when they were 18-29 years old. Felix, for example, reported that he spent 17 years in the “system of not progressing”. He remembers those days with nostalgia and sadness: “I did work and everything but I refer to the fact that I was not progressing...I started to drink alcohol and I was fired from job to job....”

Main finding 3: The lack of economic resources is the main source of dissatisfaction for young people in NiNi status.

The need for economic resources is being reported as the main source of dissatisfaction of people in NiNi status, as revealed by Pedro who says that “Not having money” is one of his biggest problems. Similarly, Mike, considers that money is associated with happiness and not having economic resources creates a feeling of dissatisfaction, “That is the bad part because if you don’t have a job, you have no money and if you have no money, you can’t do things”.

The historical analysis of working adults reveals that the lack of economic resources was a main area of dissatisfaction for them when they were younger. The lack of resources forced people from older generations to enter the labor market and younger generations had to combined school and work activities. For example, Bruno, a 32 years old male reported that his biggest problems were of economic nature. As he says:

...it was difficult to get the resources to study, it was not easy.... I needed to work on Saturday and Sunday, but it was not healthy, I was not eating well, not sleeping well, and I was not successfully performing at school, it was complicated. When I was at the university I developed a strong gastritis. So, it was not easy. It was hard to get money for books, for my practices.

Main finding 4: The negative perception of society regarding young people in NiNi status creates feelings of discrimination, frustration, anger, and shame.

The feeling of dissatisfaction of young people in NiNi status is accentuated because of the negative labels that society put to young people living in NiNi status. Diego, for example, says that he constantly feels discriminated.

People do not see you the same way as a man with education, you know? It is something else..... And yes, sometimes it makes you feel bad and then you say: “What is happening?”...and I try to feel better, right? [Chuckles]

Similarly, Lucy says that she feels bad when she hears the labels that people put on them instead of helping them.

They consider you lazy, they think that you do nothing, that you are always outside your house, and they call you everything.....they should find a solution for the problem, rather than putting labels to many young people like me who are not studying and not working, we should have the opportunity to do it in the future.

The historical analysis of everyday activities of working adults revealed that Felix, the 61 years-old, car muffler repairman lived in NiNi status for many years when

he was younger. Later he married and still lived for 17 years as an alcoholic. In his biographical information, he reported the same feelings of frustration, anger, and shame for living in that situation. He finally recovered with the support of his wife and has been teaching the car mufflers repair trade to many young people in the community.

Main finding 5: Young people in NiNi status and working adults learn through observation, conversations and imitation.

The analysis of themes of young people living in NiNi status and working adults reveals that learning processes occur through imitation based on observation, conversations and experimentation. For example, Raul explains that he learns when he observes and talks to others, similarly, Tony said that he learns by watching other people and practicing himself, “Well, you learn by watching, suddenly you start trying it and you keep doing it until you know how to do things, right? You practice until you can do it”. Moreover, young people also mentioned the use of electronic tools like the Internet and YouTube videos to foster their learning processes. Oscar, for example, says that he learns by imitation with the use of the Internet.

In my case is imitation because I do not have much, well I decided to do it like this and I am aware of that. It is not that I have said no to school, or no to learning, but I decided to do it self-taught. I decided to get out of the institutions and perhaps from the system, so to speak, and learn by myself, right? Then, well with the internet now is very easy, right?

The historical analysis of learning processes of working adults reveals the same learning processes. Moreover, a closer examination of working adult’s learning processes reveals the presence of emotional-laden conversations, as described by Felix who almost cried when he described a key learning he had with conversation with his wife that helped him to recover from 17 years of alcoholism. As described in his biographical

information above, the conversation that Felix had with his wife was a crossroad in his development. As he remembers, the conversation was transformational in his life. As he says: “at that moment I started thinking and I started another life.”

Similarly, Olga remembers a significant moment she lived when she started working in the optometry profession. As described in her biographical information, Olga learned that she needed to pay attention and imitate what her senior mentor was doing at work because he told her that learning was her responsibility. He was going to be helping her, as a role model and to answer specific questions, but he was not going to be teaching her. Olga cried in the restroom because she believed that her senior partner’s responsibility was to train her in a more formal way but she started to pay close attention to her senior mentor and learned from him how to treat customers, how to prepare invoices, and how to operate the optometry equipment.

Main finding 6: Family and friends influence the engagement in everyday life activities and the consequent acquisition of learnings.

The analysis of themes of young people in NiNi status reveals the influence of friends in the engagement of everyday life activities and consequently the opportunity to acquire new learnings. In the case of individuals who want to enter a public university, most of these people have friends who are studying and/or working, in the case of young people in the performing arts/sports, learning is a collective process where they teach and learn from each other. In the case of young people in street activities, friends represent the social circle with whom they spend the majority of their time doing sports – particularly soccer, hand fronton, and pull-ups, working in low level, temporary jobs, doing drugs, and “some other things” as reported by Mike, a 19-year old male living in

NiNi status for over a year. The analysis of themes for young mothers taking care of their children reveals a different trend; in these cases, their partners and their mothers are the main learning influence and they are also the main sources of emotional support.

Similarly, the analysis of codes and themes for working adults reveals that learning processes from older generations were mainly influenced by their family members and mentors from whom they learned work skills. Family members were larger than today's families and older siblings participated in providing support to younger siblings, as they joined the labor market at an early age so their younger siblings had the opportunity to study. The influence of friends in learning processes of working adults was secondary; this is different from today where friends exercise a stronger influence maybe because families are smaller and in many cases both parents are working. In conclusion, the study reveals a peer influence in learning processes; these peers are friends, family members and mentors.

Main finding 7: School and work institutions are not seen as clear pathways to careers.

The historical analysis of school and work institutions reveals a shift that is affecting the entrance of young people in NiNi status to the formal labor market. In the past, school and work institutions were seen as clear pathways to careers. Nowadays, available jobs for young people in NiNi status are temporary and not allowing to start careers. For example, Nelson, a 72 year-old male, reported that when he was young, there was a high need for labor in Mexico and people stayed long time in organizations. As reported in his biographical information, Nelson started working at the age of 15 (despite being forbidden to employ minors in organizations) and continued working for the same

organization for 34 years. Conversely, nowadays low-level jobs are temporary, as reported by Tony, a 23 year-old male who has been two years in NiNi status. Tony temporarily works as blacksmith, but his job "...is eventual, it's for certain occasions, when the man has work he suddenly calls me, when there is no work, well, he does not give me any work." These temporary jobs are seen as mechanisms to earn some resources toward covering their expenses but they do not foster young people's economic independency.

Similarly, school institutions were clear pathways to careers for older generations of working adults. For example, Olga, a 57 year-old female studied optometry at college and after graduating she joined a job in the optometry field. Olga previously combined her studies with the job of receptionist but her college degree in optometry was a clear career pathway. As reported in her biographical information, Olga has 42 years working in the optometry field, she has trained many young people, and she is thinking to continue working until she reaches her full retirement age. Conversely, many young people are not able to enter a public university, and consequently, not able to start careers in the formal labor market. Lucy for example, wants to be a lawyer but she has been living in NiNi status for one year because she failed the entrance test to the national public university. Lucy, as many other young people want to find a solution to the NiNi phenomenon because they want to start a career. As she says, we "...should find a solution for the problem and rather than putting labels to many young people like me who are not studying and not working, we should have the opportunity to do it in the future."

Main finding 8: The lack of opportunities at school and work are the main impediments faced by young people living in NiNi status for their integration in productive activities.

These young people lack opportunities to learn from more experienced people key skills to integrate in their communities as productive members of society; in comparison, they spend the majority of their time with young individuals like them who can add little to their development. They have access to temporary low-level jobs that do not provide them the opportunity to change their social and economic condition.

The historical analysis of working adults reveals the need for economic, emotional and institutional support to help them learn key abilities and effectively join decent jobs in the formal labor market. Working adults who had difficult life experiences received limited emotional support and spent time in NiNi status. Some of them reported that sometimes they engaged in criminal activities. However, they do not consider these activities as crime but as the only way to subsist, as revealed by Felix, a 61 years-old male in the following quote: “I had to survive right? And I occasionally took things, I was...well, for me that was not stealing, it was a necessity to survive, to eat, to this, and to that.” The same sentiment was expressed by Adam, a 27-year old individual who has been living in NiNi status for the last 5 years—he works 2-3 days a week in flea markets and occasionally helps a mason when he has work. He remembers that when he was in elementary school he used to beat and take the food away from his classmates, when I asked him why he did it, he responded the following: “I have not eaten in a day or two, then that's what led me to take their food away, to have that reaction.” After listening to his words I cannot stop thinking what would it happen in the future if any member of his

family needs money for a medical emergency. Would he go out and repeat his old behavior of beating and taking things from others? If he does, he would probably say that it is a necessity, not a crime.

Chapter Summary

The analysis of the different data sources included in this qualitative case study (16 semi-structured interviews of young people in NiNi status, 12 interviews of working adults from four age generations, field observations, and analysis of Census data) revealed eight findings regarding the NiNi status in Mexico City. These findings are the following:

- 1) Everyday life activities of people living in NiNi status include working on a temporary basis, doing household work, taking care of children, doing exercise, listening to music, and going to parties.
- 2) Young people experience the NiNi status as a temporary state of happiness; however, they soon they feel frustration when they find out that their life does not provide a path to a more meaningful future.
- 3) The lack of economic resources is the main source of dissatisfaction for young people in NiNi status.
- 4) The negative perception of society regarding young people in NiNi status creates feelings of discrimination, frustration, anger, and shame.
- 5) Young people in NiNi status and working adults learn through observation, conversations and imitation.
- 6) Family and friends influence the engagement in everyday life activities and the consequent acquisition of learnings.

- 7) School and work institutions are not seen as clear pathways to careers.
- 8) The lack of opportunities at school and work are the main impediments faced by young people living in NiNi status for their integration in productive activities.

The following chapter further examines these findings and presents a discussion of main conclusions addressing the study's research questions. In addition, the chapter discusses the implications for theory, practice, research, and policy.

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSIONS, INTERPRETATIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This qualitative case study analyzed the NiNi status in Mexico City. The term NiNi has been used in Mexico and other countries to describe the situation of young people not formally studying and not working [Ni estudia, Ni trabaja – NiNi]. In English the term is known as NEET and stands for Not in Employment, Education, or Training.

The researcher bounded the study in the two contiguous counties of Iztapalapa and Coyoacán in Mexico City because these counties were identified as the most appropriate to carry out the study. They have the largest population of young people living in NiNi status and provided the researcher the best ease of access to carry out the different data-gathering process. The four data-gathering processes include: 16 semi-structured interviews of young people ages 18-29 living in NiNi status; 12 semi-structured interviews of working adults from four age generations to conduct a historical analysis of their everyday life activities when they were 18-29 years old; field observations; and analysis of Mexican census data. The case study sought to answer the following research questions:

- (i) What is the everyday life experience of people living in NiNi status?
[What are they doing?] (Descriptive dimension)
- (ii) How do they make meaning of their everyday life experiences?
(Subjective, phenomenological and interpretive dimensions)
- (iii) How do they learn and develop through their performance of everyday life activity? (Historic, cultural, and performative dimensions)
- (iv) What are the impediments for their learning and development?

The conceptual framework of the study employed a socio-cultural lens grounded in the construct of performance (Newman & Holzman, 1993, 1997, 1999, 1996-2006).

Performance is defined as a dialectical relational activity to become who you are by performing who you are not;

“Vygotsky describes it as being a head taller than you are; we call it performing. Either way, it is the activity of being who you are/being who you are not. Development, in this understanding, is the activity of creating who you are by performing who you are not. It is, significantly, an ensemble—not a solo—performance.” (Holzman, 1999, pp. 66-67)

Performance allows examining the NiNi status as a process situated in everyday life activities; by focusing on activities, the researcher rejects the dialectical dichotomy of the term NiNi (Ni estudia, Ni Trabaja - Neither study, nor work) to center on what people actually do and to expand the unit of analysis from the individual level to the social and historical levels (including the analysis of everyday activities of 12 working adults of four age generations when they were 18-29 years old). Moreover, performance rejects the dualistic interpretation of the NiNi status as a problem located at the individual level because individuals are not completely independent in this world. Although people have an agentic capability to pursue their own development and to act on their environment, their actions are circumscribed by a set of norms and regulations operating in society. These societal norms regulate the participation or lack of participation of people in activities and individuals constitute society with their participation in these activities. The individuals and society establish a mutually constitutive relationship described as the person-environment interface by Cole, Hood and McDermott (1978).

In Chapter 4 the researcher presented the analysis of the data focused in six themes around the four research questions. The researcher classified young people in

NiNi status in the following four typologies: (i) young people who want to continue their studies in a public university, (ii) young stay-at-home mothers who take care of their children, (iii) young people engaged in the performing arts/sports, and (iv) young people engaged in street activities. The researcher also classified working adults in four age generations: (i) the silent generation for people born before 1945, (ii) the baby boomer generation for people born between 1946 and 1962, (iii) the generation X for people born between 1963 and 1977, and (iv) the baby boomer generation for people born between 1978 to 1986 (McIntosh-Elkins, McRitchie, & Scoones, 2007).

The analysis reveals that young people in NiNi status are engaged in activities that include temporary work in low-level jobs in the informal economy, household work, sports, and other recreational activities. Some of these activities are considered non-productive by society and non-developmental for the individuals as they are not giving them the skills to continue their education or to be employed in formal jobs. The study finds that the NiNi status brings a paradoxical feeling resulting from a false sense of freedom to do what young people want to do that contradicts with the limitations of not having economic resources to do what they want to do. In addition, the study finds that the negative perception of society makes them feel ashamed of their NiNi situation. Moreover, the analysis also reveals that the lack of opportunities at school and work experienced by these individuals creates a movement away from institutions. The lack of opportunities makes these young people reject the idea of learning in institutional environments and consequently limits their ability to become productive members of society. Lastly, the analysis shows that current instruction methods used in educational and work institutions are not engaging people in NiNi status; they are not considering

these instruction methods appropriate as they mostly learn by observation, imitation and collaboration with their peers. The following sections advance the understanding of these conclusions and present a discussion for each of the research questions.

Conclusions

This study drew the following conclusions around the research questions: (i) young people in NiNi status are engaged in cultural and historical activities considered non-productive by society and many are non-developmental for the involved individuals, (ii) the NiNi status creates a paradoxical feeling in young people resulting from the search for fun and entertainment that clashes with the dissatisfaction from not being able to do what they want to do, (iii) the lack of opportunities at school and work for these individuals creates a movement away from institutions; (iv) learning processes of young people in NiNi status occur through creative imitation in zones of proximal development constructed with their peers; and (v) the main limitation faced by young people in NiNi status is the isolation in which they live. These conclusions are presented in table 5.1 and further discussed in the following section.

Table 5.1

Research Questions and Conclusions

Research Questions	Conclusions
What is the everyday life experience of people living in NiNi status? [What are they doing?] (Descriptive dimension)	Young people in NiNi status are engaged in cultural and historical activities considered non-productive by society.
How do they make meaning of their everyday life experiences? (Subjective, phenomenological and interpretive dimensions)	Young people in NiNi status experience a paradoxical feeling resulting from the search for doing what they want to do that clash with the dissatisfaction resulting from not being able to do it.

How do they learn and develop through their performance of everyday life activity? (Historic, cultural, and performative dimensions)	Learning and development of young people in NiNi status occur in a series of completing processes through the dialectical unity of thinking, speaking and performing in activities.
What are the impediments for their learning and development?	The lack of opportunities at school and work creates a movement away from institutions.
	The main limitation faced by young people in NiNi status is the isolation in which they live.

Conclusion 1: Young people in NiNi status are engaged in cultural and historical activities considered non-productive by society.

This conclusion addresses the research question 1: What is the everyday life experience of people living in NiNi status? [What are they doing?] (Descriptive dimension) The researcher identified that young people in NiNi status are engaged in several activities representing the diversity of needs and interests of these young individuals. These activities can be clustered in the following three groups:

- (i) Household work, including non-remunerated activities performed at home such as cleaning, cooking, running errands, taking care of children, and other related support activities.
- (ii) Social relational and recreational activities that involve exploring opportunities for continuing their studies, doing sports (particularly soccer), mixing music, juggling, doing crafts, going to parties, going out with friends, among other activities. These activities, together with child care, are reported as the most important for these young people.

- (iii) Temporary low-level jobs to access economic resources, such as helping people in trades, running errands, cleaning houses, and reserving spaces for cars in the street, among other jobs of similar low-level nature.

Leont'ev's interpretation of activity allows understanding the cultural lineage of the activities performed by young people in NiNi status. Leont'ev defined activity as "...the minimal unit of analysis for the understanding of cognitive development, human participation, and change." (Sawchuk, Duarte, & Elhammoumi, p. 2) This definition emphasizes three characteristics met by the activities performed by young people in NiNi status. For example, the activity of taking care and raising children performed by stay-at-home mothers involves teaching their children to speak and behave in social groups. Similarly, the activity of household work requires individuals to develop arithmetic and social interaction skills for buying groceries, for example. Similarly, Lave (1998) found that everyday activities like shopping foster the development of creative forms of problem-solving skills in people with low levels of formal education.

Moreover, the investigations conducted by Childress (1998) confirm that social relational activities foster the development of the three characteristics described by Leont'ev for cultural and historical activities: cognitive development, social participation, and change. Childress spent a year conducting ethnographic observations of more than a hundred high school youth and he found that sports were more developmental than high school classes. Childress identified 17 reasons to explain "why football is better than high school" (p. 617). Among them, the author described that sports foster youths' ability to define group strategies to overcome their opponents' strengths; players choose their own roles and they do their best in each game; emotions and human contact are always

present; the community attends the games and they celebrate their victories and provide support when they lose; personal effort surpasses average standards; repetition is honorable; and the unexpected happens all the time.

Leont'ev (1981) distinguishes between actions and activities, and he says that activities have to be analyzed within their social and historical context; otherwise some actions that are part of the activity may be considered unimportant. In his famous example of the activity of hunting, Leont'ev identifies two roles: the role of bush beaters who are responsible for scaring the prey and the role of catchers who do the actual killing of the prey. As he says, these two roles are necessary and complementary but, if they are analyzed in isolation, the role of bush beaters might be considered as valueless and even irrational. To make a comparison with the activities performed by individual in NiNi status, the role of stay-at-home mothers has been fundamental in the Mexican society for raising children and doing household work; these two activities are necessary for the functioning of Mexican households but they have not been associated with an economic value.

The above explanation allows understanding that the activities performed by young people in NiNi status are in fact cultural and historical and they foster the cognitive and social development of individuals; however to better understand why these activities are not economically valued in today's society it is necessary to analyze the concepts of use-value and exchange-value proposed by Marx (1977). As Marx says, individuals assign use-values to commodities/products based on their personal utility. Conversely, the exchange-value is given by society based on the quantitative relationship of a commodity/product with the labor implied to produce it.

“Use values become a reality only by use or consumption: they also constitute the substance of all wealth, whatever may be the social form of that wealth. In the form of society we are about to consider, they are, in addition, the material depositories of exchange value.

Exchange value, at first sight, presents itself as a quantitative relation, as the proportion in which values in use of one sort are exchanged for those of another sort, a relation constantly changing with time and place.” (p. 26)

Adler (2006) sustains that the contradiction between use-value and exchange-value is the commodity, as capitalist modes of production focus on creating useful things (use-value) to be exchanged in order to achieve profit (exchange-value). The activities performed by people in NiNi status have a high use-value for the involved family members who receive them but their exchange-value is low because society considers that anybody with low or no preparation can perform them. Vygotsky’s cultural and historical theory identified the influence of Marx’s labor processes in the development of human consciousness (Livingstone, 2006). Consequently, people focus their efforts on activities with greater exchange-value; nevertheless, research shows that poor people assign more time to everyday activities “oriented to practical utility outside commodity circuits” (Livingstone, p. 150). As the author says, poor people focus on use-value, not exchange-value, and, as such, they dedicate more time to learn activities that will help them solve their immediate problems and ensure their survival. In this line, this study confirmed Livingstone’s claim that Diego, the 19 year-old male who has been living in NiNi status for two years responded that one of the most important learning activities he has had was learning how to “move around” his neighborhood. For Diego, this learning was very important because it ensures his immediate survival in his conflicting environment.

[What have you learned lately that you think has helped you in your life?] Well it is not necessarily learning. But I have learned to move around [the neighborhood], to go to various places, I have earned the respect from others. I'm not any person; I can defend myself of any dude who wants to take advantage.... I am very quiet and I avoid fights. If you are nice with me, and cool, you know? I do not harm you; I am just like you, but if you act aggressively against me....

An analysis conducted by Ramirez and Negrete (2014) discusses the changes made by the International Labor Organization (ILO) to the labor framework. The new work framework presented by the ILO in their XIX International Conference of Labor Statisticians (ICLS) is consistent with Livingstone's (2006) suggestion to expand the conception of work to all forms of labor. Livingstone suggests that "...most activities essential to the social reproduction not mediated by market transactions can be placed, such as all the services generated by households for their own consumption (household chores) as well other services provided in benefit or assistance of other households or the community by means of volunteer work modalities" (Ramirez & Negrete, 2014). The new framework recognizes as "work" the activities performed by a large segment of the population; nevertheless, the exchange value for these activities remains low. As a consequence, people engaged in these activities have been gradually incorporating in other remunerated activities with higher exchange-value. For example, the analysis of Mexican census data from 1921 to 2010 reveals a 250% increase in the economic participation of women in the labor market. The incorporation of women in the workforce has brought a re-distribution of household responsibilities to other members of the family, including young people in NiNi status. This finding was confirmed with the interviews of young individuals in NiNi status as all of them mentioned doing household work as part of their everyday activities. Nevertheless, current census data does not fully

capture this trend as only 13% were reported doing household work; of them 17% were women and only 4% were man. The census data also shows that in 1930, 33% of economically active people were engaged in household work, of those individuals, 99% were women. In 1950, 34% of economically active people were reported in household work in Mexico City and all these people were women. By 1970, 27% of people 20-24 years old were engaged in household work in Mexico City and in 2000, 19% of people 20-24 year old were reported in household work.

Based on the historical analysis of everyday activities performed by working adults when they were 18-29 years old, the researcher concluded that the shift in the duration of employment, from more continuous and permanent jobs to temporary jobs (for days or hours) has negatively impacted the entrance of young people to the labor market. Many employers do not offer continuous employment any more. Temporary jobs are offered informally in order to avoid paying a recurring salary and employment benefits. This reduction of entry level jobs has also impacted the learning and development processes of young individuals who have fewer opportunities to learn relevant skills and start careers. In contrast, the large majority of working adults from the silent generation (born before the end of WWII -1945) and the baby boom generation (born during 1946-1962) who entered the labor workforce before they were 18 years old were able to join the labor workforce –in many cases because their families were in economic need and they could contribute economically to their family household. They performed similar low-level jobs such as helpers in trades, manual workers, and receptionists, but they were offered employment in more permanent and continuous basis

which allowed them to start a career and to foster their integration as productive members of society.

The analysis of everyday activities of working adults from the generation X (born during 1963 - 1977) and the generation Y (born during 1978 - 1986) reveals their engagement in school studies when they were 18 years old. Some of these individuals performed part-time jobs (i.e. survey researchers) to earn money toward covering their expenses. In addition, people from generation X and Y also spent more time in recreational and cultural activities that fostered their cultural and social development such as attending movie expositions, reading, going to parties, going out with friends, and travel.

The analysis of interviews of young people in NiNi status reveals that all of them were working on a temporary basis in low-level jobs. This finding is not new as young people have historically worked in low-level jobs, but changes in the composition of work have reduced the availability of many entry-level jobs. For example, Olga, a 57 year-old optometrist with 42 years of work experience, reported that she started working as receptionist, a job that is hard to find nowadays because organizations do not employ receptionists as they have answering machines. In addition, many activities do not offer young people the possibility for development because these activities are performed in the informality of institutions. For example, the conditions of employment for the job of helper in trades that has historically been an entry-level job have changed and nowadays employers hire these helpers for specific days or even hours. The new temporary nature of this work relationship does not allow the young individual to master the trade and consequently does not foster the economic development of these young individuals. In

many cases, these temporary jobs are seen as ways to get a little money for specific purposes, not as permanent jobs or as pathways to careers.

Adler (2006) says that the socialization forces of production create a continuous trend for upgrading the skills and responsibilities of workers with a corresponding increase in the exchange-value of these activities. Nevertheless, the economic interest of employers limits the upgrading of skills process: “On the one hand, management needs and cultivates the productive power of the collective worker, and, on the other, management limits this development due to pressures of corporate profitability” (p. 170). As a consequence, employers are not willing to hire young and inexperienced people as they did in the past and the only available jobs for young people are temporary with a low exchange-value which reinforces their movement to work in the informal economy.

We can then conclude that young people in NiNi status are engaged in cultural and historical activities with a high use-value and low exchange-value. Although, these activities foster their learning processes, these learnings are not linked to the capitalist modes of production which limits their transferability to remunerated work. In other words, the learnings acquired foster their personal development and their adaptation to their environment but not the acquisition of knowledge to “operate the tools of production” (Livingstone, 2006, p. 149). In addition, the historical analysis allows concluding that individuals will eventually join a paid job; however, many of the acquired skills are more transferrable to activities performed in the informal economy, with the potential risk to be engaged in criminal and delinquent activities. Vygotsky’s theory of cultural and historical activities emphasizes the inseparability of individuals from their environment and how their shared perceptions influence the development of

consciousness and their actions in society; the following section explores the finding about meaning-making processes of individuals living in NiNi status.

Conclusion 2: Young people in NiNi status experience a paradoxical feeling that is associated with the search for meaningful activities, freedom and play; however, soon they feel frustrated for not seeing a more meaningful future doing what they do.

This conclusion addresses the research question 2: How do they make meaning of their everyday life experiences? (Subjective, phenomenological and interpretive dimensions) Vygotsky's (1962) theory of cultural and historical development is central for understanding the relationship of meaning-making processes in society. For Vygotsky, meaning-making is a living process that involves the indivisible unity of thinking and speaking to foster the development of human consciousness in society. Vygotsky's investigations also revealed that communication among people involves meaning-making processes and those meanings are culturally transmitted and generate common understandings that form the basis of human consciousness in society.

When young people described their experience living in NiNi status, they portrayed an overall feeling of dissatisfaction. Nevertheless, they also said that the first days of being in NiNi status were exciting because they represented an opportunity to do something different, an opportunity to do what they wanted to do. Having all the time to do what they like best excited them. Nevertheless, as time passed by, they found that their lives became routines; they were not able to do what they wanted to do because they did not have enough economic resources to do these activities. Although parents provide housing and food, these young people have to access economic resources for their

activities. As described by the comments of young people included in Chapter 4, the few jobs accessible to these young people are temporary, the activities are repetitive and in many cases require physical strength, and employers are authoritarian. If these youth did not like school, they would like these types of jobs much less. In addition, the informality of these jobs allows employers to pay them too little or in some cases not pay them at all, creating disaffection with the labor market (Pemberton, 2008). Moreover, these young people feel bad because they have many problems with their parents, who are always criticizing them. In addition, these individuals are part of a socio-cultural group, and the bad image that society puts on people in NiNi status makes them feel ashamed. Lucy, an 18 year-old female who failed the entry test to the public university said: “They consider you lazy; they think that you do nothing; that you are always outside home and they call you everything.” Also, these young people see that their relatives and friends who continue in school and join the labor market are finishing school and progressing and they are not.

The initial feeling of happiness for the false sense of freedom to engage in the activities that they like best soon transforms in a feeling of being trapped in “the system of not progressing” as it was described by Felix, the male car muffler repairman who spent 17 years living as an alcoholic when he was younger. Moreover, some of these individuals live in a dysfunctional family with negative peer influences, lack of resources, and limited opportunities.

For example, Diego, a 19 year-old male who has been living in NiNi status for about three years considers unfair to be living in poverty and he wishes for a level playing field where all individuals regardless of their socio-economic status could have

access to the same level of opportunities in life to study, work, and achieve their life goals. He says, "...neither rich, nor poor, we are all the same; I mean, all of us should have the same support to succeed. Not just for a few." To better understand his views we need to understand what support means for him. For Diego, support means having the opportunity to achieve his life goals and to escape from a family history of poverty, drug addictions, and domestic violence. Diego sadly remembers when his father beat her mom:

He did not give us enough support. [There is] some resentment because he beat my mom.... he beat her. [When he was] already in point crazy as they say because he consumed many drugs. My dad is from Acapulco, Guerrero... In the town in which he lives they are a little crazy....there are a lot of problems because of the drug dealers.

Diego's goals are modest; he wants to finish high school, construct a room in his mother's house, and become a construction contractor; nonetheless, these goals seem almost impossible to achieve because Diego has limited support for his development in his environment. His father abandoned his family; his stepfather is an alcoholic; Diego does drugs –to escape from his everyday problems; and when he is employed in low level jobs, he gets \$8 to \$12 dollars per day. The lack of regulations for the type of jobs he does in the informal economy foster frequent abuses from his employers who sometimes do not pay him or pay him in installments. Such is the case of his stepfather who knows the art of tapestry. Diego does not want to work with him because he spends all the money he receives on alcohol and he does not have any money to pay his salary or to buy the materials for his work,

I was helping him, but, he is one of those people who get paid, he billed you in advance and he spends all the money. He thinks that he is going to have more work and he spends all the money and later he does not have to pay the material and he does not have any money. That is why I do not work with him, that is why, he does not pay me, or sometimes he pays me part of it and he says: "Later I will

pay you the difference” He pays me in installments and I do not like that. I could work elsewhere and earn more, but if I work with him, I do not receive enough to cover my needs.

Diego’s claims are a rejection of historically accumulated social-class differences and a statement for equal development opportunities for all. Nevertheless, current systems replicate conditions of poverty and inequality. The ideas of Newman and Holzman (1993) about the need to create an environment free of influence from institutions to foster a new developmental psychology allows understanding the NiNi status as a revolutionary movement against institutions “...whose function is to maintain the status quo, such as the government, universities, corporations, and foundations” (p. 169). In this line, Oscar a 26 year-old male who has been in NiNi status for the last 8 months, considers the NiNi phenomenon to be revolutionary because the lack of participation in formal school and work activities is a signal that something is wrong as these institutions have been perpetuating conditions of inequality in the Mexican society rather than bringing social progress and the development of poor people.

In summary, the researcher concludes that meaning-making processes are largely influenced by society. Although these young people are constantly looking to engage in activities they like best, the lack of resources to do them and the negative views of society for not being engaged in “productive” and remunerated activities creates a paradoxical feeling of dissatisfaction. As Vygotsky’s cultural and historical development theory claims, there is a mutually constitutive relationship between individuals and society. The views of individuals represent the views of society and vice versa. The following section further explores conclusion 3 that discusses how young people in NiNi status learn and develop in everyday life activities.

Conclusion 3: Learning and development of young people in NiNi status occur in a series of social completing processes through the dialectical unity of thinking, speaking and performing in activities.

This conclusion addresses the research question 3: How do young people in NiNi status learn and develop through their performance of everyday life activity? (Historic, cultural, and performative dimensions) The analysis of young individuals classified in the four typologies and working adults from four age generations conducted in Chapter 4 reveals that learning occurs in a series of social completing processes (Newman & Holzman, 1999) through the indivisible and dialectical unity of thinking, speaking and performing in activities. To better understand the idea of social completion it is necessary to discuss the basic premises of Vygotsky's (1978) cultural and historical development theory. According to Vygotsky, learning and development is a social process that occurs in everyday life activities when people create collective spaces known as zones of proximal development. As previously discussed in Conclusion 1, the investigations of Vygotsky (1962) about thinking and speaking reveal that human development involves a series of dialectical processes that "complete" each other in a non-directional and non-proportional manner. In other words, the relationship between thinking and speaking is not causal as thinking leading to speaking; rather it is a living process that emerges between the two.

The relationship of thought to word is not a thing but a process, a continual movement back and forth from thought to word and from word to thought. In that process the relationship of thought to word undergoes changes which themselves may be regarded as development in the functional sense. Thought is not merely expressed in words; it comes into existence through them. Every thought tends to connect something with something else, to establish a relationship between things. Every thought moves, grows and develops, fulfills a function, solves a problem. (Vygotsky, 1962, p. 125)

This study reveals that learning occurs through a series of social completing processes that occur when the individual thinks and imagines his/her participation in a particular activity, then he/she engages in conversations with friends and peers, and finally, the individual fully engages in the activity, initially by a process of creative imitation until the individual masters the activity. This process of creative imitation (Newman & Holzman, 1993, Vygotsky, 1962) occurs when the individual steps from something he/she knows to something new. These interactions might occur face-to-face or mediated by technology (for example with the use of YouTube videos as many young people reported). Moreover, these learning processes are not linear, they have a dialectical relationship that follows the same developmental trajectory of thinking and speaking; thinking, speaking, and performing in activities complete each other in a dialectical and non-directional manner. The following two quotes extracted from the interviews of young people in NiNi status and working adults reveal the social completion of human learning processes when the dialectical unity of thinking, speaking, and performing in activities is activated.

....it is very simple, it is like imitation. In my case is imitation because I do not have, well I decided to do it like this and I am aware of that. It is not that I have said no to school, or no to learning, but I decided to do it self-taught. I decided to get out of the institutions and perhaps from the system, so to speak, and learn by myself, right? Then, well with the internet now is very easy.... I look for videos of important people, of important artists that I simply like, they may not be famous. I look how do they do it and then I put it in practice, right? Until I find the sound I want or the one sound I'm looking for. I mean, I practice certain techniques, mixing; it is a trial and error. (Oscar, 26 year-old male, eight months living in NiNi status)

Well, maybe it has happened to you, you learn from the notion that you have in your mind. Also in mind you can say, I'm going to move that piece—in your mind. So I started learning by observing. I observed how they did it and everything. And when I was alone, I tried it myself, even if I do not know how to do it, even if I fail, I tried it out. I was welding and all of that.... when they arrived

if the job was not well done they fixed it, they completed it” (Felix, working adult, 61 years old)

Learning and development are social relational processes (Newman & Holzman, 1993, Vygotsky, 1962) and, as such, people living in NiNi status are influenced by the network of friends. Consistent with the NEET literature (Pemberton, 2008) this study identified that the influence of friends is a factor for males to enter the NiNi status. In particular, some young people in NiNi status classified in typology 4 (engaged in street activities) acknowledged that their group of friends is a bad influence for them. For example, Mike, a 19 year-old male who has one year living in NiNi status said that he started having problems when he met his friends from the street; after a few months of engaging with them he dropped out of school and now he spends his time with them on the streets. “I was quiet, I did not like to spend much time on the street, and I liked school. And then it was the opposite when I met them.”

In summary, the researcher concludes that learning and development processes of young people in NiNi status occur in a series of completing processes through the dialectical unity of thinking, speaking, and performing in activities. The following section further explores Conclusion #4 that discusses how the lack of opportunities for young people in NiNi status is creating their movement away from formal school and work institutions.

Conclusion 4: Past school and work experiences are ineffective pathways to careers; in addition, the lack of opportunities at school and work is the main impediment for their integration into productive activities and fosters their movement away from institutions.

This conclusion addresses the research question 4: What are the impediments for their learning and development? The diverse forms of social exclusion established by school and work institutions are affecting the social participation of young people in formal school and work activities. The movement away from institutions among this group of people is consistent with the finding of Yates, Harris, Sabates, and Staff (2011) who conducted quantitative analyses of youth expectations using the database of the British Cohort Study (BCS70). The authors found that people with misaligned expectations were most likely to be in NEET status. As they explain in their study, the majority of young people have high expectations but when they realize that they are not able to achieve them, they give up and enter the NEET status.

Oscar, a 26 year-old male who has been eight months in NiNi status claims that the movement away from institutions represents an awakening of young people to fight institutionalized forms of thinking and behaving; it is a silent call to change current conditions of poverty and inequality.

....there is an awakening of young people, and it is good. I mean the fact that is happening means that something is wrong and people are starting to look for alternatives..... I see it positive because we are fighting against the institutions and I include myself in it...What are the institutions for? To produce professionals ...To produce, I mean to train people, to introduce them to the system....To continue producing people to the system so the system never stops. It is the truth; it is what I was saying to you; you go to school and they tell you what you have to do and they do not ask you about what you want to do, right? They do not ask you what you want to learn, or what your interests are....then happiness is put aside, it is an unattainable goal, right?

The analysis of needs from young people and working adults reveals that people need three types of support for their development and integration as productive members in society: (i) economic support to cover basic needs of food, housing, and clothing; (ii)

emotional support to fulfill human needs of affection and social interaction; and (iii) institutional support to acquire key skills and foster their productive integration in society. The analysis of the different typologies analyzed in Chapter 4, illustrates how individuals living in NiNi status receive basic economic support from their parents who cover their needs for housing and food; similarly, mothers and the network of friends with whom they engage in everyday life activities provide emotional support, but the institutional support is limited so they look to their temporary employers, friends, family members, and other informal networks with limited resources to support their development and integration as productive members of society.

From a socio-cultural perspective, the lack of institutional support represents a form of social exclusion and an alienation of people from institutions. This principle reinforces the compelling notion of “*people collectively constructing environments in which to act on the world*” (Holzman, 2009, p. 26, emphasis in original). If people do not find in current institutions the required support “to act on the world,” they will create these environments outside of these institutions. Consequently, the NiNi status may be a silent call from individuals who have no voice to signal the need for a change in these institutions that have been perpetuating conditions of social exclusion and inequality. However, the search for alternative solutions is not always developmental, as we have observed in many practices implemented by some countries to address the NEET phenomenon discussed in Chapter 2. If new solutions replicate the same culture and maintain the conditions of inequality and social exclusion prevailing in formal institutions, they are not developmental. Conversely, the creation of developmental environments requires the practice of method (Newman & Holzman, 1999). It implies

focusing on Vygotsky's search for method, the creation of "the prerequisite and product, the tool and the result of the study" (Vygotsky, 1978, p. 65). For Newman and Holzman, Vygotsky's search for method involves making dialectical transformations to our environments; creating new culture that fosters the developmental potential of individuals. In other words, the practice of method implies collectively performing who we want to be.

....human beings have the capacity to "do dialectics." We transform totalities; we create "tools and results." Vygotsky understood the human developmental process dialectically, as an ongoing, continuously emergent social-cultural-historical collective activity. In contemporary language, we human beings create our development; it doesn't happen to us. The evidence? Our capacity for dialectics: From infancy through old age we are "who we are" and, at the very same time, "who we are not." (Newman & Holzman, 1999, p. 52)

One of the main problems of current approaches for the analysis of the NiNi status is the focus at the individual level of analysis. Vygotsky (1978) taught us that individuals cannot be separated from their environment because individuals constitute society with their participation in activities, and society regulates their participation through social norms and regulations; it is a mutually constitutive relationship. If current institutions do not provide a response to people's needs, people will eventually create new ways of organizing and will probably return to the basic forms of organization based on communities. The creation of these communities is what Leo, the 61 year-old male mechanic, proposed with the creation of co-operatives to avoid the abuse of power from employers and the development of all members of the co-operative,

They do not want to work because they are not paid their salaries. They are not paid. And there are people who are very good but employers do not want to pay....They do not get jobs because they lack experience. Nobody is born knowing.... How do you want them to be a productive employee if they do not know how to do the job? How do you want them to do certain amount of work if

you have not taught them the system?... Well, this could be done as a cooperative. In a cooperative everyone is, so to speak, a partner.... Then, once there, I would start teaching them values. The values of appreciation for honest work, because a dime you earn in an honest job you can spend it anywhere and nobody will judge you.

Similarly, Newman and Holzman (1993) reinforce the need for building community instead of institutions because communities care for the well-being of all members without establishing conditions of domination from groups in power. For Newman and Holzman, building community is the tool-and-result that fosters the creation of leading-learning-development environments for people to succeed.

It is the activity of human beings taking what exists and creating new things out of it; not any new things but new things which – in their being created – help to change our relationship to the cruelty and pain and injustice and underdevelopment of the world in which we live and thereby create the possibility for doing something about those conditions. The human activity of community is changing that which is changing, which is changing that which is changing.... For when people collectively build community they build not just community but community that builds – Community. (pp. 174-175)

The review of the literature included in Chapter 2 of this study reveals that community forms of organization are not new in the Mexican society; the Mexican society has organized in communities when formal institutions do not provide a response to the needs of the population. There is empirical evidence of community involvement to support youth development. The All Stars Project (Fulani & Newman, 2011) is a good example of these community-led developmental efforts for youth.

The literature also reveals the need for public policies to support young people in NiNi/NEET status. These policies have focused on three main goals: (i) maintaining young people in compulsory education (Maguire & Rennison, 2005); (ii) providing at-risk youth individualized guidance and support (Canduela et al., 2010; Maguire &

Rennison, 2005; Pemberton, 2008); and (iii) fostering school-to-work integration in the formal labor market with the development of key skills required in the formal labor market (Chen, 2009). As discussed in Chapter 2, the partial success of these public policies to support at-risk youth, has motivated the government of Argentina to implement similar policies and support youth in NiNi status. Moreover, the literature also reveals that the absence of formal institutional support for at-risk youth opens the door to criminal groups that are able to offer institutional and economic support to enlist them in their activities (McCarthy & Hagan, 2001).

All young people in NiNi status included in this study indicated the need for more options to support their life and career goals. The diversity of needs requires a new approach to provide new activities and new ways for participating in these activities. This new approach is what Newman and Holzman (1999) describe as the tool-and-result of the activity; the creation of environments where people can exercise their ability to do dialectics and simultaneously perform “who they are” and “who they are not.” These performances will foster their development and their integration in productive activities.

In summary, the researcher concluded that the lack of opportunities from school and work institutions for young people in NiNi status is creating a movement away from these institutions. This conclusion is consistent with the literature and requires a concerted action of formal institutions and society to provide more opportunities and new ways to participate in these activities. Newman and Holzman’s (1999) investigations around the creation of developmental environments allow us to conclude that the “what” is as important as the “how”, the tool-and-result of the activity.

Conclusion 5: The main limitation faced by young people in NiNi status is the isolation in which they live; they have a limited Zone of Proximal Development (ZPD) that is not diverse enough to foster their learning and development.

This conclusion addresses the four research questions of the study. The analysis of findings reveals that not being engaged in productive activities, feeling bad about being in NiNi status, and the lack of opportunities at school and work are symptoms of the isolation in which these young people live. They do not engage with people different from them, and their Zone of Proximal Development (ZPD) is not diverse enough to foster new performances. As illustrated in figure 5.1, the networks of collaboration and support for young people in NiNi status are limited to their family members and their friends. In a few cases, they have access to employers but the short duration of these relations does not help them to expand their ZPD. This isolation does not allow them to learn a trade, get a formal job, go back to school, or have other developmental performances. According to Vygotsky (1978), learning is a social, cultural and historical process that occurs in ZPDs. Having more diverse ZPDs is the foundation of people's learning and development. These young people learn through creative imitation; however, if they only mix with people like them, the possibility to engage in new and developmental performances and to move away from their NiNi status is limited.

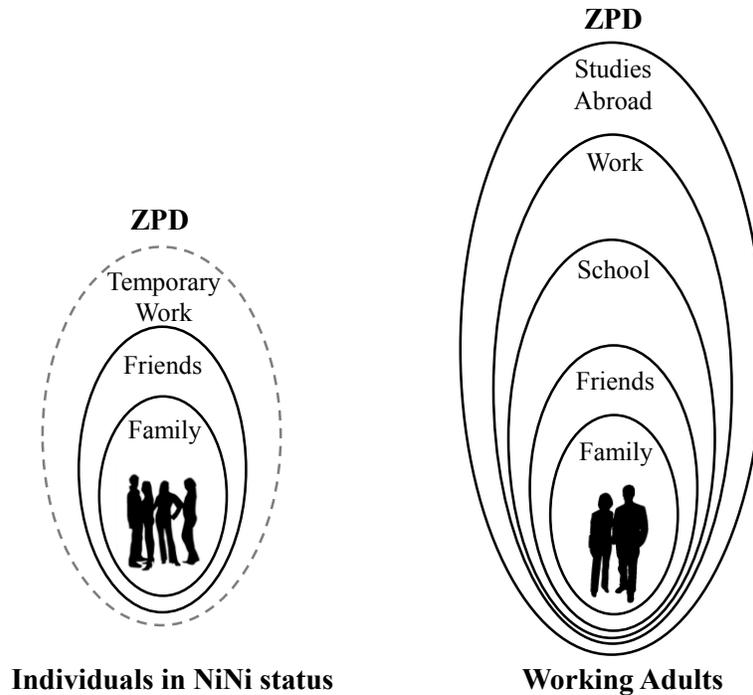


Figure 5.1. Comparison of ZPDs Between Individuals in NiNi Status and Working Adults

This isolation is created because there are no organized activities to bind the interaction with a diverse group of people. Some individuals in NiNi status consider that school and work institutions exclude them, in other cases, they self-exclude themselves from participating in activities with people different from them. In addition, the isolation is reinforced as other people feel uncomfortable and avoid interacting with them because they have a negative perception in society. This feeling of being unwelcome is consistent with findings of Holzman (2009) from the All Stars program.

There are hundreds of ordinary ways of relating in the world that most children and adolescents who come from very poor communities are not exposed to; they feel uncomfortable outside their neighborhoods because they don't know the social conventions of how to participate. They feel unwelcome and they are, because those who are strangers to them are equally uncomfortable. (p. 81)

Conversely, the historical analysis of activities of working adults when they were 18-29 years old reveals a more diverse ZPD that has been the basis for their learning and development (figure 5.1). This ZPD includes family members, friends, school and work colleagues, and in some cases people from other countries. The opportunity to interact with people different from them allowed Felix to learn the trade of car muffler repair. For Olga, it was the opportunity to observe her senior colleague performing at work which helped her successfully learn to work with people in the optometry profession. Similarly, for Gaby it was the opportunity to meet a group of students from France that motivated her to learn French and later study in Canada and complete a Master's degree in France.

The researcher concludes that a more diverse ZPD fosters greater levels of learning and development. Consequently, being limited to the same group of people represents a major limitation for individuals in NiNi status. The following section further explores implications of this study to theory, practice, policy and research. The objectives of these implications are advancing the understanding of the NiNi/NEET phenomenon and of increasing the provision of opportunities to the many young people living in NiNi status.

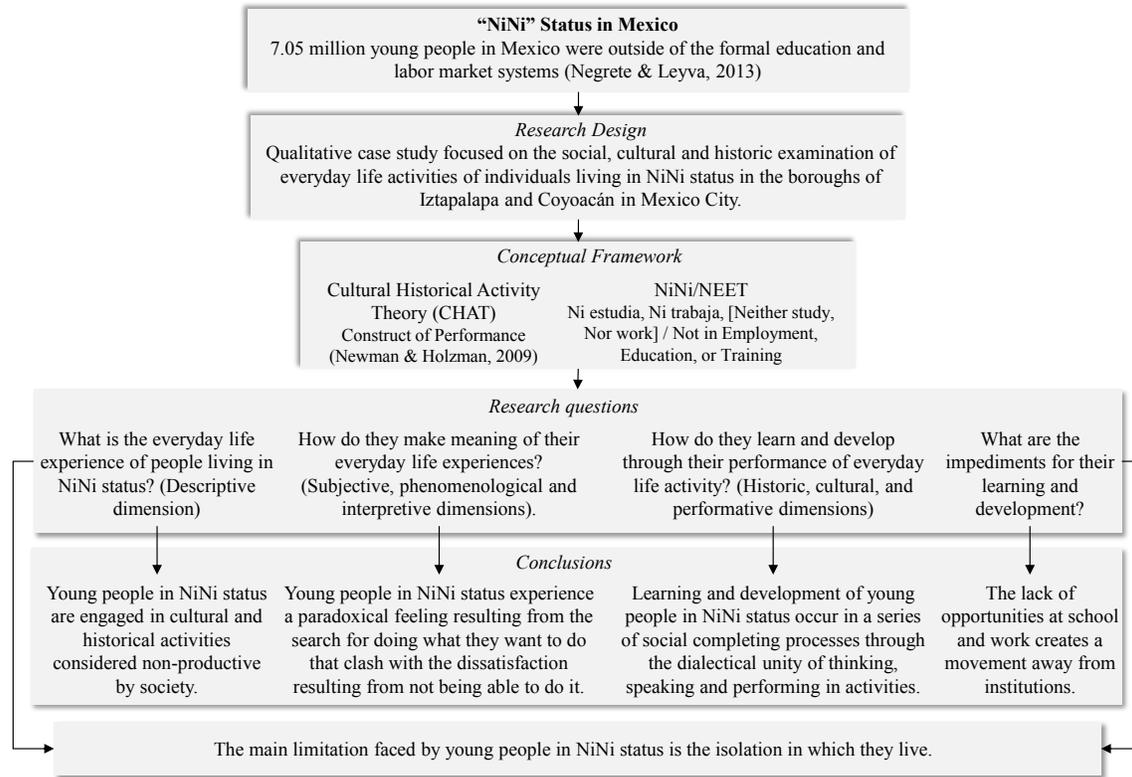


Figure 5.2. Integrated Research Design Presenting Main Findings

Recommendations for Theory

One of the goals of this qualitative case study was to make a scholarly contribution to the two constructs included in the study’s conceptual framework: (i) the construct of performance proposed by Newman and Holzman (1993, 1997, 1999, 1996-2006; Holzman, 1999; 2009) from the theory of cultural and historical activity theory (CHAT); and (ii) the second construct relates to the literature of the NiNi/NEET status. As Whetten (1989) claims, the application of a theory in a different setting provides a “theoretical feedback loop” (p. 493) to advance theory development. In this regard, the study contributes with qualitative information to bring new insights in the application of performance for the analysis of complex issues in society. In addition, the study fills

existing gaps in the NiNi/NEET literature in Mexico that has been focused on the quantitative analysis of the phenomenon. Table 5.2 includes the implications for theory focused on the constituent elements of the two theoretical constructs.

Table 5.2

Implications for Theory

Theoretical Construct	Constituent Elements
NiNi/NEET Literature	Typology for the classification of young people in NiNi status based on their everyday activities
	Factors associated with the NiNi / NEET status: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Educational underachievement (Bynner & Parsons, 2002; Finlay, et al, 2010; Genda, 2007; Pemberton, 2008; Schoon, et al., 2002; SEU, 1999; Székely, 2011) • Gender inequalities and early pregnancy (Bynner & Parsons, 2002; SEU, 1999; Thompson, 2011) • Low/misaligned expectations and aspirations (Yates, Harris, Sabates, & Staff, 2011; Finlay, Sheridan, McKray & Nudzor, 2010; Genda, 2007) • Intergenerational factors (Bynner & Parsons, 2002; Pemberton, 2008; SEU, 1999; Yates, et al, 2011) • Peer influence (Pemberton, 2008; SEU, 1999) • Constraints in the labor markets (Lusing, 2008)
Performance – Cultural and Historical Activity Theory (CHAT)	Performance (Newman & Holzman, 1993, 1997, 1999, 1996-2006; Holzman, 1999; 2009)
	Zone of Proximal Development (ZPD) (Vygotsky, 1962, 1978; Newman & Holzman, 1993, 1997, 1999, 1996-2006; Holzman, 1999; 2009)
	Learning and developing through creative imitation (Vygotsky, 1962, 1978; Newman & Holzman, 1993, 1997, 1999, 1996-2006; Holzman, 1999; 2009)

NiNi/NEET literature.

Constituent element: Typology for the classification of young people in NiNi status based on their everyday activities

A contribution from this study to the NiNi/NEET literature is the proposed typology for young people in NiNi status based on everyday life activities. The typology includes four groups: (i) young individuals who aspire to enter a public college, (ii) stay-at-home mothers taking care of their children, (iii) young people in performing arts/sports, and (iv) young individuals engaged in street activities. The typology allowed the researcher to remove the “NiNi” label and focus the analysis on the process of development; the activity, as suggested by the study’s CHAT conceptual framework (Newman & Holzman, 1993, 1997, 1999, 1996-2006; Holzman, 1999; 2009). Moreover, by grouping individuals in four typologies the researcher was able to conduct a deeper analysis of each case (typology), and then, conduct a cross-case analysis to identify similarities and differences among the four typologies.

Constituent elements: Factors associated with the NiNi / NEET status.

As described in Chapter 2, most of the literature published around the NiNi status in Mexico has focused on quantifying the number of young people outside of school and work institutions and identifying factors associated with the NiNi status (Arceo & Campos, 2012; Negrete & Leyva, 2013; Székely, 2011). The methodological design of this study based on a case study research (Merriam, 2009) represents a theoretical contribution by qualitatively examining the influence of these factors. The following paragraphs describe in detail the theoretical contributions and recommendations of this study to previous research around the NiNi/NEET status:

Educational underachievement. Consistent with previous literature, this study reveals that educational underachievement is one of the most important factors for young people to enter the NiNi/NEET status (Bynner & Parsons, 2002; Finlay, et al, 2010;

Genda, 2007; Pemberton, 2008; Schoon, et al., 2002; SEU, 1999; Székely, 2011). Low educational achievement is the tip of the iceberg to enter the NiNi/NEET status, however, it is important to analyze the causes that vary and include lack of concentration, behavior problems such as talking in class, challenging authority, not meeting deadlines, among other. Educational underachievement is also the main factor to enter the NiNi status for young people who want to study in a public university; not being able to pass the entrance test represents the barrier to continue their college studies. One recurrent element that influences low educational underachievement is the negative influence of peers (Pemberton, 2008; SEU, 1999). As discussed in Chapter 4, peers exercise a large influence on the decisions young people in NiNi status make with respect to their everyday activities. In many cases, people in NiNi status were influenced by their peers; after a period of engaging with people in NiNi status, individuals ended up emulating them. This study makes a recommendation to researchers to further explore ways to support individuals with educational underachievement. More specifically, researchers should explore the use of mentors to help individuals with low educational underachievement. These mentoring relationships might reinforce a sense of community where students care for the success of their colleagues and establish a new way of relating among themselves.

Gender inequalities and early pregnancy. Consistent with the NiNi/NEET literature (Bynner & Parsons, 2002; SEU, 1999; Thompson, 2011), this study found that mothers with young children are prompted to enter the NiNi status because formal school and work institutions do not provide part-time options for them to continue their aspirations. In addition, the household responsibilities and the lack of support from their

partners/families create a double obstacle and they ended up as stay-at-home mothers. Nevertheless, individuals in typology 2 (stay-at-home mothers) reported that they would like to have a part-time job or part-time school. They consider their NiNi status temporary as they want to join school and work institutions once their children grow. Consequently, this study makes a recommendation to researchers to further explore the use of part-time jobs and part-time school programs for young mothers.

Low/misaligned expectations and aspirations. Contrary to some literature that identified that young people in NiNi status have low/misaligned expectations and aspirations (Genda, 2007; Yates, Harris, Sabates, & Staff, 2011) this study found that young people in NiNi status have “regular” aspirations (as also reported by Finlay, Sheridan, McKray & Nudzor, 2010); However, the obstacles found in the school and work institutions creates a movement away from formal institutions. The barriers found by these young people to achieve their life aspirations within formal institutions fosters their integration in the informal labor market. The researcher recommends evaluating if formal actions taken by the government to support young people in NiNi status (i.e. the recent credit lines with low interest rates for young entrepreneurs⁸) foster the reintegration into the formal labor market.

Intergenerational factors. This study found the influence of intergenerational factors is associated with the NiNi status (socio-conditions from parents or families). This finding is consistent with the literature of the NiNi/NEET status (Bynner & Parsons, 2002; Pemberton, 2008; SEU, 1999; Yates, et al., 2011). These factors include among

⁸On February 11, 2015, the Mexican Government implemented “Tu Primer Crédito” [“Your First Credit”] for young people 18-30 years old. The program provides credit with low interest rates and a four-year repayment period. Source: <http://tuprimercredito.inadem.gob.mx/>

other, parents doing drugs, older siblings in NiNi status, and lack of attention/support to young people because both parents are working. The study suggests the need for community building activities to support the development of all members of society. In this regard, the researcher recommends studying the impact of sports and other performative activities organized by the community to keep youth entertained and away from drugs and delinquent activities.

Constraints in the labor markets. This study found that the Mexican labor market is limiting the entrance of young people in jobs. This study is consistent with the findings of Lunsing (2008) in relation that existing constraints in the Japanese labor market is the larger factor for the NEET status and the presence of *freeters* (part time jobs) in Japan. Similarly, this study reveals that available jobs are temporary and focused on low-level activities, not allowing youth the opportunity to make a career. The researcher suggests further studying the use of labor programs in organizations (i.e. internship programs financed by private sector organizations) to allow youth to acquire relevant work experiences.

Performance – Cultural and Historical Activity Theory (CHAT).

Constituent element: Performance.

While Newman and Holzman (1993, 1997, 1999, 1996-2006 Holzman, 1999; 2009) provide empirical evidence of the usefulness of performance to foster learning and development of individuals in school, work and everyday life activities; no studies have been conducted using performance for the analysis of individuals living in NiNi status in Mexico. Therefore, this study represents an important theoretical contribution and reinforces its applicability for the analysis of complex issues in different contexts.

Performance allows removing the Cartesian duality associated with the term “NiNi” and focusing the unit of analysis at the level of everyday life activities. By removing the “NiNi” identity, the study reveals that young people in NiNi status are engaged in cultural and historical activities. Moreover, by adding the Marxist perspective on capitalist labor processes (Livingstone, 2006; Adler, 2006) the study shows that everyday activities of individuals in NiNi status have high use-value but low exchange-value. In other words, the activities allow young people to solve their immediate problems and to carry out their roles in their environments; however, the societal economic value is minimal. Moreover, these people are not learning to use “the tools of production” (Livingstone, p.149) valued in society. Consequently, the possibility of these people to integrate in the formal labor environment is limited.

The study also confirms the performance claim that individuals collectively create environments to act on the world; however, the limitations imposed by school and work institutions is creating a movement away from formal institutions; if these young people do not see possibility to act on their environment, they move away from it. The movement away from institutions is also consistent with the large informality existing in the Mexican labor market.

Based on the cultural and historical lineage of performance, the study included a historical comparison of everyday activities performed by youth across four age generations. The analysis reveals two significant theoretical contributions: (i) the revolutionary role of mothers across history, and (ii) an upgraded skills-mix in the labor market for entry level jobs that is a limitation to the entrance of young people to the labor market. First, mothers across history have maintained the historical role of emotional

providers in Mexican families and throughout the years they have also assumed the role of economic providers. This finding is consistent with the principles of performance that consider humans as culture creators and their everyday life activities is their tool for cultural change and transformation. Performance claims that our everyday performances allow us to be “who we are” and “who we are not,” who we are becoming (Holzman, 2009). Second, the upgrading of skills in labor processes (Adler, 2006) is limiting the entrance of inexperienced young people in the labor market and modifying the hiring practices of people to entry-level jobs. In the past, young people were hired and trained in low-level jobs and nowadays the upgraded skills-mix for entry-level jobs is creating a limitation for young and inexperienced people. The available jobs are temporary (for days and even hours); they are not helping young people as pathways to careers.

Constituent element: Zone of Proximal Development.

A major element in Vygotsky’s (1962) theory of cultural and historical development is the zone of proximal development (ZPD). For Vygotsky, the ZPD is “The discrepancy between a child’s actual mental age and the level he [sic] reaches in solving problems with assistance indicates the zone of his proximal development...” (p. 103).

Although the ZPD has received many interpretations in the cultural and historical development field, the performance interpretation of the ZPD adopts a human development perspective. For Holzman (2009) the ZPD is an activity; “...it is not a zone after all, or a societal scaffold, but an activity – simultaneously the performance space and the performance (Holzman, 1997a; Newman & Holzman, 1993)” (p. 19).

The main contribution of this study to the analysis of ZPDs relies on explaining the relationship among variables; in other words, how individuals in NiNi status create

the “performance space” and the “performance.” Young people in typology 1 (those who aspire to enter a public university) create ZPDs to protest against the exclusion of poor people from public universities. Their public participation in these activities represents a rejection of the social exclusion faced by poor young people who do not pass an entry college exam. In addition, their participation confirms the important role of community building for young people in NiNi status, as a tool-and-result (Newman & Holzman, 1993) to foster their engagement in activities and the creation of social change and the improvement of conditions for society. In the case of individuals classified in typology 2 (stay-at-home mothers) the ZPDs allow mothers to learn cultural traditions from older generations and to transmit them to their children. Also, as presented in Chapter 4, mothers have been taking a revolutionary role about gender equality; through everyday performances, mothers have maintained the role of emotional providers, and, over the years, have adopted the role of economic providers as well. In many cases, the mothers of the interviewed people were the economic support for their families. In the case of individuals classified in typology 3 (young people engaged in performing arts/sports), the construction of ZPDs allow them to participate in the activities considered by these young people as the most important, for example, juggling, making crafts, creating and mixing mix music, and playing soccer at a competitive level. In some cases, these ZPDs are expanded to include other resources mediated by technology (i.e. the use of YouTube videos). In the case of young people from typology 4 (young people engaged in street activities) the creation of ZPDs allow them to “move around” dangerous neighborhoods, access part-time jobs, and engage in sports and other recreational activities. In all cases,

the creation of the ZPDs reveals the performative elements of creating the “performance space and the performance” (Holzman, 2009).

Consistent with the investigations from Lave (1988) regarding the idea that poor people focus more on activities with high use-value (important for the individuals and in some cases for their families and direct network), the study reveals that young people in NiNi status create ZPDs in activities with a low exchange-value, that is, activities not economically valued in today’s society. In this case, young people in NiNi status are not creating the “performance space” (Holzman, 2009) in the formal economy to foster their participation in activities with high exchange-value because institutions exclude individuals who lack cultural and economic resources. Consequently, these individuals are creating these “performance spaces” in the informal economy.

Constituent element: Learning and developing through creative imitation.

This study makes a theoretical contribution to the NiNi/NEET literature by analyzing the learning and development processes of young people in NiNi status. In line with Vygotsky’s contributions around learning and development as a cultural and historical process (1962, 1978) and the principles of performance from Newman and Holzman (1993, 1997, 1999, 1996-2006; Holzman, 1999; 2009), this study reveals that young people in NiNi status learn through a process of creative imitation. Vygotsky said that that imitation involved “...stepping from something one knows to something new” (p. 103). For Holzman (2009), creative imitation is a type of performance that implies new ways of “seen” based of new ways of “being” (p. 115).

As described in Chapter 4, the four typologies of young people in NiNi status learn through a process of creative imitation that starts when the individual imagines the

activity, then the individual engages with his/her network of friends, first as a beginner until he/she masters the activity. Moreover, the study reveals the presence of the same creative imitation process to enter the NiNi status. For example, individuals classified in typology 1 (young people who want to study in a public university) enter the NiNi status after failing the college entrance exam and rather than joining the labor force, they creatively imitate what other individuals like them do; they wait and prepare to take their entrance test for the next school cycle. Individuals in typology 2 (stay-at-home mothers) decide to take care of their children because schools and jobs do not offer enough part-time opportunities/flexible schedules to fulfill their responsibilities, needs and aspirations. In addition, the lack of support that many of them have from their partners and in-laws creates a social pressure to replicate culture. They tend to creatively “copy” the activities of stay-at-home mothers and they enter the NiNi status. Individuals in typology 3 (performing arts/sports) want the freedom to do what they want over the routine of schools and formal jobs and they engage with their peers in playful activities. Individuals in typology 4 (street activities) usually drop-out of school when they have low academic performance or attitude problems at school. They start imitating what their friends do in the streets: playing soccer, and “relaxing for a while” from the school pressures. They aspire to find a job but the lack of opportunities for unprepared people creates a “street trap”; they only have access to temporary, low-level jobs that are not effective pathways to careers. These findings support the argument that individuals have the performance capability to creatively imitate others (Vygotsky, 1962, 1978, Holzman 2009). As they entered the NiNi status, they can also re-engage in productive activities if

they receive the opportunities, support, and if they are given the proper examples, they can carry-out these creative imitation processes.

The historical analysis of working adults revealed that Felix, the 61 year-old, car muffler repair, re-engaged in productive activities. Felix lost his mother when he was 12 and his step-father asked him and his siblings to leave, he spent some years living as vagabond, then he lived with his sister and brother. He got married and although he received the support of a former boss who patiently taught him the car muffler repair trade, he lived for 17 years as an alcoholic but after a conversation with his wife, he decided to stop drinking. He went to church and swore not to drink in front of the priest. Since then, he recovered and he has been sober for the last 34 years. He has taught the car muffler repair and giving employment to about 35 young people in the community. The story of Felix shows the developmental power of creative imitation and performance and provides a historical lens to better understand the NiNi status.

Recommendations for Practice

The findings of the study and the nature of this research allows making various recommendations for practice. These recommendations are not exclusive for young people in NiNi status but to all young people because the researcher considers that the NiNi status is just a period in the life of these individuals, rather than a fixed identity. The recommendations for practice are presented in table 5.3 and focus on performative practices for various environments, including family, school, workplace, and community. These recommendations are not independent; they should be seen as a package of solutions because the complexity of the NiNi status requires different support mechanisms operating at the individual, group and social levels. Moreover, the

implementation of these recommendations requires Newman and Holzman’s (1993) ideas around community to remove the individualistic mindset that is prevalent in today’s society. Constructing a society that cares for others creates a virtuous and sustainable circle where all people have the same opportunities and support. Conversely, an individualistic psychology mindset is not sustainable because poor people have needs and they also aspire to have better situations. As the literature from chapter 2 reveals, if these people do not have the means to achieve their aspirations in the formal labor market, they will do it in the informal labor market. The empirical evidence of the value of these performative practices is fully explained in the review of the literature included in Chapter 2. In the following paragraphs, the researcher presents a discussion of these recommendations.

Table 5.3

Recommendations for Practice

Everyday life environments	Performative Practices
Family	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Emotional laden conversations (Newman and Holzman, 1993, 1997, 1999, 1996-2006; Holzman, 1999; 2009)
School	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Creative imitation (Vygotsky, 1962, 1978; Newman & Holzman, 1993, 1997, 1999, 1996-2006; Holzman, 1999; 2009) • Play (Vygotsky, 1962; Holzman, 2009)
Workplace	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Summer programs (Justo, 2014) • Temporary internships (Holzman, 2009) • Mentors (Holzman, 2009)
Community	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sports (Childress, 1999) • After-school programs/Community-sponsored programs –i.e. All Stars Project (Fulani & Newman, 2011) • Social therapy centers (Holzman, 1997, 2009)

Everyday life environment: Family – Emotional laden conversations.

This study recommends the engagement in emotional-laden conversations for acquiring higher levels of consciousness and new ways of relating with others (Newman & Holzman, 1993). In this study, both working adults and youth reported the positive impact of conversations to foster their development. According to participants, these conversations have a higher developmental impact when they are conducted in environments where individuals feel comfortable to freely express their ideas and emotions.

Everyday life environment: school – creative imitation and play.

A strong recommendation of this study is the inclusion of creative imitation and play in school instruction. All participants included in this study reported that their learning and development processes involve a creative imitation process. In addition, the literature reviewed in Chapter 2 reveals the advantages of creative imitation and play in school instruction processes. Imitation can be applied to almost all human activities and as Vygotsky (1962) claims, “...imitation and instruction play a major role. They bring out the specifically human qualities of the mind and lead the child to new developmental levels.” (p. 104). Consequently, schools should foster more imitation practices to focus on the *learning process* –not the product because from a product perspective, imitation might be considered plagiarism; but from a process perspective, imitation represents the basis for human learning and development. Moreover, creative imitation would make school instruction more developmental by focusing learning processes on functions not yet mastered, and aiming instruction “not so much at the ripe as at the ripening functions in order to lead the development of individuals (Vygotsky, 1962).

Everyday life environment: Outside school – sports, community-sponsored programs –i.e. All Stars project, Operation Conversation: Cops & Kids, and social therapy centers.

This study suggests the participation of youth in playful and performative activities organized by the community. One of the main problems of the NiNi status is the focus of the problem at the individual level of analysis. As a consequence, the individual and their family are responsible for its solution. The conceptual framework using the perspective of performance proposed by Newman and Holzman (1993) from the cultural and historical activity theory reveals that individuals are not independent from society; both are constitutive of each other. In that sense, the NiNi status requires the participation of all members of society. Consequently, parents, associations, private sector organizations, and volunteers have a role to play in the provision of institutional support, not only school and work institutions. Similarly, parents (and particularly fathers) need to increase their participation and volunteer their time and donate resources to foster the development of their children in sports (Childress, 1998) and cultural activities. In the same way as mothers have maintained their role of emotional providers throughout the years and assumed the role of economic providers, parents need to recover their historical role of providers of institutional support to foster the integration of their children as productive members of society. The examples provided in Chapter 2 reinforce the value of these practices.

Everyday life environment: Workplace – summer programs, internships and mentors.

The findings of this study suggest more involvement of organizations to support youth development. As discussed in Chapter 2, the literature of youth development reveals important benefits with the use of summer programs (Justo, 2013), internships (All Stars Program), and mentors (Sabo, 2003). By taking an active role in supporting youth development, sponsoring organizations achieve the following three pronged goals: help young participants learn critical business skills required in organizations; contribute to support school-to-work transitions by helping youth gain their first work experiences; and position themselves as corporate and social responsible partners in their communities.

Recommendations for Policy

The study reveals the need for implementing public policies that foster youth development and their future integration in the formal labor market. The movement of young people in NiNi status away from institutions, documented in this study, reinforces the ineffectiveness of institutions to provide solutions to this group of people and represents a challenge for the country in its efforts to reduce the informality of the labor market. The proposed policy recommendations are included in table 5.4. These recommendations focus on three main actions: (i) providing economic incentives in the form of conditional cash transfers to people with low socio-economic status to maintain them in compulsory education/educational programs to foster their integration in the formal labor market, (ii) individualized guidance and support for at-risk populations, (iii) Educational credit lines / Low interest credit for young entrepreneurs.

In addition to the thorough discussion of these recommendations presented in the review of the literature in chapter three, this study allowed to identify important

characteristics of successful mentors. Rather than individual characteristics such as personality traits, the study revealed that the ability to engage in youth activities was the single most important characteristic to influence young in NiNi status. In other words, individuals who participate in the activities that the young individuals like best, have the highest levels of influence. Although some individuals in NiNi status consider that their friends were a negative influence, their participation in similar activities was the link to their relationship and partnership.

Young people considered that parents could increase the engagement in youth activities to earn their trust and increase their influence. For example, a 19-year old male who has living in NiNi status for a year said that if a child asks his/her parents “what the effects of marijuana are”, instead of punishing the kid for their curiosity, they should engage in finding an answer together. He said that a good response could be: "I do not know the effects because I have never tried it but let’s search in the Internet", and he added: “My dad never did that but I wish he would do it.”

Table 5.4

Recommendations for Policy

Policy action	Examples
Economic incentives (Conditional cash transfers to poor individuals)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Education Maintenance Allowance (EMA) (UK) • PROGRESA (Argentina)
Mentors in schools for at-risk youth	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • School-college transitions (Scotland) • Greater guidance and support in schools and in job placement (Japan) • Conexions service (UK)
Educational credit lines / Low interest credit for young entrepreneurs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Policy discussion (Argentina) • “Tu Primer Crédito” [“Your First Credit”] (Mexico)

As described before, this set of recommendations should be considered not as a stand-alone solution but as a package with other recommendations because the complexity of the phenomenon requires concerted actions at the individual, group and social levels. The implementation of these recommendations requires the participation of parents, groups, governments and society at large because we are all engaged in the problem and we are all responsible for its solution. The implementation of these policies on the part of the government sends a strong two-fold message to society. First, it reinforces the role of governments as stewards of at-risk populations, and second, the NiNi status is no longer a problem localized at the individual level. In other words, instead of considering young people in NiNi status as lazy or problematic, society takes responsibility for the well-being of our youth and we all support their education and future integration in the labor market as productive citizens. Conversely, if youth does not feel part of the formal system, they might maintain their participation in the informal economy when they reach adulthood.

Recommendations for Further Research

This study examined the everyday life activities of young people in NiNi status, their meaning-making and learning processes, and limitations for their learning and development. The study's conclusions provided key suggestions to be implemented in the future. In that regard, future research should analyze the impact of proposed recommendations. Future studies should evaluate the use of creative imitation approaches in school and work settings, examine the impact of community support groups to foster youth development, evaluate the impact of training and temporary work assignments incorporating the principles of performance and creative imitation, and evaluate the

impact of public policies to support the education and integration of young people in the formal labor market.

Given the intersection of social phenomenon with issues faced by researchers working in the fields of human and organizational learning, the researcher provides the following recommendations to researchers interested in conducting research in a different country in related topics.

1. **Establish contact with local contacts acting as gatekeepers.** Doing research in another country requires a solid network of local contacts to help establish the initial connections. The researcher invested almost a year trying to establish connections with NGOs, friends, and relatives before going to collect data. These local connections were critical to conduct the interviews and field observations in two trips, each of which lasted one-week.
2. **Learn the local language and culture.** Being able to understand the perspectives of these young people requires an understanding of the local language and culture. Ethnographers spend many hours learning the culture of these groups; however, researchers in human and organizational areas do not typically have the necessary time to carry-out their research. To mitigate this limitation, the researcher daily read the local news, established and maintained communication with local people, watched YouTube videos and read newspaper articles related to the NiNi status.
3. **Engage in activities performed by the sample population.** Gaining the trust of participants requires being with them in their environment. Although local contacts served as gatekeepers, the researcher engaged in activities performed

by youth. These included participation in marches, cleaning activities for the construction of a greenhouse in a community center, watching young people play soccer and music, and conversations with youth and adults in the streets and local shopping centers.

4. **Provide incentives for participation.** The researcher had the approval of the Office of Human Research of The George Washington University to provide a Wal-Mart gift-card of about \$10 as a token of appreciation for the participation of young people in NiNi status in the study. In addition, the researcher paid the cost of food and non-alcoholic beverages of those young people and working adults who accepted to be interviewed in a restaurant. Moreover, young people in NiNi status considered the objective of raising their voices appealing, because they do not usually have an opportunity to express their views.
5. **Focus on what matters to people to earn their trust.** The most important factor for a researcher is to gain the trust of participants and get their real perceptions and not the “socially acceptable responses”. To minimize this limitation, the researcher employed four strategies that are discussed in the following section.

Limitations

An important limitation of this study was earning the trust of participants in order to capture their life experiences and meaning-making processes, instead of listening to “socially acceptable responses”. Since society labels young people in NiNi status as lazy, problematic, and irresponsible, the researcher found difficulties in accessing the target

population. Nevertheless, he worked with local contacts, who acted as gatekeepers and took the researcher to different neighborhoods and helped him establish an initial connection. In order to earn the trust of participants, the researcher employed the following four strategies:

1. **Pilot interviews.** The researcher piloted the protocol questions with two independent sample groups of young people. These pilots helped to improve the clarity of the protocol questions and were useful training for the researcher. As part of these pilot interviews, the researcher recorded the interviews and listened to the recordings several times. He found that interviewing young people greatly differs from interviewing adults because youth responses are shorter and more direct. The best way to engage them in an interview is establishing a conversation and they feel more confident when their responses are anonymous.
2. **When in Rome, do as Romans do.** During field observations and interviews, the researcher was wearing clothes young people wear in Mexico City: a pair of jeans, tennis shoes, a T-Shirt, and a sports jacket. Since he was walking in poor neighborhoods and using public transportation, he took extra precautions. He left his watch, cell phone, and wallet at home. He carried a small amount of cash to cover his planned expenses. In addition, he did not carry a back-pack, as some people might have thought that he was carrying a laptop; instead, he used a cheap nylon bag that allowed others to see what he was carrying. In the bag, he carried the IRB forms, the protocol questions, and a paper composition notebook where he constantly wrote notes. He also used the bag to carry sodas and chips that he shared with the kids after watching them play soccer in their neighborhoods. This

strategy — previously validated by the IRB — helped him approach young people and initiate the conversation.

The first day the researcher bought the sodas, a policeman stopped him at the exit of the super market store and asked him for the receipt. This is unusual and only happens when security guards think that people did not pay for the products. Initially, the researcher was surprised and angry. “How dare he!”, he thought. But then the researcher thought, “Wow! I look just like them!” After that experience, the researcher felt more comfortable walking in these neighborhoods and interacting with the young people.

3. **Engage with youth in activities.** As described before, the researcher conducted field observations and engaged in various activities performed by youth. These included participation in the MAES marches, cleaning activities for the construction of a greenhouse in a community center, watching youth playing soccer and music, and talking to them and to their parents in their neighborhoods. Using public transportation was another way to engage with young people. He engaged in several conversations with young people and adults. On one occasion, the researcher joined a group who was walking toward the subway and he explained them the purpose of his study. A mother who was accompanying her daughter to a march said to the researcher, “Your study is very interesting and very important”. The researcher gave her some flyers and asked her to distribute them with her friends (the flyers had the researcher contact information). The woman told the researcher that he should go to National Autonomous University of Mexico (UNAM) the next day because youth were going to be there. The

researcher went to the UNAM the following day and when the daughter of the woman saw him, she approached him and said: “You talked to my mother yesterday, do you remember? I want to be interviewed”. During the interview, she openly shared her views and life experiences.

4. **Clarifying their right to answer or not answer questions.** Before conducting the interview, the researcher provided a copy of the IRB form and told them that it was ok if they refused to answer a particular question and they could end the interview if they wanted to. In addition, the researcher thoroughly explained the goals of the study and acknowledged the challenge for qualitative researchers to earn the trust of participants. The researcher told them: “This study aims to capture the actual voices and perceptions of people like you, who live in NiNi status. It is very difficult to earn the trust of participants, and I invite you to really share your views, that is the only way I could raise your voices and inform other researchers and policy makers interested in the provision of opportunities for young people living in NiNi status. I do not know you and you do not know me; you are not required to share your name or any personal information. I am interested in your views and your life experiences.” Most participants considered that the study was very important. A 26-year old male who has been in NiNi status for the last eight-months said: “I think your study is very interesting... it is something that nobody works, it seems that nobody cares... we are fighting against the institutions and I include myself in it.” Similarly, a 19-year old male who has been two years in NiNi status said at the end of the interview: “I think

that these surveys are very good... I hope that they are useful, that they do something with them.”

Another important limitation is related to the developmental nature of the study. This study is limited because it centered on the analysis of the NiNi status and did not focus on the provision of opportunities for development for young people in NiNi status. The construct of performance (Newman & Holzman, 1993, 1997, 1999, 1996-2006; Holzman, 1999; 2009), claims that the creation of supportive environments fosters the dialectical development of individuals (cognitive, emotional, and spiritual). In addition, this study revealed that the NiNi status is a temporary stage in the life of individuals. With opportunities and support they can incorporate into the formal labor market. In that sense, this study should be considered a work in progress and the researcher invites parents, researchers, policy makers, organizations, and society in general to act on the recommendations and provide opportunities and support to these young individuals so they can be “who they are” and “other than who they are”.

Summary

This study examined the everyday life activities of young people living in NiNi status to better understand their everyday life experience, their meaning-making and learning processes, and their impediments to their development. In addition, and in line with the social and historical nature of the conceptual framework, the study conducted the analysis of everyday life activities of young people across four age generations to identify changes affecting the participation of young people in activities. The study arrived at five conclusions associated to the research questions.

First, young people in NiNi status perform a variety of cultural and historical activities, mainly non-remunerated tasks, such as household chores, running errands, taking care of children, performing arts and sports deeds, and temporary work in low-level and informal jobs to access additional resources. Most of these people receive economic support from their parents and receive emotional support from their mothers and friends with whom they engage in everyday life activities. The historical analysis of everyday life activities of young people across four generations reveals a change in the duration of employment. The duration of jobs of older generations was longer and allowed youth to start a career; conversely, the employment of new generations has a shorter duration (days and even hours). The short duration of jobs does not allow young people to learn the required skills and start a career. The lack of opportunities in formal institutions makes them an easy prey for vicious and delinquent activities. Criminal groups are willing to offer these youth economic resources and integrate them in their social groups.

Second, meaning-making processes occur through emotional-laden conversations that young people in NiNi status have with their mothers and their network of friends. The analysis of participants' meaning-making processes reveals that they feel trapped in "a system of not progressing". They live in a continuous paradox resulting from a continuous search for fun and false sense of freedom to do what they want that clashes with an overall feeling of dissatisfaction from not having resources to do what they want to do. Moreover, the negative labels that society puts on them makes them feel inferior and excluded.

Third, the study also reveals that the main impediment to their learning and development is the lack of opportunities and the lack of institutional support to learn from more expert people's key skills to foster their economic independency and future integration as productive members of society. Many of these young people are socially excluded from school and job opportunities because of a variety of reasons: troubled behavior, physical appearance, bad academic performance, early motherhood, and social status, among others.

Fourth, another important conclusion is related to the social nature of learning processes in everyday life activities; young people learn by creative imitation when they create zones of proximal development in collaboration with their networks. They start observing others and later they start participating in the activity until they are fully engaged in it and achieve a certain level of mastery.

Fifth, the main limitation faced by young people in NiNi status is the isolation in which they live. They do not engage with people different from them, and their ZPD is not diverse enough to foster new performances. This isolation does not allow them to learn a trade, get a formal job, go back to school, or have other developmental performances. These young people learn through creative imitation; however, if they only mix with people like them, the possibility to engage in new and developmental performances and to move away from their NiNi status is limited.

The main contribution of this study is to bring the perspectives of these young people to balance the negative societal views about people living in NiNi status. Their voices reveal the need for greater opportunities and support *to level the playing field* and to overcome cultural and historical limitations faced by these young people. The NiNi

status is a silent call for all of us to break the current culture of discrimination and social exclusion that our society imposes to individuals who do not fit the mold. Rather than replicating this existing culture, we need to assume a revolutionary approach and engage in collective meaning-making processes and create new ways of understanding and new ways of relating with each other (Newman & Holzman, 1993). In that sense, the NiNi status is an important task for all of us because the individual cannot be ontologically not epistemologically separated from society. It is a mutually constitutive relationship; we cannot achieve societal development if we do not develop each of our members. The current worldview wrongly positions the “problem” at the individual level and not at the group or societal level. From a socio-cultural perspective, individuals are not completely independent and current regulations defined by school and work institutions are excluding a large group of people who have fewer resources to perform at the standards defined by the dominant groups.

Concluding Thoughts

I used the construct of performance (Newman & Holzman, 1993, 1997, 1999, 1996-2006; Holzman, 1999; 2009) for the analysis of the NiNi status because individuals are not static; they are always engaged in continuous performances to create new conditions in the world. In that sense, the NiNi status represents a collective performance to eliminate the barriers of social exclusion, inequality and discrimination; it also represents an opportunity for the country to capitalize the “demographic dividend”⁹

⁹ “The demographic dividend is the economic growth potential that can result from shifts in a population’s age structure, mainly when the share of the working-age population, 15 to 64, is larger than the non-working-age share of the population, 14 and younger or 65 and older (Bloom at al., 2014) p. 14.

(UNFPA, 2014) that results from having a large population of young people in a working age in the country¹⁰.

In the different interviews that I conducted, young people expressed the need for more opportunities and more support in order to achieve their life and career aspirations. I promised them to raise their voices and to work in the definition and implementation of solutions that better respond to the needs of a new generation of Mexicans who aspire to have a better present and a better future. This study is my first performance as a human developmentalist to contribute to the implementation of solutions to better respond to these needs. My commitment is to continue working on the analysis of opportunities for young people in order to help them become who they want to be.

¹⁰ According to the 2010 Mexican census, there are 112 million people living in Mexico with an average median age of 26 years.

REFERENCES

- Adler, P. (2006). From labor processes to activity theory. In P.H. Sawchuk, N. Duarte, & M. Elhammoumi (Eds.), *Critical perspectives on activity: Explorations across education, work, & everyday life* (pp. 160-192). NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Alvesson, M. G., & Sandberg, J. (2011). Generating research questions through problematization. *Academy of Management Review*, 36, 247-271.
- Anderson, J.R., Reder, J., & Simon, H. (1996). Situated Learning and Education. *Educational Researcher* 25(4), 5–96.
- Anfara, V.A. & Mertz, N.T. (2006). *Theoretical frameworks in qualitative research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Arceo, E., & Campos, R. (2011). Quienes son los NiNis en México? [Who are the NiNis in Mexico?]. Centro de Investigación y Docencia Económicas A.C. (CIDE). México, DF.
- Avis, J. (2009). Transformation or transformism: Engeström's version of activity theory? *Educational Review* 61(2), 151-165. DOI: 10.1080/00131910902844754.
- Bakhurst, D.J. (1986). Thought, speech and the genesis of meaning: On the 50th anniversary of Vygotsky's 'Myslenie I Rec'. *Studies in Soviet Thought*, 31(2), 103-129. Retrieved from: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20100085>
- Bakhurst, D. J. (2009). Reflections on activity theory. *Educational Review* 61(2), 197-210. DOI: 10.1080/00131910902846916
- Barter, C., & Renold, E. (2000). 'I wanna tell you a story': Exploring the application of vignettes in qualitative research with children and young people. *International*

Journal of Social Research Methodology, 3(4), 307-323.

doi:10.1080/13645570050178594

- Borthick, A.F., Jones, D.R., Wakai, S. (2003). Designing learning experiences within learners' zones of proximal development (ZPDs): Enabling collaborative learning on-site and online. *Journal of Information Systems*, 17(1), 107-134.
- Bozhovich, E.D. (2009). Zone of Proximal development: The diagnostic capabilities and limitations of indirect collaboration. *Journal of Russian and East European Psychology*, 47(6), 48-69. DOI: 10.2753/RPO1061-0405470603
- Bloom, D., Das Gupta, M., Engelman, R., Levy, J., Luchsinger, G., Merrick, T., & Rosen, J.E. (2014). *The power of 1.8 billion: Adolescents, youth and the transformation of the future*. The State of World Population. UNFPA.
- Brown, J.S., Collins, A. & Duguid, S. (1989). Situated cognition and the culture of learning. *Educational Researcher*, 18(1), 32-42.
- Bynner, J., & Parsons, S. (2002). Social exclusion and the transition from school to work: the case of young people not in education, employment or training (NEET). *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 60(2), 289-309. doi: 10.1006/jvbe.2001.1868
- Canduela, J., Chandler, R., Elliott, I., Lindsay, C., Macpherson, S., McQuaid, R. W., & Raeside, R. (2010). Partnerships to support early school leavers: school-college transitions and 'winter leavers' in Scotland. *Journal of Education & Work*, 23(4), 339-362. doi:10.1080/13639080.2010.490550
- Cayla, D. (2008). Learning, Rationality and Identity Building: From Simon to Varela. *Conférence IAREP/SABE*, ISBN: 9788861050273. Retrieved from: <http://halshs.archives-ouvertes.fr/halshs-00340832/fr/>

- Chaffee, E.A. (1985). Three models of strategy. *The Academy of Management Review*, 10(1), 89-98. Retrieved from: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/258215>
- Chen, Y. (2011). Once a NEET always a NEET? Experiences of employment and unemployment among youth in a job training programme in Taiwan. *International Journal of Social Welfare*, 20(1), 33-42. doi:10.1111/j.1468-2397.2009.00711.x
- Childress, H. (1999). Seventeen reasons why football is better than high school. *Phi Delta Kappan*, 79, 616-620.
- Cole, M., Hood, L., & McDermott, R.P. (1978). *Ecological niche-picking: Ecological validity as an axiom of experimental cognitive psychology*. (Monograph). New York: Rockefeller University, Laboratory of Comparative Human Cognition. [Reprinted in *Practice*, 4(1), 117-129].
- Cole, M. (1996). *Cultural psychology: A once and future discipline*. Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.
- Cunningham, W., Cohan, L.M., Naudeau, S., & McGinnis, L. (2008). *Supporting Youth at Risk: A Policy Toolkit for Middle-Income Countries*. Washington, DC. World Bank.
- Creswell, J.W. (2006). *Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five traditions*, (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Crotty, M. (1998). *Foundations of social research: Meaning and perspective in the research process*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE
- Davis, M. (1971), "That's Interesting! Towards a phenomenology of sociology and a sociology of phenomenology", *Philosophy of Social Sciences I* (4), 309-344.

- ECLAC. (2010). Social Panorama of Latin America. Retrieved from <http://hdl.handle.net/11362/1237>
- Edwards, A. (2005). Relational agency: Learning to be a resourceful practitioner. *International Journal of Educational Research*, 43, 168–182. doi: 10.1016/j.ijer.2006.06.010
- Edwards, A. (2010). Inter-professional work and expertise: new roles at the boundaries of schools. *British Educational Research Journal*, 36 (1), 27–45. doi: 10.1080/01411920902834134
- Edwards, A. (2011). Building common knowledge at the boundaries between professional practices: Relational agency and relational expertise in systems of distributed expertise. *International Journal of Educational Research*, 50, 33-39. doi: 10.1016/j.ijer.2011.04.007
- El Universal. (2011, July 18). Sólo cinco estados, con programas para “ninis”. [Only five states with programs for "Ninis"]. Retrieved from: <http://www.eluniversal.com.mx/primer/37308.html>
- Engeström, Y. (2000) Activity theory as a framework for analyzing and redesigning work. *Ergonomics*, 43(7), 960-974.
- Engeström, Y. (2009). Expansive learning: Toward an activity-theoretical reconceptualization. In Illeris, K. (Ed.), *Contemporary theories of learning: Learning theorists in their own words* (pp. 90-105). New York: Routledge.
- Eun, B., Knotek, S.E., & Heining-Boynton, A.L. (2008). Reconceptualizing the zone of proximal development: The importance of the third voice. *Educational Psychology Review*, 20, 133-147. doi: 10.1007/s10648-007-9064-1

- Fenwick, T. (2010). Re-thinking the "thing": Sociomaterial approaches to understanding and researching learning in work. *Journal of Workplace Learning*, 22(1), 104-116.
doi: 10.1108/13665621011012898
- Fenwick, T., Edwards, R., & Sawchuk, P.H. (2011). *Emerging approaches to educational research: Tracing the sociomaterial*. NY: Routledge.
- Finlay, I., Sheridan, M., McKay, J., & Nudzor, H. (2010). Young people on the margins: in need of more choices and more chances in twenty-first century Scotland. *British Educational Research Journal*, 36(5), 851-867.
doi:10.1080/01411920903168532
- Fulani, L. (2013). The development line helping the poor to grow: A special report on solving the poverty crisis in America. New York: All Stars Project, Inc.
- Genda, Y. (2007). Jobless youths and the NEET problem in Japan. *Social Science Japan Journal*, 10(1), 23-40. doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1093/ssjj/jym029>
- Ghosh, A. (2004). Learning in strategic alliances: A Vygotskian perspective. *The Learning Organization*, 11(4/5), 302-311. DOI: 10.1108/09696470410538206
- Glaser, B. G. (1978). *Theoretical sensitivity*. Mill Valley, CA: Sociology Press.
- Glaser, B. G. (1992). *Basics of grounded theory analysis*. Mill Valley, CA: Sociology Press.
- Glaser, B. G., & Strauss, A. (1964). Awareness contexts and social interaction. *American Sociological Association*, 29, 669-679.
- Glaser, B. G., & Strauss, A. (1967). *The discovery of grounded theory: Strategies for qualitative research*. Chicago: Aldine.

- Goos, M. (2004). Learning mathematics in a classroom community of inquiry. *Journal for Research in Mathematics Education*, 35(4), 258-291. Retrieved from:
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/30034810>
- Guberman, S.R. (2004). A Comparative study of children's out-of-school activities and arithmetical achievements. *National Council of Teachers in Mathematics*, 35(2), 117-150.
- Gulbrandsen, L.M. (2012). Being a child, coming of age: Exploring processes of growing up. In M. Hedegaard, K. Aronsson, C. Hojholt, & O. Ulvik, *Children, childhood, and everyday life: Children's perspectives* (pp. 55-74). Charlotte, NC: Information Age Publishing, Inc.
- Hatch, M.J. (2007). *Organization theory: modern, symbolic, and postmodern perspectives*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Hatch, M.J. (2011). Material and meaning in the dynamics of organizational culture and identity with implications for the leadership of organizational change. In N.M. Ashkanasy, C.P.M. Wilderom, & M.F. Peterson (Eds.). *The handbook of organizational culture and climate*. (pp. 341-458). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, Inc.
- Hedegaard, M. (2012). Children's creative modeling of conflict resolutions in everyday life as central in their learning and development in families. In M. Hedegaard, K. Aronsson, C. Hojholt, & O. Ulvik, *Children, childhood, and everyday life: Children's perspectives* (pp. 55-74). Charlotte, NC: Information Age Publishing, Inc.

- Hedegaard, M., Aronsson, K., Hojholt, C., & Ulvik, O. (2012). *Children, childhood, and everyday life: Children's perspectives*. Charlotte, NC: Information Age Publishing, Inc.
- Holland, D.C. (1988). Cognition, symbols, and Vygotsky's developmental psychology. *Ethos*, 16(3), 247-272. Retrieved from: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/640487>
- Holzman, L. H. (1996). Pragmatism and dialectical materialism in language development. In H. Daniels (Ed.), *An introduction to Vygotsky* (pp. 75-98). London: Routledge.
- Holzman, L. (2006). What type of theory is activity theory? Introduction. *Theory & Psychology*, 16(1). 5-11.
- Holzman, L. (2009). *Vygotsky at work and play*. London: Routledge.
- Holzman, L. (1999). *Performing psychology: A postmodern culture of mind*. London: Routledge.
- Holzman, L. (1997-2009). *Schools for growth: Radical alternatives to current educational models*. NY: Routledge.
- Holzman, L. & Mendez, R. (2003). *Psychological investigations: A clinician's guide to social therapy*. NY: Routledge.
- Huff, A. (1999). *Writing for scholarly publication*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- INEGI. (1930). Quinto censo general de población [Fifth general population census 1930]. Aguascalientes, Mexico: INEGI.
- INEGI. (1950). Séptimo censo general de población [Seventh general population census 1950]. Aguascalientes, Mexico: INEGI.

- INEGI. (1970). IX censo general de población [IX general population census 1970]. Aguascalientes, Mexico: INEGI.
- INEGI. (1990). XI censo general de población [XI General population census 1990]. Aguascalientes, Mexico: INEGI.
- INEGI. (2010). Censo general de población y vivienda [General population and housing census 2010]. Aguascalientes, Mexico: INEGI.
- Justo, A. (2014). *Summer Program: Fostering Youth Development through Performance and Creative Imitation*. Paper session presented at the annual meeting of AERA, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
- Keys Adair, J. & Pastori, G. (2011). Developing qualitative coding frameworks for educational research: Immigration, education and the children crossing borders project. *International Journal of Research & Method in Education*, 34:1, 31-47. doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/1743727X.2011.552310>
- Kravtsova, E.E. (2009). The cultural-historical foundations of the zone of proximal development. *Journal of Russian and East European Psychology*, 47(6), 9-24. doi: 10.2753/RPO1061-0405470601
- Lave, J. & Wenger, E. (1991, 2003). *Situated Learning: Legitimate Peripheral Participation (Learning in Doing: Social, Cognitive and Computational Perspectives)*. NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Lave, J. (2009). The practice of learning. In K. Illeris, (Ed.), *Contemporary theories of learning, learning theorists in their own words* (pp. 200-208). NY: Routledge.

- Layder, D., Ashton, D., & Sung, J. (1991). The empirical correlates of action and structure: The transition from school to work. *Sociology*, 25, 447-464. doi: 10.1177/0038038591025003006
- Leont'ev, A.N. (2003). Theories of adult learning. In Sawchuk, P.H. (Ed.). *Adult learning and technology in working-class life (p.41)*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Lincoln, Y.S., & Guba, E.G. (1985). *Naturalistic inquiry*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Livanos, I. and Nunez, I. (2012). Young workers' employability and higher education in Europe in the aftermath of the financial crisis: An initial assessment. *Intereconomics*. (47)1. 4-30. DOI: 10.1007/s10272-012-0402-2
- Livingstone, D.W. (2006). Contradictory class relations in work and learning: Some resources for hope. In P.H. Sawchuk, N. Duarte, & M. Elhammoumi (Eds.), *Critical perspectives on activity: Explorations across education, work, & everyday life* (pp. 145-159). NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Lunsing, W. (2008). Niito tte iu na! (don't call us NEET!). *Social Science Japan Journal*, 11(2), 361-364. doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1093/ssjj/jyn052>
- McCaslin, M.L. & Scott, K.W. (2003) The Five-question method for framing a qualitative research study, *The Qualitative Report* 8 (3), 447 – 461.
- Maguire, S., & Rennison, J. (2005). Two years on: The destinations of young people who are not in education, employment or training at 16. *Journal of Youth Studies*, 8(2), 187-201. doi:10.1080/13676260500149287
- Marx, K., & Engels, F. (1975) *The German ideology*. New York: Lawrence and Wishart.
- Marx, K. (1977) *Capital. Volume I*. New York: Vintage.

- McCarthy, B., Hagan, J. & Cohen, L.E. (1998). Uncertainty, cooperation, and crime: Understanding the decision to co-offend. *Social Forces*, 77(1), 155-184. Retrieved from: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3006013>.
- McCarthy, B., & Hagan, J. (2001). When Crime Pays: Capital, Competence, and Criminal Success. *Social Forces*, 79(3), 1035–1060.
- McIntosh-Elkins, J. & McRitchie, K. (2013). From the silent generation to generation x, y and z: strategies for managing the generation mix. Proceedings of the 35th annual *ACM SIGUCCS* fall conference. 240-246. doi:10.1145/1294046.1294104
- Merriam, S. (2009). *Qualitative Research: A guide to design and implementation*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.
- Mills, K. (2010). Shrek meets Vygotsky: Rethinking adolescents' multimodal literacy practices in schools, *Journal of Adolescent & Adult Literacy*, 54(1), 35-45. Retrieved from: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20749074>
- Moll, L.C., & Greenberg, J.B. (1990). Creating zones of possibilities: Combining social contexts for instruction (pp. 319-348). In C. Moll, *Vygotsky and education*. NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Moll, L.C., Amanti, C., Neff, D., & Gonzalez, N. (1992). Funds of knowledge for teaching: Using a qualitative approach to connect homes and classrooms. *Theory into practice*, XXXI (2), 132-141.
- Moser, C., & Bronkhorst, B. (1999). Youth Violence in Latin America and the Caribbean: Costs, Causes, and Interventions, Washington, DC: *The World Bank*. Retrieved from: <http://www->

wds.worldbank.org/servlet/WDSContentServer/WDSP/IB/1999/11/19/000094946_99110405534915/Rendered/PDF/multi_page.pdf.

- Navarrete, E. L. (2012). Jóvenes que no estudian ni trabajan en la primera década del siglo XXI en México. [Youth who neither study nor work in the first decade of the century in Mexico]. XI National Meeting of Demographic Research in Mexico, Aguascalientes, Mexico.
- Negrete, R., & Leyva, G. (2013, January-April). Los NiNis en México: una aproximación crítica a su medición. [The NiNis in Mexico: A critical approach to measurement]. *Reality, Data and Space. International Journal of Statistics and Geography*, 4(1), 90-121.
- Negrete R. & Ramirez, T. (2013). *Visible more than ever: gender, Mexico's labor statistics and the XIX ICLS*. Mexico: INEGI.
- Newman, F., & Fulani, L. (2011). Special report: Let's pretend: Solving the education crisis in America. New York: All Stars Project, Inc.
- Newman, F. & Holzman, L. (1993). *Lev Vygotsky: Revolutionary scientists*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Newman, F. & Holzman, L. (1997). *The end of knowing: A new developmental way of learning*. London: Routledge.
- Newman, F. & Holzman, L. (1999). Beyond narrative to performed conversation: "In the beginning" comes much later. In Holzman, L. *Performing psychology: A postmodern culture of mind* (pp. 87-110). London: Routledge.

- Newman, F. (1999). A therapeutic deconstruction of the illusion of self. In Holzman, L. *Performing psychology: A postmodern culture of mind* (pp. 111-132). London: Routledge.
- Newman, F. (2003). *Dialogue 11. Creativity as a collective impulse*. In Holzman, L. & Mendez, R. *Psychological investigations: A clinician's guide to social therapy*. NY: Routledge.
- Newman, F. & Holzman, L. (1996, 2006). *Unscientific psychology: A cultural-performatory approach to understanding human life*. Lincoln, NE: iUniverse.
- Niblo, D. M. and Jackson, M. S. (2004), Model for combining the qualitative emic approach with the quantitative derived etic approach. *Australian Psychologist*, 39: 127–133. doi: 10.1080/00050060410001701843
- OECD. (2012). Education at a glance: OECD indicators. Centre for *Educational Research and Innovation*. Retrieved from <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/eag-2012-en>.
- Pemberton, S. (2008). Tackling the NEET generation and the ability of policy to generate a 'NEET' solution—evidence from the UK" *Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy*, 26(1) 243 – 259.
- Proulx, J. (2008). Some differences between Maturana and Varela's theory of cognition and constructivism. *Journal of Complexity and Education*, (5)1, 11-26.
- Roberts, S. (2011). Beyond 'NEET' and 'tidy' pathways: considering the 'missing middle' of youth transition studies. *Journal of Youth Studies*, 14(1), 21-39. doi:10.1080/13676261.2010.489604.
- Rogoff, B. (1993). Children's guided participation and participatory appropriation in sociocultural activity (pp. 121-154). In Wozniak R.H., & Fischer, K.W. (Eds.),

- Development in context: Acting and thinking in specific environments*. Hove, East Sussex: Psychology Press.
- Rogoff, B. (2003). *The cultural nature of human development*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Saldaña, J. (2012). *The coding manual for qualitative researchers*. Washington, DC: SAGE Publications Ltd.
- Sanchez, M. (2006). Insecurity and Violence as a New Power Relation in Latin America. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 606(Chronicle of a Myth Foretold: The Washington Consensus in Latin America), 178-195. doi: 10.1177/0002716206288571.
- Sannino, A., Daniels, H. & Gutierrez, K. (Eds.) (2009). *Learning and expanding with activity theory*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Sawchuk, P.H., Duarte, N., & Elhammoumi, M. (2006). *Critical perspectives on activity: Explorations across education, work, & everyday life*. Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press.
- Sawchuk, P.H. (2003). *Adult learning and technology in working-class life*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Scarpetta, S., & Sonnet, A. (2012). Investing in skills to foster youth employability: What are the key policy challenges? *Intereconomics*. (47)1. 4-30. DOI: 10.1007/s10272-012-0402-2.
- Seidman, I. E. (2006). *Interviewing as qualitative research*. New York, NY: Teachers College Press.

- Schein, E. H. (1992). *Organizational culture and leadership* (2nd Ed.). San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.
- Schoon, I., Bynner, J., Joshi, H., Parsons, S., Wiggins, R.D., & Sacker, A. (2002): The influence of context, timing and duration of risk experiences for the passage from childhood to early adulthood. *Child Development*, 73, 1486-1504.
- Smith, C. N. (1990). The case study: A useful research method for information management. *Journal of Information Technology*, 5, 123 – 133.
- Staff, J., & Kreager, D.A. (2008). Too cool for school? Violence, peer status and high school dropout. *Social Forces* 87(1), 445-471. doi: 10.1353/sof.0.0068.
- Stake, R. E. (2005). Qualitative case studies. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *The Sage handbook of qualitative research* (pp. 443-466). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Stake, R.E. (1995). *The art of case study research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Strauss, A., & Corbin, J. (1998). *Basics of qualitative research: Techniques and procedures for developing grounded theory* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage
- Strauss, A., & Corbin, J. (1990). *Basics of qualitative research: Grounded theory procedures and techniques*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Székely, M. (2011). Jóvenes que ni estudian ni trabajan: Un riesgo para la cohesión social en America Latina [Youth who neither study nor work: A risk for the social cohesion in Latin America]. Santiago de Chile: *CIEPLAN*.
- Székely, M. (2010). Avances y transformaciones en la educación media superior. [Advances and transformations in middle and high school]. In Arnaut & Giorguli (Ed.), *Los grandes problemas de México: Educación* (pp. 314-336). Mexico: El Colegio de Mexico.

- Social Exclusion Unit (SEU) (1999). Bridging the Gap: New Opportunities for 16-18 Year Olds Not in Education, Employment or Training. The Stationery Office.
Retrieved from: <http://dera.ioe.ac.uk/id/eprint/15119>.
- Thompson, R. (2011). Individualisation and social exclusion: the case of young people not in education, employment or training. *Oxford Review of Education* (37)6, 785-802. doi:10.1080/03054985.2011.636507.
- Van der Riet, M. (2009). The production of context: Using Activity theory to understand behaviour change in response to HIV and AIDS. Unpublished PhD dissertation, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Pietermaritzburg, South Africa.
- Van der Veer (2007). Vygotsky in context. In Daniels, H., Cole, M., & Wertsch, J.V. (Eds.), *The Cambridge companion of Vygotsky* (pp. 21-49). NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Varela, F.J., & Depraz, N. (2004). At the source of time: Valence and the constitutional dynamics of affect. In Gallagher, S., Watson, S., Brun, P., & Romanski, P. (Eds.), *Ipseity and Alterity: Interdisciplinary Approaches to Intersubjectivity* (pp. 153-174), Havre, FR: University of Rouen.
- Vygotsky, L.S. (1962). *Tought and language*. MIT press.
- Vygotsky, L.S. (1978). *Mind in Society: The Development of Higher Psychological Processes*. Cole, M. C., John-Steiner, V., Scribner, S. & Souberman, E. (Eds.) Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Vygotsky, L.S. (1987). *The collected works of L.S. Vygotsky, Volume I*. New York: Plenum.

- Watson-Gegeo, K. A. (1988), Ethnography in ESL: Defining the essentials. *TESOL Quarterly*, 22: 575–592. doi: 10.2307/3587257
- Wenger, E. (2009). A social theory of learning. In K. Illeris, *Contemporary theories of learning, learning theorists in their own words* (pp. 209-218). NY: Routledge.
- Wertsch, J.V. (1990). The voice of rationality in a sociocultural approach to mind. In Moll, L.C., *Vygotsky and education: Instructional implications and applications of sociohistorical psychology*. (pp. 111-126). New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Wertsch, J. V., & Tulviste, P. (1996). L.S. Vygotsky and contemporary developmental psychology. In H. Daniels (Ed.), *An introduction to Vygotsky* (pp. 53-74). London: Routledge (ebook available on Aladin).
- Wittgenstein, L. (1953). *Philosophical investigations*. Oxford, UK: Blackwell.
- Williams, J., Davis, P., & Black, L. (2007). Sociocultural and Cultural–Historical Activity Theory perspectives on subjectivities and learning in schools and other educational contexts. *International Journal of Educational Research* 46, 1–7. doi.org/10.1016/j.ijer.2007.07.001.
- Worthen, H., and Berry, J. (2003). Our working conditions are our students’ learning conditions: A CHAT analysis of college teachers. In Sawchuk, P.H., et al. (Ed.), *Critical perspectives on activity: Explorations across education, work, & everyday life*. Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press.
- Yates, S. & Payne, M. (2006). Not so NEET? A critique of the use of ‘NEET’ in setting targets for interventions with young people. *Journal of Youth Studies*, 9(3), 329-344.

Yates, S., Harris, A., Sabates, R., & Staff, J. (2011). Early occupational aspirations and fractured transitions: a study of entry into 'NEET' status in the UK. *Journal of Social Policy, 40*(03), 513-534. doi: 10.1017/S0047279410000656

Yin, R. K. (2003). *Applications of Case Study Research (2nd)*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Yin, R.K. (2009). *Case Study Research: Design and methods*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Zaretskii, V.K. (2009). The zone of proximal development: What Vygotsky did not have time to write. *Journal of Russian and East European Psychology, 47*(6), 70-93.

DOI: 10.2753/RPO1061-0405470604.

APPENDIX A: Pre-Interview Questionnaire Protocol (Young people 18-29 years old)

Date	Place	Time

Introduction

You are invited to participate in a research study to examine everyday life activities of young Mexican people who are currently neither studying, not working. The implications of the study are significant to better understand the needs, opportunities, and limitations faced by young people and their families to get full participation in education and work activities. Your insights can add to the current professional body of knowledge and inform relevant stakeholders and policy makers.

The study includes two components: (i) responding to a brief questionnaire and (ii) an optional interview with a sub investigator. You determine your participation in the research process.

- **Option A:** Responding to this brief questionnaire only
- **Option B:** Responding to this brief questionnaire and participate in an interview (in such a case, please provide your contact information in the last question of the survey)

All collected information is strictly confidential and for research purposes.

Thank you in advance for your participation!

A) Responding to this brief questionnaire

Are you interested in responding to this brief questionnaire?

Yes _____ No _____

How much time have you been outside of school/work?

- a. 1-3 months _____
- b. 3-6 months _____
- c. 6-12 months _____
- d. 1-2 years _____
- e. More than 2 years _____

1) *What do you do on everyday basis?*

Select all options that apply

- a. Surfing the Web (Internet, Facebook, Twitter, etc) _____
- b. Playing videogames (computer, tablet or cell phone) _____
- c. Watching TV _____
- d. Going out with friends _____
- e. Doing household chores _____
- f. Caring for small children at home _____
- g. Caring for an elder relative _____
- h. Practicing sports _____
- i. Performing artistic activities (music, theater, dance, etc.) _____
- j. Other (please describe) _____

2) *How many hours per week do you dedicate on average to the following activities*

Select all options that apply

- a. Surfing the Web (Internet, Facebook, Twitter, etc) _____
- b. Playing videogames (computer, tablet or cell phone) _____

- c. Watching TV _____
- d. Going out with friends _____
- e. Doing household chores _____
- f. Caring for small children at home _____
- g. Caring for an elder relative _____
- h. Practicing sports _____
- i. Performing artistic activities (music, theater, dance, etc.) _____
- j. Other (please describe) _____

What are your most important everyday life activities?

(Rank the following items by importance, where 1=Most important)

- a. Surfing the Web (Internet, Facebook, Twitter, etc) _____
- b. Playing videogames (computer, tablet or cell phone) _____
- c. Watching TV _____
- d. Going out with friends _____
- e. Doing household chores _____
- f. Caring for small children at home _____
- g. Caring for an elder relative _____
- h. Practicing sports _____
- i. Performing artistic activities (music, theater, dance, etc.) _____
- j. Other (please describe) _____

3) *Why did you choose activity number 1 as the most important?*

How do you learn best?

Try to remember a recent learning experience (for example how did you learn to use a computer)

(Rank the following items by importance, where 1=Best)

- a. Using formal instruction (training courses) _____
- b. Using manuals (self-study) _____
- c. Receiving personal assistance and support of more capable people/friends _____
- d. Imitating others (observing and doing) _____
- e. By trial and error _____
- f. Playing _____
- g. Other (Please describe) _____

4) *How do you recover from everyday obstacles/disappointments?*

(Select the items that apply and order them by importance, where 1=Most Important)

- a. Listening to music _____
- b. Talking to people _____
- c. Reading books _____
- d. Praying _____
- e. Going out with friends _____
- f. Dancing _____
- g. Watching TV _____
- h. Playing video games _____
- i. Smoking _____
- j. Drinking alcohol _____
- k. Running / doing exercise _____
- l. Other (Please describe) _____

How do you evaluate your previous school experiences?

Place an "X" where it corresponds

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
-----	-----	-----	-----	-----

<i>Terrible</i>	<i>Bad</i>	<i>Neutral</i>	<i>Good</i>	<i>Excellent</i>

5) *How do you evaluate your previous work experiences?
Place an "X" where it corresponds*

<i>(1) Terrible</i>	<i>(2) Bad</i>	<i>(3) Neutral</i>	<i>(4) Good</i>	<i>(5) Excellent</i>

*If you could do something important in your life, what would it be?
Please describe*

6) *What would you change in this world, if you could?
Please describe*

7) *If you could do something to help young Mexican people, what would it be?
Please describe*

B) Participation in the Additional Interview

- *Would you be interested in participate in one additional 1-hour interview?*
The 1-hour interview will take place in a coffee shop / popular restaurant. Your consumption — excluding alcoholic beverages, will be covered. In addition, a US \$10 gift card will be given to you as a token of appreciation for your participation in this study.
 - Yes _____
 - No _____
 - Maybe (please describe)

If interested, please provide your contact information below

- Name _____
- Contact email _____
- Age _____
- Gender _____
- Maximum school grade _____

Thank you very much!

APPENDIX B: Pre-Interview Questionnaire Protocol (Adults over 30 years of age)

Date	Place	Time

Introduction

You are invited to participate in a research study to examine everyday life activities of young Mexican people who are currently neither studying, nor working. The implications of the study are significant to better understand the needs, opportunities, and limitations faced by young people and their families to get full participation in education and work activities. Your insights can add to the current professional body of knowledge and inform relevant stakeholders and policy makers.

The study includes two components: (i) respond to this brief questionnaire and (ii) an optional interview with a sub investigator. You determine your participation in the research process.

- **Option A:** Responding to this brief questionnaire only
- **Option B:** Responding to this brief questionnaire and participating in the interview (in such a case, please provide your contact information in the last question of the survey)

All collected information is strictly confidential and for research purposes.

Thank you in advance for your participation!

A) Responding to this brief questionnaire

Are you interested in responding to this brief questionnaire?

Yes _____ No _____

How much time did you spend outside of school/work when you were 18-29 years old?

- a. 1-3 months _____
- b. 3-6 months _____
- c. 6-12 months _____
- d. 1-2 years _____
- e. More than 2 years _____

1) What did you do on everyday basis when you were 18-29 years old?

Select all options that apply

- a. Surfing the Web (Internet, Facebook, Twitter, etc) _____
- b. Playing videogames (computer, tablet or cell phone) _____
- c. Watching TV _____
- d. Going out with friends _____
- e. Doing household chores _____
- f. Caring for small children at home _____
- g. Caring for an elder relative _____
- h. Practicing sports _____
- i. Performing artistic activities (music, theater, dance, etc.) _____
- j. Other (please describe) _____

2) How many hours per week did you dedicate on average to the following activities

Select all options that apply

- a. Surfing the Web (Internet, Facebook, Twitter, etc) _____
- b. Playing videogames (computer, tablet or cell phone) _____
- c. Watching TV _____
- d. Going out with friends _____
- e. Doing household chores _____

- f. Caring for small children at home _____
- g. Caring for an elder relative _____
- h. Practicing sports _____
- i. Performing artistic activities (music, theater, dance, etc.) _____
- j. Other (please describe) _____

What were your most important everyday life activities when you were 18-29 years old?

(Rank the following items by importance, where 1=Most important)

- a. Surfing the Web (Internet, Facebook, Twitter, etc) _____
- b. Playing videogames (computer, tablet or cell phone) _____
- c. Watching TV _____
- d. Going out with friends _____
- e. Doing household chores _____
- f. Caring for small children at home _____
- g. Caring for an elder relative _____
- h. Practicing sports _____
- i. Performing artistic activities (music, theater, dance, etc.) _____
- j. Other (please describe) _____

3) *Why did you choose activity number 1 as the most important?*

How did you learn best when you were 18-29 years old?

Try to remember a past learning experience? (For example how did you learn to use a computer?)

(Rank the following items by importance, where 1=Best)

- a. Using formal instruction (training courses) _____
- b. Using manuals (self-study) _____
- c. Receiving personal assistance and support of more capable people/friends _____
- d. Imitating others (observing and doing) _____
- e. By trial and error _____
- f. Playing _____
- g. Other (Please describe) _____

4) *How did you recover from everyday obstacles/disappointments when you were 18-29 years old?*

(Select the items that apply and order them by importance, where 1=Most Important)

- a. Listening to music _____
- b. Talking to people _____
- c. Reading books _____
- d. Praying _____
- e. Going out with friends _____
- f. Dancing _____
- g. Watching TV _____
- h. Playing video games _____
- i. Smoking _____
- j. Drinking alcohol _____
- k. Running / doing exercise _____
- l. Other (Please describe) _____

How do you evaluate your school experiences when you were 18-29 years old?

Place an "X" where it corresponds

(1) Terrible	(2) Bad	(3) Neutral	(4) Good	(5) Excellent

5) *How do you evaluate your previous work experiences when you were 18-29 years old?*

Place an "X" where it corresponds

(1) <i>Terrible</i>	(2) <i>Bad</i>	(3) <i>Neutral</i>	(4) <i>Good</i>	(5) <i>Excellent</i>

6) *What were the most important things you wanted to do when you were 18-29 years old?
Please describe*

7) *What were the things that you wanted to change in this world when you were 18-29 years old?
Please describe*

8) *If you could do something to help young Mexican people, what would it be?
Please describe*

B) Participation in the Additional Interview

- *Would you be interested in participate in one additional 1-hour interview?*
The 1-hour interview will take place in a coffee shop / popular restaurant. Your consumption — excluding alcoholic beverages, will be covered.
 - Yes _____
 - No _____
 - Maybe (please describe)

If interested, please provide your contact information below

- Name _____
- Contact email _____
- Age _____
- Gender _____
- Maximum school grade _____

Thank you very much!

APPENDIX C: Semi-Structured Interview Protocol (Young people 18-29 years old)

Date	Place	Time

Objective:

- This interview is part of a doctoral study to better understand everyday life activities performed by young people in Mexico City. According to the CHAT framework, people develop through cultural and historical activities. The implications of the study are significant to better understand the needs, opportunities, and limitations faced by young people and their families to get full participation of young people in education and work activities.

I hereby authorize Armando Justo to audio-record the 1-hour interview. I further certify that I am over the age of 18 years.

Yes _____ No _____

<i>Theoretical perspective</i>	<i>Protocol Questions</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Everyday life activities (Hedegaard, 2012; Holzman, 1999, 2009; Sawchuk, 2003) 	1. What do you do on everyday basis? Pick any normal day, for example yesterday, “can you tell me what happened from the moment you woke up until you went to bed /fell asleep?” (Gulbrandsen, 2012, p.7) <i>Follow-up questions:</i> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1.1 What do you usually do in the morning/evening/night? 1.2 Do you do anything different on weekends? 1.3 What is your favorite day? Why? 1.4 Do you perform any artistic or sports activities?
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Youth’s perspectives (Hedegaard, 2012; Hojolt, 2012; Holzman, 2009) 	2. From your everyday life activities, [<i>activities described before</i>] what are your three most important activities? <i>Follow-up questions:</i> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 2.1 What are the three activities where you spent most of your time? <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 2.1.1 Why? 2.1.2 What do [<i>these activities</i>] mean to you?
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Intergenerational factors (Bynner & Parsons, 2002; Pemberton, 2008) 	3. How would you describe the economic and emotional support you receive from your family? <i>Follow-up questions:</i> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 3.1 What is your relationship like with your parents? <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 3.1.1 What do these relationships mean to you? 3.2 What is your relationship like with other family members? <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 3.2.1 What do these relationships mean to you?
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Zone of Proximal Development (ZPD) (Engeström, 2009; Fenwick, et al, 2011; Holzman, 1999, 2009; Vygotsky, 1978) 	4. How did you learn to...? [<i>for example, how to use a computer application</i>] <i>Follow-up questions:</i> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 4.1 What steps did you take to learn it? <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 4.1.1 Do you recall how long it took you to learn this? 4.2 Did anyone help you to learn it? <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 4.2.1 If yes, who and how did they help you learn it? 4.2.2 If no, what resources did you use? How did you access those resources?
	5. What do you use to perform ...[<i>your everyday life activities</i>]? <i>Follow-up questions:</i> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 5.1 What things are “indispensable” for you? (could it be material

	<p>things like a computer or symbolic like your ability to convince people, for example)</p> <p>5.2 How did you obtain these resources?</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Peer influence (Pemberton, 2008) 	<p>6. How would you describe your best friends?</p> <p><i>Follow-up questions:</i></p> <p>6.1 What do they do?</p> <p>6.2 What do you have in common?</p> <p>6.3 How would you describe your relationships with them?</p> <p>6.4 What do these relationships mean to you?</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Educational / labor market disaffection (Pemberton, 2008; Renisson, et al, 2005; SEU, 1999) 	<p>7. How would you describe your school experiences?</p> <p><i>Follow-up question:</i></p> <p>7.1 How do you feel about not being at school anymore?</p> <p>7.1.1 What does it mean to you? [the fact that you drop out of school]</p> <p>8. How would you describe your work experiences?</p> <p><i>Follow-up question:</i></p> <p>8.1 How do you feel about not being formally employed?</p> <p>8.1.1 How does it mean to you?</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Reconstruction of past life experiences (Alheit, 1986, 1994; Gulbrandsen, 2012) 	<p>9. Think about important situations in your childhood and youth, what past life experiences do you consider important in your life? Please share the details of those experiences</p> <p><i>Follow-up questions:</i></p> <p>9.1 What experiences do you remember from your childhood?</p> <p>9.2 What activities were you doing five years ago?</p> <p>9.2.1 What do these experiences mean to you?</p> <p>9.3 What experiences do you remember from your youth?</p> <p>9.3.1 What do these experiences mean to you?</p> <p>9.4 If you could do a play or a movie of your life, how would it be? What would you emphasize?</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Contradictions (Engeström, 2009; Holzman, 2009; Vygotsky, 1978) 	<p>10. What are the problems you face on everyday basis? (<i>I will refer to the problems or contradictions reported in everyday life activities</i>)</p> <p><i>Follow-up questions:</i></p> <p>10.1 How do you cope with everyday obstacles/disappointments?</p> <p>10.1.1 How do you feel about these obstacles/disappointments?</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Performing identities (Newman & Holzman, 1996-2006; Holzman, 1999, 2009) 	<p>11. Picture yourself five years from now; what activities would you like to be doing?</p> <p><i>Follow-up questions:</i></p> <p>11.1 What do you think you need in order to get there?</p>

Once the transcribed interview is ready, participants will be contacted to read the transcript of the interview and ensure its accuracy and confirm that what she/he said during the interview has been properly transcribed.

Thank you very much for your participation in this interview!

APPENDIX D: Semi-Structured Interview Protocol (Adults over 30 years of age)

Date	Place	Time

I hereby authorize Armando Justo to audio- record the 1-hour interview. I further certify that I am over the age of 18 years.

Yes _____ No _____

<i>Theoretical perspective</i>	<i>Protocol Questions</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Everyday life activities (Hedegaard, 2012; Holzman, 1999, 2009; Sawchuk, 2003) 	<p>1. What did you do on everyday basis when you were 18-29 years old? “Can you tell me what happened from the moment you woke up until you went to bed /fell asleep?” (Gulbrandsen, 2012, p.7)</p> <p><i>Follow-up questions:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1.1 What did you usually do in the morning/evening/night? 1.2 Did you do anything different on weekends? 1.3 What was your favorite day? Why? 1.4 Did you perform any artistic or sports activities?
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Youth’s perspectives (Hedegaard, 2012; Hojolt, 2012; Holzman, 2009) 	<p>2. From your everyday life activities, [<i>activities described before</i>] what were your three most important activities?</p> <p><i>Follow-up questions:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 2.1 What were the three activities where you spent most of your time? 2.2 Why? 2.3 What did [<i>these activities</i>] mean to you?
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Intergenerational factors (Bynner & Parsons, 2002; Pemberton, 2008) 	<p>3. How would you describe the economic and emotional support you receive from your family?</p> <p><i>Follow-up questions:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 3.1 What was your relationship like with your parents? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 3.1.1 What did these relationships mean to you? 3.2 What was your relationship like with other family members? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 3.2.1 What did these relationships mean to you?
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Zone of Proximal Development (ZPD) (Engeström, 2009; Fenwick, et al, 2011; Holzman, 1999, 2009; Vygotsky, 1978) 	<p>4. How did you learn to...? [<i>for example, how to use a computer application</i>] [<i>This questions connects with the everyday life activities mentioned before</i>]</p> <p><i>Follow-up questions:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 4.1 What steps did you take to learn it? 4.2 Do you recall how long it took you to learn this? 4.3 Did anyone help you to learn it? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 4.3.1 If yes, who and how did they help you learn it? 4.3.2 If no, what resources did you use? How did you access those resources? <p>5. What did you use to perform ...[<i>your everyday life activities</i>]?</p> <p><i>Follow-up questions:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 5.1 What things were “indispensable” for you? (could it be material things like a cell phone, a computer or symbolic like your ability to convince people, for example) 5.2 How did you obtain these resources?
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Peer influence (Pemberton, 2008) 	<p>6. Who were your best friends?</p> <p><i>Follow-up questions:</i></p>

	<p>6.1 What did they do?</p> <p>6.2 What did you have in common?</p> <p>6.3 How would you describe your relationships with them?</p> <p>6.4 What was your relationship like with them?</p> <p>6.5 What did these relationships mean to you?</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Educational / labor market disaffection (Pemberton, 2008; Renisson, et al, 2005; SEU, 1999) 	<p>7. How would you describe your school experiences when you were 18-29 years old?</p> <p><i>Follow-up question:</i></p> <p>7.1 What did school mean to you?</p> <p>8. How would you describe your work experiences when you were 18-29 years old?</p> <p><i>Follow-up question:</i></p> <p>8.1 What did work meant to you?</p> <p>9. What do you think about young people who neither study, nor work?</p> <p><i>Follow-up questions:</i></p> <p>9.1 When you were 18-29 years old were young people who neither study nor work?</p> <p>9.2 Do you know any young individual who neither study nor work?</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Reconstruction of past life experiences (Alheit, 1986, 1994; Gulbrandsen, 2012) 	<p>10. Think about important situations in your childhood and youth, what past life experiences do you consider important in your life? Please share the details of those experiences</p> <p><i>Follow-up questions:</i></p> <p>10.1 What experiences do you remember from your childhood?</p> <p>10.1.1 What did these experiences mean to you?</p> <p>10.2 What experiences do you remember from your youth?</p> <p>10.2.1 What did these experiences mean to you?</p> <p>10.3 If you could do a play or a movie of your life, how would it be? What would you emphasize?</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Contradictions (Engeström, 2009; Holzman, 2009; Vygotsky, 1978) 	<p>11. What were the problems you face on everyday basis when you were 18-29 years old? (Refer to the problems or contradictions reported in everyday life activities)</p> <p><i>Follow-up questions:</i></p> <p>11.1 How did you cope with them?</p> <p>11.2 How did you feel about them?</p> <p>11.3 What do you think about them nowadays?</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Performing identities (Newman & Holzman, 1996-2006; Holzman, 1999, 2009) 	<p>12. What activities did you imagine to be doing at your age when you were 18-29 years old?</p> <p>12.1 What were your youth's dreams?</p>

Participants will be contacted again to read through the transcript of the interview to ensure its accuracy and confirm that what they said during the interview has been properly heard and transcribed.

Thank you very much for your participation in this interview!

APPENDIX E: Documents Protocol

These are public documents and include official data of the Mexican population.

2010 National Census Survey

Main Findings	Relationship with everyday life activities of individuals living in NiNi status

National Income and Expenditure Survey (name in Spanish *Encuesta nacional de Ingresos y Gastos de los Hogares - ENIGH*)

Main Findings	Relationship with everyday life activities of individuals living in NiNi status

National Labor Survey (name in Spanish *Encuesta Nacional de Ocupación y Empleo - ENOE*)

Main Findings	Relationship with everyday life activities of individuals living in NiNi status

Relevant publications

Main Findings	Relationship with the activity system of everyday life

Information included in local and national media

Main Findings	Relationship with the activity system of everyday life

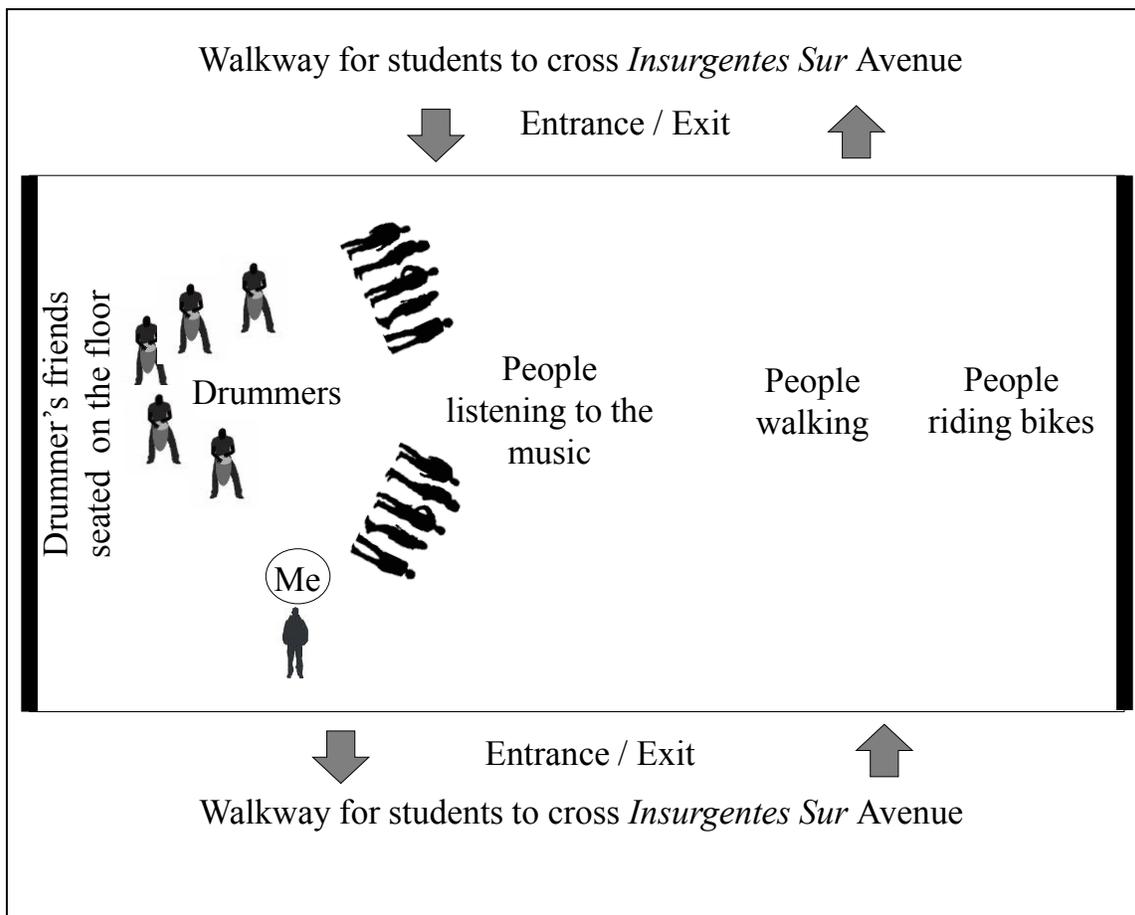
APPENDIX F: Protocol for Field Observations

Researcher: Armando Justo

Place: University City

Purpose: To become acquainted to the everyday activities performed by young people in NiNi status. These activities are performed by individuals classified in typology 3 (engaged in performing arts/sports)

Date/Time: August 15, 2013; 7:00 – 7:45 pm.



I was recommended by a friend to visit the National Autonomous University of Mexico located in the borough of Coyoacán because many street artists gather under the bridge of Insurgentes Sur to perform (Insurgentes is the biggest avenue of Mexico City). Under the bridge there is a big walkway for people to cross the street. The walkway is the main entrance for the stadium where the team “Cougars” that represents the National Autonomous University plays every other week.

When I arrived to the location it was raining and I thought that I was not going to be able to find anybody in the area. I arrived at about 7 pm and there were five musicians playing

their drums. They were with another group of five friends; some were seated on the street and others were practicing their juggling movements at the rhythm of the music.

In the walkway there were about 8-10 people attending the group of drummers' performance. In addition, other people were walking to cross the bridge, one person was running, and other people were riding bikes.

I was observing and applauding them after each performance. The group of drummers were wearing hippie-like clothes, such as leather sandals, combat style vests, handmade sweaters, hemp bags, Afro-Caribbean long hair, and piercing on the ears and nose. I noticed that some of their friends were smoking marijuana and they were smiling all the time. The drummers were putting a lot of energy in their performance and always had a smile on their faces. You could feel the pleasure they had when they were performing their music. I noticed that one of their friends approached one of the drummers, took his drum and started to play it. The man was showing her how to do it in the middle of the performance and she started to play the drums. She easily joined the activity. I thought, wow! That is a nice way of teaching someone how to play the drums because she had individualized instruction and she was also able to see the other drummers playing their drums at the same time. The emotion they put was contagious and she was putting a lot of energy in the activity.

I gave them a tip (about 5 dollars). After I gave them the money, they played more music for me. After their performance I asked them what they do on their everyday basis. They told me that they play music. Some of them study at the National Autonomous University of Mexico and some of them do not study. They told me that one of the drummers was celebrating his birthday and they all were celebrating with him, playing music. It seems that they have a good relationship among them. They told me that they like music, they also like to travel but what they like the best is the freedom to decide what to do on everyday basis. They said they dislike that people sometimes stare at them because of the way they look. They do not like it because they feel discriminated.

APPENDIX G: Recruitment Communication to Potential Participants (to be distributed printed and via email)

From: Armando Justo

Subject: Request for participation in one 1- hour long interview

Important study about young Mexican people who are currently not studying and not working

The study will help to better understand the needs, opportunities, and limitations faced by young Mexican people 18-29 years old who currently neither studying nor working. The information will help us to design more appropriate educational and employment programs.

**Your views matter!
Participate in this research study!**

I want to invite you to participate in this research study that includes completing a brief questionnaire and attending one 1-hour-long interview in a convenient place (VIPS, Sanborns, etc.). Your consumption will be paid. You only need to answer some questions related to your everyday life activities and share your opinions about the needs and challenges faced by young people 18-29 years old.

In the interview I will not ask you about controversial topics. Moreover, the interview is strictly confidential and for educational research purposes. I will analyze and compare your ideas with those of other participants to identify common themes and trends. To ensure the confidentiality of your opinions, I will use a fictitious name and I will not share your information or email with anyone else. After completing the study, I will present the research findings in my doctoral dissertation.

Young people 18-29 years old, who are currently not studying and not working, will receive a \$10 Wal-Mart card after participating in the 1-hour interview as a token of appreciation for their time.

Do not hesitate to contact me if you have any questions. You can contact me at: armandojusto@gwu.edu.

Sincerely,

Armando Justo
Doctoral Candidate
George Washington University

APPENDIX H: Research Consent Form (Young people 18-29 years old)

The NiNi status in Mexico City: A Qualitative Study Analyzing Everyday Life through the Lens of Performance from the Cultural and Historical Activity Theory

GW IRB number: _____

Principal Investigator: Dr. Ellen Scully-Russ, Ed.D. Email address: scullyru@gwu.edu

Sub-Investigator: Armando Justo, MS. Email address: armandoj@gwmail.gwu.edu

Your views are important!

If you are 18-29 years old and have 6 months outside school and work activities, you are invited to participate in a study conducted under the direction of Dr. Ellen Scully-Russ of The George Washington University. Please read this form and ask us any question to help you decide if you want to take part of the study. Your participation is completely voluntary, and you can decide to quit at any time.

Why is this study important?

This study analyzes everyday life activities of young Mexican people who are not studying and not working. We know little about this topic and your views will help us better understand the needs, opportunities, and limitations faced by young people and their families to participate in school and work activities. The study will provide valuable information to relevant stakeholders and policy makers.

What do you need to do?

The study includes a short questionnaire and a 1-hour long interview. You may decide to complete the questionnaire only, or also indicate your willingness to participate in the interview. If you also decide to participate in the interview, the researcher will invite you to a 1-hour interview at a time and location that is convenient for you. Subject to your approval, the interview will be audio-recorded. Your name and personal data will be removed to protect your anonymity. Once the transcribed interview is ready, you will receive it and read it to confirm that what you said during the interview has been properly transcribed. The total amount of time required from you will not exceed 1.5 hours.

Is there any risk by participating in this study?

This study is designed to minimize possible risks and discomforts to participants. However, if the questions being asked make you feel uncomfortable, you may refuse to answer them, take a break during the interview, or stop participating at any time.

What are the benefits of taking part in this study?

Taking part in this research will not help you directly; however, your views will contribute to better understand the needs of young people from Mexico 18-29 years old in order to inform other researchers and policy makers. Your views are important to influence change and create better education and work programs.

Do I have to participate in the study?

Your participation in this study is completely voluntary. If you decide to participate now and later change your mind, you can do so at any time.

Will I receive payment for participating in the study?

You will receive a \$10 Wal-Mart card as a token of appreciation for your participation in this study.

How will my privacy be protected?

All participants will be assigned a pseudonym to ensure confidentiality. All information is confidential. If you decide to participate in the study, we will use a pseudonym and we will remove data that could identify you. Your pseudonym will be kept separate from the interview data in a locked file cabinet. Research records may be reviewed by departments of the George Washington University responsible for overseeing research safety and compliance. Upon publishing the final results of this study, all identifiable information – including questionnaires, pseudonyms, audio-recorded interviews, and transcribed interviews will be destroyed.

Problems or questions

The Office of Human Research of The George Washington University can provide additional information about your rights as a research participant. Should you choose to contact them, they can be reached at ohrirb@gwu.edu. Additional information about this study can be obtained by contacting the investigator, Armando Justo, at email armandoj@gwmail.gwu.edu.

Your willingness to participate in this research study is implied if you proceed with completing the questionnaire/interview.

APPENDIX H-Bis: Research Consent Form (Adults over 30 years of age)

The NiNi status in Mexico City: A Qualitative Study Analyzing Everyday Life through the Lens of Performance from the Cultural and Historical Activity Theory

GW IRB number: _____

Principal Investigator: Dr. Ellen Scully-Russ, Ed.D. Email address: scullyru@gwu.edu

Sub-Investigator: Armando Justo, MS. Email address: armandoj@gwmail.gwu.edu

Your views are important!

If you are over 30 years old and are currently working, you are invited to participate in a study conducted under the direction of Dr. Ellen Scully-Russ of The George Washington University. Please read this form and ask us any questions to help you decide if you want to take part of the study. Your participation is completely voluntary, and you can decide to quit at any time.

Why is this study important?

This study analyzes everyday life activities of young Mexican people 18-29 years old who are not studying and not working and we want the opinion of adults who are currently working. We know little about this topic and your views will help us better understand the needs, opportunities, and limitations faced by young people and their families to participate in school and work activities. The study will provide valuable information to relevant stakeholders and policy makers.

What do you need to do?

The study includes a short questionnaire and a 1-hour long interview. You may decide to complete the questionnaire only, or also indicate your willingness to participate in the interview. You may decide to complete the questionnaire only, or also indicate your willingness to participate in the interview. If you also decide to participate in the interview, the researcher will invite you to a 1-hour interview at a time and location that is convenient for you. Subject to your approval, the interview will be audio-recorded. Your name and personal data will be removed to protect your anonymity. Once the transcribed interview is ready, you will receive it and read it to confirm that what you said during the interview has been properly transcribed. The total amount of time required from you will not exceed 1.5 hours.

Is there any risk by participating in this study?

This study is designed to minimize possible risks and discomforts to participants. However, if the questions being asked make you feel uncomfortable, you may refuse to answer them, take a break during the interview, or stop participating at any time.

What are the benefits of taking part in this study?

Taking part in this research will not help you directly; however, your views will contribute to better understand the needs of young Mexican people 18-29 years old in

order to inform other researchers and policy makers. Your views are important to influence change and create better education and work programs for young people.

Do I have to participate in the study?

Your participation in this study is completely voluntary. If you decide to participate now and later change your mind, you can do so at any time.

Will I receive payment for participating in the study?

No. You will not be compensated for your participation in this study.

How will my privacy be protected?

All participants will be assigned a pseudonym to ensure confidentiality. All information is confidential. If you decide to participate in the study, we will use a pseudonym and we will remove data that could identify you. Your pseudonym will be kept separate from the interview data in a locked file cabinet. Research records may be reviewed by departments of the George Washington University responsible for overseeing research safety and compliance. Upon publishing the final results of this study, all identifiable information – including questionnaires, pseudonyms, audio-recorded interviews, and transcribed interviews will be destroyed.

Problems or questions

The Office of Human Research of The George Washington University can provide additional information about your rights as a research participant. Should you choose to contact them, they can be reached at ohrirb@gwu.edu. Additional information about this study can be obtained by contacting the investigator, Armando Justo, at email armandojusto@gwmail.gwu.edu.

Your willingness to participate in this research study is implied if you proceed with completing the questionnaire/interview.

APÉNDICE A: Protocolo del Cuestionario (Jóvenes 18-29 años de edad) [Spanish

Translation] [APPENDIX A: Pre-Interview Questionnaire Protocol (Young people 18-29 years old)]

Fecha	Lugar	Hora

Introducción

Te invitamos a participar en un estudio que tiene por objeto analizar las actividades diarias que llevan a cabo jóvenes que ni estudian ni trabajan. El estudio es muy importante para entender mejor las necesidades, oportunidades y limitaciones que enfrentan estos jóvenes y sus familias. Tus observaciones nos ayudarán a incrementar el conocimiento en este tema para compartir estos aprendizajes con la gente involucrada en este tema con el fin de que los jóvenes tengan más oportunidades educativas y laborales.

El estudio consta de dos componentes: (i) un breve cuestionario y (ii) una entrevista. Tú determinas el nivel de participación en el proceso de investigación.

- **Opción A:** Contestar este cuestionario
- **Opción B:** Contestar este cuestionario y participar en una entrevista (en este caso, por favor proporciona tu información de contacto en la última pregunta de la encuesta)

Toda la información recopilada es estrictamente confidencial y para fines de la investigación.

Gracias de antemano por tu participación!

A) Contestar este cuestionario

¿Estás interesado(a) en completar este breve cuestionario?

Sí _____ No _____

1. ¿Cuánto tiempo tienes sin estudiar ni trabajar?

- a) 1-3 meses _____
- b) 3-6 meses _____
- c) 6-12 meses _____
- d) 1-2 años _____
- e) Más de 2 años _____

2. ¿Qué es lo que haces en tu día a día?

Selecciona todas las opciones que se apliquen

- a) Navegar en Internet (incluyendo el tiempo en Facebook, Twitter, etc.) _____
- b) Jugar video juegos (en computadora, tableta o celular) _____
- c) Ver la TV _____
- d) Salir con amigos _____
- e) Hacer tareas en el hogar _____
- f) Cuidar a niños pequeños en casa _____
- g) Cuidar a un familiar anciano _____
- h) Practicar deportes _____
- i) Realizar actividades artísticas (música, teatro, danza, etc.) _____
- j) Otro (favor de describir) _____

3. *¿En promedio, cuántas horas por semana dedicas a las actividades listadas a continuación?*
 Selecciona todas las opciones que apliquen.
- a) Navegar en Internet (incluyendo el tiempo en Facebook, Twitter, etc.) _____
 - b) Jugar video juegos (en computadora, tableta o celular) _____
 - c) Ver la TV _____
 - d) Salir con tus amigos _____
 - e) Hacer tareas en el hogar _____
 - f) Cuidar a niños pequeños en casa _____
 - g) Cuidar a un familiar de edad avanzada _____
 - h) Practicar deportes _____
 - i) Realizar actividades artísticas (música, teatro, danza, etc.) _____
 - j) Otra (favor de describir) _____
4. *¿Cuáles son tus actividades diarias más importantes?*
 (Asigna el nivel de importancia que para ti tienen las siguientes actividades en donde 1 = más importante)
- a) Navegar en la red (incluyendo Internet, Facebook, Twitter, etc.) _____
 - b) Jugar video juegos (en la computadora, tableta o celular) _____
 - c) Ver la TV _____
 - d) Salir con amigos _____
 - e) Hacer tareas en el hogar _____
 - f) Cuidar a niños pequeños en casa _____
 - g) Cuidar a un familiar de edad avanzada _____
 - h) Practicar deportes _____
 - i) Realizar actividades artísticas (música, teatro, danza, etc.) _____
 - j) Otra (Favor de describir) _____
5. *¿Por qué elegiste la actividad número 1 como la más importante?*

6. *¿De qué manera aprendes?*
 Trata de recordar una experiencia reciente de aprendizaje (por ejemplo, ¿cómo aprendiste a usar la computadora?)
 (Clasifica los siguientes métodos de acuerdo al nivel de importancia que estos tienen para ti, en donde 1 = mejor)
- a) Mediante instrucción formal (cursos de formación) _____
 - b) Utilizando manuales (auto-estudio) _____
 - c) Recibiendo ayuda y apoyo de amigos / otras personas capacitadas _____
 - d) Imitando a otros (observando y haciendo) _____
 - e) Por ensayo y error _____
 - f) Jugando _____
 - g) Otro (Favor de describir) _____
7. *¿Cómo te recuperas de los problemas que enfrentas en tu vida diaria?*
 (De las acciones que se listan a continuación, selecciona los que apliquen y ordénalos de acuerdo a la importancia que estos tienen para ti, en donde 1 = más importante)
- a) Escuchar música _____
 - b) Hablar con otra gente _____
 - c) Leer libros _____
 - d) Rezar _____
 - e) Salir con amigos _____
 - f) Bailar _____
 - g) Ver la TV _____

- h) Jugar videojuegos _____
- i) Fumar _____
- j) Ingerir bebidas alcohólicas _____
- k) Practicar deportes _____
- l) Otro (Favor de describir) _____

8. *¿Cómo han sido tus experiencias escolares anteriores?*

Marca con una "X" en el espacio que corresponda

(1) <i>Terribles</i>	(2) <i>Malas</i>	(3) <i>Neutrales</i>	(4) <i>Buenas</i>	(5) <i>Excelentes</i>

9. *¿Cómo han sido tus experiencias de trabajo anteriores?*

Marca con una "X" en el espacio que corresponda

(1) <i>Terribles</i>	(2) <i>Malas</i>	(3) <i>Neutrales</i>	(4) <i>Buenas</i>	(5) <i>Excelentes</i>

10. *Si pudieras hacer algo importante en tu vida, ¿qué harías?*

Favor de describir

11. *¿Qué cambiarías de este mundo, si pudieras?*

Favor de describir

12. *Si pudieras hacer algo importante para ayudar a los jóvenes mexicanos, ¿qué harías?*

Favor de describir

B) Participación en la entrevista adicional

- *¿Estarías interesado(a) en participar en una entrevista adicional de 1 hora de duración?*

La entrevista se llevaría a cabo en una cafetería / restaurante popular. Tu consumo estaría cubierto – salvo bebidas alcohólicas. Además, en agradecimiento a tu tiempo te daría una tarjeta de Wal-Mart por \$125 pesos.

Sí _____ No _____ Tal vez (favor de describir) _____

Si estás interesado en participar en la entrevista, por favor proporciona tu información de contacto

Nombre _____

Correo electrónico de contacto _____

Edad _____

Sexo _____

Grado escolar máximo _____

¡Muchas gracias!

APÉNDICE B: Protocolo del Cuestionario (Adultos mayores de 30 años) [Spanish Translation] [APPENDIX B: Pre-Interview Questionnaire Protocol (Adults over 30 years of age)]

Fecha	Lugar	Hora

Introducción

Le invitamos a participar en un estudio que tiene por objeto analizar las actividades diarias que llevan a cabo jóvenes que ni estudian ni trabajan. El estudio es muy importante para entender mejor las necesidades, oportunidades y limitaciones que enfrentan estos jóvenes y sus familias. Sus observaciones nos ayudarán a incrementar el conocimiento en este tema para compartir estos aprendizajes con la gente involucrada en este tema con el fin de que los jóvenes tengan más oportunidades educativas y laborales.

El estudio consta de dos componentes: (i) un breve cuestionario y (ii) una entrevista opcional. Usted determina su participación en el proceso de investigación.

- **Opción A:** Contestar el cuestionario
- **Opción B:** Contestar el cuestionario y participar en una entrevista (en este caso, por favor proporcione su información de contacto en la última pregunta de la encuesta)

Toda la información recopilada es estrictamente confidencial y para fines de la investigación.

Gracias de antemano por su participación!

B) Contestar el cuestionario

¿Está usted interesado(a) en completar este breve cuestionario?

Sí _____ No _____

1. *¿Estuvo sin estudiar ni trabajar cuando tenía 18-29 años de edad?*

- a) Si _____
- b) No _____

2. *¿Cuáles eran sus actividades diarias cuando tenía 18-29 años de edad?*

Seleccione todas las opciones que se apliquen

- a) Jugar video juegos _____
 - b) Ver la TV _____
 - c) Salir con amigos _____
 - d) Hacer tareas en el hogar _____
 - e) Cuidar a niños pequeños en casa _____
 - f) Cuidar a un familiar de edad avanzada _____
 - g) Practicar deportes _____
 - h) Realizar actividades artísticas (música, teatro, danza, etc.) _____
 - i) Otro (favor de describir) _____
-

3. *¿En promedio, cuántas horas por semana dedicaba a las actividades listadas a continuación cuando usted tenía 18-29 años de edad?*

Selecciona todas las opciones que apliquen.

- a) Navegar en Internet (incluyendo el tiempo en Facebook, Twitter, etc.) _____
- b) Jugar video juegos (en computadora, tableta o celular) _____
- c) Ver la TV _____
- d) Salir con amigos _____

- e) Hacer tareas en el hogar _____
 - f) Cuidar a niños pequeños en casa _____
 - g) Cuidar a un familiar de edad avanzada _____
 - h) Practicar deportes _____
 - i) Realizar actividades artísticas (música, teatro, danza, etc.) _____
 - j) Otro (por favor describir) _____
-
4. *¿Cuáles de las siguientes actividades diarias eran más importantes para usted?*
(Clasifique las siguientes actividades de acuerdo a su importancia, donde 1 = más importante)
- a) Jugar video juegos _____
 - b) Ver la TV _____
 - c) Salir con amigos _____
 - d) Hacer tareas en el hogar _____
 - e) Cuidar a niños pequeños en casa _____
 - f) Cuidar a un familiar anciano _____
 - g) Practicar deportes _____
 - h) Realizar actividades artísticas (música, teatro, danza, etc.) _____
 - i) Otro (Favor de describir) _____
-
5. *¿Por qué eligió la actividad número 1 como la más importante?*
-
-
6. *¿De qué manera aprende usted mejor?*
Trate de recordar una experiencia reciente de aprendizaje (por ejemplo, ¿cómo aprendiste a usar la computadora?)
(Clasifique los siguientes métodos de acuerdo al nivel de importancia que estos tienen para usted, en donde 1 = mejor)
- a) Instrucción formal (cursos de formación) _____
 - b) Utilizando manuales (auto-estudio) _____
 - c) Recibiendo ayuda y apoyo de amigos / otras personas capacitadas _____
 - d) Imitando a otros (observando y haciendo) _____
 - e) Por ensayo y error _____
 - f) Jugando _____
 - g) Otro (Favor de describir) _____
-
7. *¿Qué actividades le ayudaban a hacer frente a los problemas que se le presentaban en su vida diaria cuando tenía 18-29 años de edad?*
(De las acciones que se listan a continuación, seleccione los que apliquen y ordénelas de acuerdo a la importancia que estas tenían para usted, en donde 1 = más importante)
- a) Escuchar música _____
 - b) Hablar con otra gente _____
 - c) Leer libros _____
 - d) Rezar _____
 - e) Salir con amigos _____
 - f) Bailar _____
 - g) Ver la TV _____
 - h) Jugar videojuegos _____
 - i) Fumar _____
 - j) Ingerir bebidas alcohólicas _____
 - k) Practicar deportes _____
 - l) Otro (Favor de describir) _____
-

8. *¿Cómo eran sus experiencias escolares cuando tenía 18-29 años de edad?*
 Marque con una "X" en el espacio que corresponda

(1) Terribles	(2) Malas	(3) Neutrales	(4) Buenas	(5) Excelentes

9. *¿Cómo eran sus experiencias de trabajo cuando tenía 18-29 años de edad?*
 Marque con una "X" en el espacio que corresponda

(1) Terribles	(2) Malas	(3) Neutrales	(4) Buenas	(5) Excelentes

10. *Si usted hubiera podido hacer algo importante cuando tenía usted 18-29 años de edad, ¿qué es lo que le hubiera gustado hacer?*
 Favor de describir

11. *¿Qué es lo que usted hubiera querido cambiar en el mundo cuando tenía 18-29 años de edad?*
 Favor de describir

12. *Si usted tuviera la posibilidad de hacer algo importante para ayudar a los jóvenes mexicanos, ¿qué haría?*
 Favor de describir

B) Participación en la entrevista adicional

- *¿Estaría interesado(a) en participar en una entrevista adicional de 1 hora de duración?*
 La entrevista se llevaría a cabo en una cafetería / restaurante popular. Su consumo estaría cubierto – salvo bebidas alcohólicas.
 Sí _____ No _____ Tal vez (favor de describir) _____

Si está interesado en participar en la entrevista, por favor proporcione su información de contacto

Nombre _____

Correo electrónico de contacto _____

Edad _____

Sexo _____

Grado escolar máximo _____

¡Muchas gracias!

APÉNDICE C: Protocolo de Entrevista Semi-Estructurada (Jóvenes 18-29 años de edad) [Spanish Translation] [APPENDIX C: Semi-Structured Interview Protocol (Young people 18-29 years old)]

Fecha	Lugar	Hora

Objetivo:

- Este protocolo de entrevista es parte de un estudio de doctorado para entender mejor las actividades diarias realizadas por jóvenes que no estudian ni trabajan en la Ciudad de México. Las implicaciones de este estudio son importantes para entender mejor las necesidades, oportunidades y limitaciones que enfrentan los jóvenes y sus familias para incrementar su nivel educativo, así como para conseguir empleo y mantenerlo.

Por medio del presente autorizo a que Armando Justo grabe en audio la entrevista de 1 hora. También certifico que tengo más de 18 años de edad.

Si _____ No _____

<i>Perspectiva teórica</i>	<i>Preguntas</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Actividades de la vida diaria (Hedegaard, 2012; Holzman, 1999, 2009; Sawchuk, 2003) 	1. ¿Qué es lo que haces diariamente? Elige un día normal, por ejemplo ayer, "¿puedes decirme lo que ocurrió desde el momento en que te despertaste hasta que te fuiste a dormir?" (Gulbrandsen, 2012, p.7) <i>Preguntas de seguimiento:</i> 1.1 ¿Qué es lo que típicamente haces en la mañana/tarde/noche? 1.2 ¿Haces algo diferente los fines de semana? 1.3 ¿Cuál es tu día favorito? Por qué? 1.4 ¿Practicas alguna actividad artística o deportiva?
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Perspectivas de los Jóvenes (Hedegaard, 2012; Hojolt, 2012; Holzman, 2009) 	2. De sus actividades diarias, [descritas anteriormente] ¿Cuáles son las tres actividades más importantes para ti? <i>Preguntas de seguimiento:</i> 2.1 ¿Cuáles son las tres actividades a las que les dedicas una mayor parte de tu tiempo? 2.1.1 ¿Por qué? 2.1.2 ¿Qué significado tienen [estas actividades] para ti?
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Factores intergeneracionales (Bynner & Parsons, 2002; Pemberton, 2008) 	3. ¿Cómo describirías el apoyo económico y emocional que recibes de tu familia? <i>Preguntas de seguimiento:</i> 3.1 ¿Cómo es la relación con tus papas? 3.1.1 ¿Qué significado tiene para ti la relación con tus papas? 3.2 ¿Cómo es la relación con el resto de tu familia? 3.2.1 ¿Qué significado tiene para ti la relación con el resto de tu familia?
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Zona de desarrollo próximo (ZPD) (Engeström, 2009; Fenwick, et all, 2011; Holzman, 1999, 2009; Vygotsky, 	4. ¿Cómo aprendiste a...? [por ejemplo, cómo usar un programa de computo] <i>Preguntas de seguimiento:</i> 4.1 ¿Qué pasos seguiste para aprenderlo? 4.1.1 ¿Recuerdas cuánto tiempo te tomo aprenderlo? 4.2 ¿Alguien te ayudó a aprenderlo? 4.2.1 En caso afirmativo, quién y cómo te ayudaron? 4.2.2 Si no, ¿qué recursos utilizaste? ¿Cómo tuviste acceso a esos recursos?
	5. ¿Qué cosas utilizas para llevar a cabo tus actividades diarias..?

1978)	<p><i>Preguntas de seguimiento:</i></p> <p>5.1 ¿Qué cosas son "indispensables" para ti? (podrían ser cosas materiales como una computadora o simbólicas como tu capacidad para convencer a la gente, por ejemplo)</p> <p>5.2 ¿Cómo obtienes estos recursos?</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Influencia de compañeros (Pemberton, 2008) 	<p>6. ¿Cómo describirías a tus mejores amigos?</p> <p><i>Preguntas de seguimiento:</i></p> <p>6.1 ¿Qué es lo que hacen?</p> <p>6.2 ¿A que se dedican?</p> <p>6.3 ¿Qué tienes en común con ellos?</p> <p>6.4 ¿Cómo describirías tu relación con ellos?</p> <p>6.5 ¿Qué significan estas relaciones para ti?</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Descontento con el mercado educativo / laboral (Pemberton, 2008; Renisson, et al, 2005; SEU, 1999) 	<p>7. ¿Cómo describirías tus experiencias en la escuela?</p> <p><i>Preguntas de seguimiento:</i></p> <p>7.1 ¿Qué piensas acerca de ya no ir a la escuela?</p> <p>7.1.1 ¿Qué significado tiene esto para ti? [el hecho de ya no ir a la escuela]</p> <p>8. ¿Cómo describirías tus experiencias de trabajo?</p> <p><i>Preguntas de seguimiento:</i></p> <p>8.1 ¿Qué piensas acerca de no tener un empleo?</p> <p>8.1.1 ¿Qué significa esto para ti?</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Reconstrucción de experiencias de vida (Alheit, 1986, 1994; Gulbrandsen, 2012) 	<p>9. Piensa en situaciones importantes que has vivido en tu infancia y juventud, qué experiencias de vida consideras importante? Por favor comparte los detalles de esas experiencias</p> <p><i>Preguntas de seguimiento:</i></p> <p>9.1 ¿Qué experiencias recuerdas de tu infancia?</p> <p>9.2 ¿Qué actividades hacías hace cinco años?</p> <p>9.2.1 ¿Qué significan estas experiencias para ti?</p> <p>9.3 ¿Qué experiencias recuerdas de tu juventud?</p> <p>9.3.1 ¿Qué significan estas experiencias para ti?</p> <p>9.4 Si pudieras hacer una película de tu vida, ¿cómo sería? ¿Qué resaltarías de tu vida?</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Contradicciones (Engeström, 2009; Holzman, 2009; Vygotsky, 1978) 	<p>10. ¿Cuáles son los problemas que enfrentas en tu vida diaria? (<i>Problemas mencionadas en la sección de actividades de la vida diaria</i>)</p> <p><i>Preguntas de seguimiento:</i></p> <p>10.1 ¿Qué actividades llevas a cabo para enfrentar los problemas de tu vida diaria?</p> <p>10.1.1 ¿Qué piensas acerca de ellos?</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Desempeñando diferentes identidades (Newman & Holzman, 1996-2006; Holzman, 1999, 2009) 	<p>11. Imagina tu vida en cinco años, ¿Qué actividades te gustaría hacer?</p> <p><i>Preguntas de seguimiento:</i></p> <p>11.1 ¿Qué piensas que necesitas para llegar allí?</p>

Una vez que la transcripción de la entrevista este lista, contactaremos a los participantes para que la lean y que confirmen que sus opiniones han sido debidamente integradas.

¡Muchas gracias por tu participación en esta entrevista!

APÉNDICE D: Protocolo de Entrevista Semi-Estructurada (adultos mayores de 30 años de edad) [Spanish Translation] [APPENDIX D: Semi-Structured Interview Protocol (Adults over 30 years of age)]

Fecha	Lugar	Hora

Objetivo:

- Este protocolo de entrevista semi-estructurada es parte de un estudio de doctorado para entender mejor las actividades diarias realizadas por jóvenes que no estudian ni trabajan en la Ciudad de México. Las implicaciones de este estudio son importantes para entender mejor las necesidades, oportunidades y las limitaciones que enfrentan los jóvenes y sus familias para incrementar su nivel educativo, así como para conseguir empleo y mantenerlo.

Por medio del presente autorizo a que Armando Justo grabe en audio la entrevista de 1 hora. También certifico que tengo más de 18 años de edad.

Yes _____ No _____

<i>Perspectiva teórica</i>	<i>Preguntas</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Actividades de la vida diaria (Hedegaard, 2012; Holzman, 1999, 2009; Sawchuk, 2003) 	<p>1. ¿Qué es lo que usted hacía diariamente cuando tenía 18-29 años de edad? Trate de recordar lo que hacía en un día normal y dígame "lo que ocurrió desde el momento en que se despertó hasta que se fue a dormir" (Gulbrandsen, 2012, p.7)</p> <p><i>Preguntas de seguimiento:</i></p> <p>1.1 ¿Qué es lo que hacía típicamente en la mañana/tarde/noche?</p> <p>1.2 ¿Hacia usted algo diferente los fines de semana?</p> <p>1.3 ¿Cuál era su día favorito? Por qué?</p> <p>1.4 ¿Practicaba alguna actividad artística o deportiva?</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Perspectivas de los Jóvenes (Hedegaard, 2012; Hojolt, 2012; Holzman, 2009) 	<p>2. De sus actividades diarias, [descritas anteriormente] ¿Cuáles eran las tres actividades más importantes para usted?</p> <p><i>Preguntas de seguimiento:</i></p> <p>2.1.1 ¿Cuáles eran las tres actividades a las que les dedicaba una mayor parte de su tiempo?</p> <p>2.1.2 ¿Por qué?</p> <p>2.1.3 ¿Qué significado tenían [estas actividades] para usted?</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Factores intergeneracionales (Bynner & Parsons, 2002; Pemberton, 2008) 	<p>3. ¿Cómo describiría usted el apoyo económico y emocional que recibía de su familia?</p> <p><i>Preguntas de seguimiento:</i></p> <p>3.1 ¿Cómo era la relación con sus papas?</p> <p>3.1.1 ¿Qué significado tenía para usted la relación con tus papas?</p> <p>3.2 ¿Cómo era la relación con el resto de su familia?</p> <p>3.2.1 ¿Qué significado tenía para usted la relación con el resto de su familia?</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Zona de desarrollo próximo (ZPD) (Engeström, 2009; Fenwick, et al, 2011; Holzman, 1999, 2009; Vygotsky, 1978) 	<p>4. ¿Cómo aprendió a...? [por ejemplo, cómo usar un programa de computo]</p> <p><i>Preguntas de seguimiento:</i></p> <p>4.1 ¿Qué pasos seguía para aprenderlo?</p> <p>4.2 ¿Recuerda cuánto tiempo le tomó aprenderlo?</p> <p>4.3 ¿Alguien le ayudó a aprenderlo?</p> <p>4.3.1 En caso afirmativo, quién y cómo le ayudaron?</p> <p>4.3.2 Si no, ¿qué recursos utilizó? ¿Cómo tuvo acceso a esos recursos?</p> <p>5. ¿Qué cosas utilizaba para desempeñar sus actividades diarias?</p> <p><i>Preguntas de seguimiento:</i></p> <p>5.1 ¿Qué cosas eran "indispensables" para usted? (podrían ser cosas materiales como una computadora o simbólicas como su capacidad para</p>

	convencer a la gente, por ejemplo) 5.2 ¿Cómo obtenía usted esos recursos?
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Influencia de compañeros (Pemberton, 2008) 	6. ¿Cómo describiría usted a sus mejores amigos? <i>Preguntas de seguimiento:</i> 6.1 ¿Qué es lo que ellos hacían? ¿A qué se dedicaban? 6.2 ¿Qué tenía usted en común con ellos? 6.3 ¿Cómo describiría su relación con ellos? 6.4 ¿Qué significaban estas relaciones para usted?
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Descontento con el mercado educativo / laboral (Pemberton, 2008; Renisson, et al, 2005; SEU, 1999) 	7. ¿Cómo describiría sus experiencias escolares? <i>Preguntas de seguimiento:</i> 7.1 ¿Qué recuerdos tiene usted de la escuela? 7.1.1. ¿Qué significado tenía la escuela para usted? 8. ¿Cómo describirías sus experiencias de trabajo cuando tenía usted 18-29 años de edad? <i>Preguntas de seguimiento:</i> 8.1 ¿Qué recuerdos tiene usted de sus experiencias en el trabajo cuando tenía 18-29 años? 8.1.1 ¿Qué significado tenía el trabajo para usted? 9. ¿Qué opinión tiene usted de los jóvenes que no estudian ni trabajan? <i>Preguntas de seguimiento:</i> 9.1 ¿Conoce usted algún joven que no estudie ni trabaje? 9.2 ¿Cuándo usted tenía 18-29 años había jóvenes que no estudiaban ni trabajaban?
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Reconstrucción de experiencias de vida (Alheit, 1986, 1994; Gulbrandsen, 2012) 	10. Piense en situaciones importantes que ha vivido en su infancia y juventud, qué experiencias de vida considera importantes? Por favor comparta los detalles de esas experiencias <i>Preguntas de seguimiento:</i> 10.1 ¿Qué experiencias recuerda de su infancia? 10.1.1 ¿Qué significado tienen estas experiencias para usted? 10.2 ¿Qué experiencias recuerda de su juventud? 10.2.1 ¿Qué significado tienen estas experiencias para usted? 10.3 Si pudiera hacer una película de su vida, ¿cómo sería? ¿Qué resaltarías de su vida?
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Contradicciones (Engeström, 2009; Holzman, 2009; Vygotsky, 1978) 	11. ¿Qué problemas enfrentaba en su vida diaria cuando tenía 18-29 años de edad? (<i>Problemas o contradicciones mencionadas en la sección de actividades de la vida diaria</i>) <i>Preguntas de seguimiento:</i> 11.1 ¿Cómo manejaba estos problemas? 11.2 ¿Qué pensaba de esos problemas cuando tenía 18-29 años? 11.3 ¿Qué piensa de esos problemas ahora?
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Desempeñando diferentes identidades (Newman & Holzman, 1996-2006; Holzman, 1999, 2009) 	12. Que actividades imaginaba que estaría haciendo a su edad actual cuando tenía 18-29 años de edad? 12.1 ¿Cuáles eran sus sueños de juventud?

Una vez que la transcripción de la entrevista este lista, contactaremos a los participantes para que la lean y que confirmen que sus opiniones han sido debidamente integradas.

¡Muchas gracias por su participación en esta entrevista!

APÉNDICE E: Protocolo para el análisis de Documentos [Spanish Translation]
 [APPENDIX E: Documents Protocol]

Estos son documentos disponibles al público en general que incluyen datos oficiales de la población Mexicana.

Censo Nacional del 2010

Principales Descubrimientos	Relación con las actividades de la vida diaria de individuos que no estudian ni trabajan (NiNi)

Encuesta nacional de Ingresos y Gastos de los Hogares (ENIGH)

Principales Descubrimientos	Relación con las actividades de la vida diaria de individuos que no estudian ni trabajan (NiNi)

Encuesta Nacional de Ocupación y Empleo (ENOE)

Principales Descubrimientos	Relación con las actividades de la vida diaria de individuos que no estudian ni trabajan (NiNi)

Publicaciones relevantes

Principales Descubrimientos	Relación con las actividades de la vida diaria de individuos que no estudian ni trabajan (NiNi)

Información incluida en los medios locales y nacionales

Principales Descubrimientos	Relación con las actividades de la vida diaria de individuos que no estudian ni trabajan (NiNi)

APÉNDICE F: Protocolo para Observaciones de Campo [Spanish Translation]

[APPENDIX F: Protocol for Field Observations]

Investigador:

Lugar:

Propósito:

Fecha/ Hora:

Observaciones:

APÉNDICE G: Comunicación para el reclutamiento de participantes (a ser distribuido de manera impresa y por correo electrónico) [Spanish Translation]
[APPENDIX G: Recruitment Communication to Potential Participants (to be distributed printed and via email)]

De: Armando Justo

Asunto: Invitación a participar en una entrevista de 1 hora de duración

**Importante estudio sobre la juventud mexicana que
actualmente no estudia ni trabaja**

El estudio tiene por objetivo comprender mejor las necesidades, oportunidades y limitaciones que enfrentan los jóvenes mexicanos de 18 a 29 años que no estudian ni trabajan. La información nos ayudará al diseño de programas educativos y de empleo más apropiados para las necesidades actuales.

**! Tu opinión es importante!
¡Participa en esta investigación!**

Quiero invitarte a participar en el estudio que incluye un cuestionario y una entrevista de 1 hora de duración a realizarse en un lugar que te sea conveniente (VIPS, Sanborns, etc.). Tu consumo será cubierto. Solo tienes que contestar una serie de preguntas sobre tus actividades diarias y compartir tus puntos de vista y opiniones sobre las necesidades y retos que tienen los jóvenes en la actualidad.

En la entrevista no se tocan temas controversiales. Asimismo la conversación es estrictamente confidencial y para fines de investigación educativa. Analizaré tus ideas y las consolidaré con las de otras personas para identificar temas comunes y tendencias. Para asegurar la confidencialidad de tus opiniones, usare un nombre ficticio y no compartiré tus datos ni correo electrónico con nadie. Después de completar el estudio, voy a presentar los resultados de la investigación en mi tesis doctoral.

Los jóvenes de 18-29 años de edad que actualmente no estudian ni trabajan que participen en la entrevista de 1 hora recibirán una tarjeta de Wal-Mart por un valor de \$125 pesos en agradecimiento a su tiempo dedicado.

No dudes en hacerme cualquier pregunta que tuvieras a través del siguiente correo electrónico: armandoj@gwmail.gwu.edu.

Atentamente,
Armando Justo
Universidad de George Washington

APÉNDICE H: Consentimiento para la Investigación (Jóvenes 18-29 años de edad)
[Spanish Translation] [APPENDIX H: Research Consent Form (Young people 18-29 years old)]

Jóvenes que no Estudian ni Trabajan en la Ciudad de México: Un estudio cualitativo que analiza sus actividades diarias a través de la lente de desempeño y la teoría de la actividad histórico-cultural

Número de IRB GW: _____

Investigador Principal: Dr. Ellen Scully-Russ Correo electrónico: scullyru@gwu.edu

Sub-Investigador: Lic. Armando Justo Correo electrónico:
armandoj@gwmail.gwu.edu

¡Tú opinión es importante!

Si tienes entre 18-29 años de edad y al menos seis meses sin estudiar ni trabajar te invitamos a participar en un estudio realizado bajo la dirección de la Dra. Ellen Scully-Russ de la Universidad de George Washington. Por favor lee este formulario y dinos si tienes alguna pregunta para decidir si deseas ser incluido en el estudio. Tu participación es completamente voluntaria y puedes dejar de participar en el momento en el que lo decidas.

¿Por qué es importante este estudio?

Este estudio analiza las actividades diarias de jóvenes mexicanos de 18-29 años de edad que no estudian ni trabajan. El conocimiento que tenemos de este tema es limitado y tu punto de vista nos ayudará a comprender mejor las necesidades, oportunidades y limitaciones que enfrentan los jóvenes como tú y sus familias para estudiar y trabajar. El estudio nos proporcionará información valiosa para la gente dedicada al diseño de políticas y programas educativos y laborales.

¿Qué se te pide hacer?

El estudio incluye un breve cuestionario y una entrevista de 1 hora de duración. Tú decides si solo completas el cuestionario o también deseas participar en la entrevista. Si también decides participar en la entrevista, el investigador te invitará a una entrevista de una hora de duración en un horario y lugar que te sea conveniente (en un VIPS, Sanborns, etc.). Tu consumo (paquete de desayuno, comida o cena) será cubierto. Para proteger tu anonimato el investigador usará un nombre ficticio (seudónimo) que ayudara a proteger tu confidencialidad. La entrevista será grabada en audio (en caso que lo apruebes). Una vez que la entrevista transcrita está lista, se te pedirá para que la leas para que confirmes que hayan sido adecuadamente capturadas tus opiniones y experiencias. El tiempo total que el estudio te tomará no será mayor de 1.5 horas.

¿Hay algún riesgo por participar en este estudio?

Este estudio está diseñado para minimizar los riesgos y molestias a los participantes. En caso que hubiera alguna pregunta que te hiciera sentir incómodo(a), puedes no

contestarla, tomar un descanso durante la entrevista o dejar de participar en cualquier momento.

¿Cuáles son los beneficios de participar en este estudio?

Tu participación en esta investigación no te beneficiará directamente; sin embargo, tus puntos de vista contribuirán a entender mejor las necesidades de la juventud mexicana y dará información valiosa a otros investigadores y gente que trabaja en el diseño de políticas educativas y laborales. Tus opiniones son importantes para contribuir al proceso de cambio y a la creación de mejores programas educativos y oportunidades laborales para los jóvenes.

¿Tengo que participar en el estudio?

La participación en este estudio es totalmente voluntaria. A su vez, puedes decidir participar y después cambiar de opinión en cualquier momento.

¿Voy a recibir pago por participar en el estudio?

Para mostrar mi agradecimiento por tu tiempo te obsequiaré una tarjeta de Wal-Mart por un valor de \$125 pesos.

¿Cómo se protegerá mi privacidad?

A todos los participantes se les asignará un nombre ficticio (seudónimo) para garantizar la confidencialidad de sus opiniones. Toda la información es confidencial y para fines de investigación educativa. El nombre ficticio se mantendrá en un archivo separado de los datos de la entrevista. Los archivos de esta investigación podrán ser revisados por los Departamentos de la Universidad George Washington responsables de asegurar que el estudio cumpla con los requisitos de seguridad y protección establecidos. Al publicar los resultados de este estudio, se destruirán todos los archivos que contienen información de identificación, incluyendo el archivo que liga tu nombre con el nombre ficticio, la grabación en audio y la transcripción de la entrevista.

Problemas o preguntas

La Oficina de Estudios Humanos de la Universidad George Washington puede proporcionarte información adicional acerca de tus derechos como participante en una investigación. Si deseas contactarlos puedes hacerlo a través del siguiente correo electrónico: ohrirb@gwu.edu.

Si gustas, puedes obtener más información sobre este estudio poniéndote en contacto con el investigador Armando Justo mediante el siguiente correo electrónico: armandoj@gwmail.gwu.edu.

Tu voluntad por participar en esta investigación es implícita si contestas el cuestionario / participas en la entrevista.

APÉNDICE H-Bis: Consentimiento para la Investigación (Adultos mayores a 30 años de edad) [Spanish Translation] [APPENDIX H-Bis: Research Consent Form (Adults over 30 years of age)]

Jóvenes que no Estudian ni Trabajan en la Ciudad de México: Un estudio cualitativo que analiza sus actividades diarias a través de la lente de desempeño y la teoría de la actividad histórico-cultural

Número de IRB GW: _____

Investigador Principal: Dr. Ellen Scully-Russ Correo electrónico: scullyru@gwu.edu

Sub-Investigador: Lic. Armando Justo Correo electrónico:
armandoj@gwmail.gwu.edu

¡Sus opiniones son importantes!

Si usted es mayor a 30 años de edad y está actualmente laborando le invitamos a participar en un estudio realizado bajo la dirección de la Dra. Ellen Scully-Russ de la Universidad de George Washington. Por favor lea este formulario y díganos si tiene alguna pregunta para decidir si desea ser incluido en el estudio. Su participación es completamente voluntaria y puede dejar de participar en él en cualquier momento.

¿Por qué es importante este estudio?

Este estudio analiza las actividades diarias de jóvenes mexicanos de 18-29 años de edad que no estudian ni trabajan. El estudio incorpora a su vez la opinión de adultos que se encuentran actualmente trabajando. El conocimiento que tenemos de este tema es limitado y su punto de vista nos ayudará a comprender mejor las necesidades, oportunidades y limitaciones que enfrentan los jóvenes y sus familias para participar en actividades escolares y laborales. El estudio nos proporcionará información valiosa para la gente dedicada al diseño de políticas y programas educativos y laborales.

¿Qué es lo que usted necesita hacer?

El estudio incluye un breve cuestionario y una entrevista de 1 hora de duración. Usted decide si solo contesta el cuestionario o también desea participar en la entrevista. Si también decide participar en la entrevista, el investigador le invitará a una entrevista de una hora de duración en un horario y lugar que le sea conveniente (en un VIPS, Sanborns, etc.). Su consumo (paquete de desayuno, comida o cena) será cubierto. Para proteger su anonimato el investigador usará un nombre ficticio (seudónimo) que ayudara a proteger su confidencialidad. La entrevista será grabada en audio (en caso que usted lo apruebe) y posteriormente transcrita para su validación. Una vez que la entrevista transcrita está lista, se le pedirá para que la lea para que confirme que sus puntos de vista y experiencias hayan sido adecuadamente capturados. El tiempo total que el estudio le tomará no deberá exceder de 1.5 horas.

¿Hay algún riesgo por participar en este estudio?

Este estudio está diseñado para minimizar los riesgos y molestias a los participantes. En caso que hubiera alguna pregunta que le hiciera sentir incómodo(a), puede no contestarla, tomar un descanso durante la entrevista o dejar de participar en cualquier momento.

¿Cuáles son los beneficios de participar en este estudio?

Su participación en esta investigación no le beneficiará directamente; sin embargo, sus puntos de vista contribuirán a entender mejor las necesidades de la juventud mexicana y dará información valiosa a otros investigadores y gente que trabaja en el diseño de políticas educativas y laborales. Sus opiniones son importantes para contribuir al proceso de cambio y a la creación de mejores programas educativos y oportunidades laborales para los jóvenes.

¿Tengo que participar en el estudio?

La participación en este estudio es totalmente voluntaria. A su vez, puede decidir participar y después cambiar de opinión en cualquier momento.

¿Voy a recibir pago por participar en el estudio?

No. Usted no recibirá ninguna compensación económica por su participación en el estudio.

¿Cómo se protegerá mi privacidad?

A todos los participantes se les asignará un nombre ficticio (seudónimo) para garantizar la confidencialidad de sus opiniones. Toda la información es confidencial y para fines de investigación educativa. El nombre ficticio se mantendrá en un archivo separado de los datos de la entrevista. Los archivos de esta investigación podrán ser revisados por los Departamentos de la Universidad George Washington responsables de asegurar que el estudio cumpla con los requisitos de seguridad y protección establecidos. Al publicar los resultados de este estudio, se destruirán todos los archivos que contienen información que lo identifiquen, incluyendo el archivo que liga su nombre con los nombres ficticios, las grabaciones en audio y entrevistas transcritas.

Problemas o preguntas

La Oficina de Estudios Humanos de la Universidad George Washington puede proporcionarle información adicional acerca de sus derechos como participante en una investigación. Si desea contactarlos puede hacerlo a través del siguiente correo electrónico: ohrirb@gwu.edu.

A su vez, puede obtener más información sobre este estudio poniéndose en contacto con el investigador Armando Justo mediante el siguiente correo electrónico: armandoj@gwmail.gwu.edu.

Su voluntad por participar en esta investigación es implícita si usted contesta el cuestionario / participa en la entrevista.

APPENDIX I: First coding cycle process

Table 1: List of codes resulting from the first coding cycle process: Structural Coding and InVivo coding (Strauss & Corbin, 1998).

1. "I want to be a drug dealer	185. How many days a week do you ge..	368. Master	551. Socioeconomic development
2. Look you can do it, I did it,.."	186. How many years are you outside..	369. material things	552. something else
3. You have to be the best	187. How would you describe the emo..	370. Maturity	553. Something missing
4. a different method	188. How would you describe your be..	371. meaningful learning	554. sometimes I have not eaten in..
5. a disgrace	189. Humility	372. Meaningful past life experiences	555. Sometimes I have work and some..
6. a lot of effort	190. I'll be honest with you, what ..	373. Mental models	556. Sometimes they pay me very lit..
7. a mess	191. I'm in love with my profession..	374. Mentor	557. sometimes we fight a lot and d..
8. a pressure cooker at home	192. I admire my mom more.	375. Monetary system	558. Spend time with family
9. about the economic part, yes, ..	193. I always like to wear uniforms..	376. money for books	559. Sports
10. Abuse	194. I always wanted to be a veteri..	377. money, health and love	560. stepfather
11. Academic performance	195. I am the authority	378. Most important activities	561. Stop drinking alcohol
12. Academic performance the main cause for drop out	196. I am very good	379. Mother's working status	562. Stressful
13. Advice to parents	197. I am very shy	380. motiv	563. Strict parents
14. Advice to politicians	198. I basically spend all day maki..	381. Motivation	564. strong gastritis
15. Advice to teachers	199. I cried	382. Movement	565. study something else
16. Afraid of his son	200. I cried in the bathroom	383. Movie of his/her life	566. Studying
17. After school programs	201. I dedicate myself to study, no..	384. much more difficult	567. studying theory
18. Aggressive children	202. I did not have an easy youth	385. Music	568. substance abuse
19. Alcohol	203. I did not have high grades	386. my boss taught me	569. summary tables
20. All of them got a college degr..	204. I did not know anything	387. my children left, they studied..	570. super strict
21. always moving	205. I did not like it but I needed..	388. My dad abandoned us	571. Support
22. Always, as an apprentice, as a..	206. I did not read	389. my family is everything for me..	572. Support my kids
23. an advantage not known by my t..	207. I did two entrance tests for t..	390. My family is my example	573. Swimming
24. And how do you feel about the ..	208. I disliked it	391. my father was very strict, and..	574. taking care of children
25. And how do you feel? I: Well, ..	209. I do chores at my house	392. My favorite day is Friday and ..	575. Taking care of siblings
26. Angry	210. I do it myself. I just watch t..	393. my four youngest brothers comp..	576. team effort
27. angry with life	211. I do not feel confident to say..	394. my grandfather	577. Technicians
28. annotations	212. I do not smoke	395. my grandfather made me believe..	578. Teenage years
29. As everybody says, neither ric..	213. I do not study, I do not work...	396. my grandmother spoiled him a l..	579. Temporary job
30. Available jobs are very bad	214. I enjoyed college life a lot	397. my mom also died very young an..	580. tense and pressured
31. Average student	215. I enjoyed reading	398. my mom always supported us	581. tension in the family
32. Avoiding fights	216. I evolved more than my master	399. my mom gave me more freedom to..	582. That period of time was..
33. Avoiding the routine	217. I feel bad	400. My mom is everything to me. I ..	583. that was not my thing
34. Bad people	218. I feel good	401. my mom took me out of high sch..	584. That was our life
35. Bad relationship with father			585. The drug is a desire and if..
36. Bad relationship with			586. the ease of access to drugs is..
			587. The library
			588. The main thing to change is..
			589. the managers wanted me to fix ..
			590. The owner told us that if..
			591. The partner should provide sup..
			592. the problem is that I am

37. beauty school	219. I felt my loneliness	402. my mom was also a teacher	somet..
38. Because of the tattoos	220. I fully devoted myself to work..	403. My mom would not let me out	593. The problem is that I get dist..
39. because of the uniform!	221. I go to a party	404. my mother also liked to drink	594. The problem is that young peop..
40. Because they see that I have 6..	222. I got bored	405. my NGO	595. The same routine
41. Best friends	223. I got distracted	406. my own house	596. The street as the point of reunion
42. Blocking myself	224. I had a good job. I liked it. ..	407. My parents worked all day...	597. The teacher had the right to b..
43. break a sweat	225. I hate going because there are..	408. my passion	598. their parents do nothing
44. But you do not pay me overtime..	226. I have a girl sister who I take..	409. my poor son	599. Their parents give them everything..
45. Canada	227. I have all the time in the world..	410. My problem was that my dad was..	600. there have always been kids..
46. challenges in life	228. I have finally forgiven you	411. my siblings and I were not uni..	601. there is a reason, their paren..
47. Changing the world	229. I have learned to move around ..	412. my sister was sustaining his a..	602. there is an awakening of young..
48. Cheating	230. I help them	413. Nature	603. there was a lot of love
49. cheer him up	231. I just observe people	414. Need for workforce	604. there was harassment
50. cheerful, mostly cheerful	232. I knew how to play with my rea..	415. Needed support	605. there was no way to study
51. Childhood memories	233. I know about blacksmithing, I ..	416. NiNi: Neither exploited by you..	606. These youth are not open to..
52. classes	234. I know people but I do not hav..	417. no access to education	607. They are dedicated to steal..
53. Combining school and work	235. I learned best by listening	418. No alcohol	608. they are good kids
54. Communication with mother	236. I learned it from you	419. No drugs	609. they are in good and bad times..
55. community development, social ..	237. I learned more by obligation than..	420. No experience	610. they are like in the limbo
56. Computer	238. I like Reggaeton	421. No friends	611. they completed it
57. Conciousness	239. I like to exercise	422. no job opportunities	612. they did not have time to stud..
58. construction worker	240. I liked guns	423. No respect	613. they did not really care
59. contribute to the house	241. I liked the efforts from my da..	424. No time	614. They discriminate in the jobs...
60. Conversations	242. I lived alone	425. No time for talking	615. they do not control you
61. Conversations with people in the community	243. I loved it	426. No, I would change myself, I c..	616. They do not solve the problem
62. Conversations with siblings	244. I mainly studied college	427. Nobody wants to work for you b..	617. They give them everything
63. Cooking	245. I married when I was 23. And I..	428. not anymore at the hand fronto..	618. they got everything from books..
64. Cope with it	246. I never saw a drug	429. Not disciplined	619. they really supported me
65. Crafts	247. I participated into everything..	430. Not facing the problems	620. They separated
66. Creative imitation	248. I prefer soccer, but I like pu..	431. Not fulfilling promises	621. They should always be behind..
67. Crime	249. I receive his unconditional su..	432. Not having money. That is one ..	622. they should better understand..
68. critical approach	250. I see a problem when both wome..	433. Not paying attention	623. They should give us an opportunity..
69. cultural-historical-economic b..	251. I see them as parasites	434. not stopped drinking	624. they should no longer make..
70. Cultural activities	252. I simply think that reading is..	435. Now he works driving a microbu..	625. they were good parents
71. Dancing	253. I smoke it daily. That is the ..	436. Now it's not even an expectati..	626. think of your childhood..
72. dark	254. I sometimes behaved well but n..	437. Nurseries	627. This is not for me
73. Depression	255. I sometimes failed with some t..	438. Obsolence of school curriculum	628. this problem which..
74. deprive them from so many thin..	256. I spent my whole day at the un..	439. On average I work 3-4 days a w..	629. Time in NiNi status
75. Developmental tools	257. I started another life	440. On the weekends I have fun, I ..	630. Tools for everydaylife
76. Different		441. On weekends it's	
77. Difficult environment			
78. Disappointed			
79. Discipline			
80. Discovering the world			

81. Discrimination	258. I started just like this	different	activities
82. Discussions	259. I started learning by observin..	442. One for being so strict and th..	631. tough neighborhood
83. disintegrated	260. I started working at the age o..	443. Open people's mindsets	632. Training for a job
84. Distracted	261. I started working to help my p..	444. Open school system	633. Trapped by the street
85. Diversity	262. I suffered from hunger	445. open up their possibilities	634. Travel
86. Divorced	263. I teach French	446. Opportunities	635. True friendship
87. Do not depend on a job	264. I tell you that rich people li..	447. Opportunities to study	636. Try to remember your school ex..
88. do not lie to us	265. I think I was a good student, ..	448. opportunity to study	637. Understanding people
89. Do not tell me you cannot do i..	266. I think it is easier to give..	449. Order	638. Unmotivated
90. Do not work anymore	267. I tried it myself, even if I..	450. Organizations	639. Up to middle school
91. Do they smoke a lot of pot aro..	268. I want a Coca-Cola	451. Out-of-school activities	640. vagabond
92. Does your dad work? I: Yes, my..	269. I want to be a Federal [Agent]..	452. ow was your experience working..	641. very demanding
93. Doing exercise	270. I was arguing all the time	453. Parent's marital status	642. very little time with my family..
94. Domestic violence	271. I was at home	454. Parent's school grade	643. very similar to me
95. Dreams from youth	272. I was depressed	455. Parent's support	644. very smart
96. drug trafficking	273. I was feeling well	456. parent's viewpoint	645. very strict
97. Drug use	274. I was observing	457. Parents' emotional support	646. Violence
98. drunkenness is part of develop..	275. I was robbed three times	458. Parents' lack of support	647. Visiting other places
99. dumpsters	276. I was sad	459. Parents' marriage	648. Volunteer work
100. Dyslexia	277. I was uncomfortable	460. Parents' responsibility	649. Watch TV
101. Early entrance to the workforce	278. I was very badly dressed	461. Parents' working status	650. We all have problems in life,..
102. Early parenting	279. I was very dedicated	462. parents do not influence 100%	651. we are academics
103. Economic problems and husband'..	280. I was very independent	463. Parents do nothing	652. we are fighting against the..
104. Economic resources	281. I went to live with him very..	464. Parents like what their kids b..	653. we are hippies
105. Economics isn't it? And plenty..	282. I work as a blacksmith	465. Parents making pressure on children	654. we do not have much communication..
106. Education for practical jobs	283. I worked as a cashier, secreta..	466. Part-time jobs	655. we do not realize that the guidance..
107. Emotional support	284. I would bring him to work with..	467. Partner's last grade studied	656. We had 7 kids, we bought our..
108. Employer's obligations	285. I would like more work and mor..	468. Partner's working status	657. we had limitations
109. Employing young people	286. I would like to be a contracto..	469. Past school experiences	658. we had needs
110. Engaging in the activity	287. I would not tell to other kids..	470. patience to teach me	659. we had to help our parents
111. enrolling them in the army	288. I would say a bad influence, r..	471. Peer pressure	660. we need nurseries and day care..
112. Entrepreneurs	289. If something does not call my ..	472. Pension	661. we play, we play soccer..
113. Everyday life activities	290. if you could do something for ..	473. people are starting to look fo..	662. we studied academic things in ..
114. Everyday life problems	291. If you didn't want to do it, y..	474. people like what I do	663. we talk for a while
115. Conversations with Friends	292. If you do not want to study, y..	475. people should put a lot of eff..	664. We were hungry all the time
116. Everything for free	293. If you study, you will have a ..	476. Persistent	665. we were not a closed family
117. everything is related	294. If you were to make a movie of..	477. physical education	666. We, me included, are trying..
118. exchange to France	295. Imagine that you have a	478. Planning going back to school	667. Weekend activities
119. Expelled from school			668. Well, a lot of support, right?..
120. experience is what matters mos..			669. Well, as I said, when there is..
121. experiential sense			670. Well, at work I go and pick up..
122. Experimentation			671. Well, because of my dad, I saw..
123. Explotation			672. Well, I almost did not like sc..
124. extracurricular			

workshops	magic ..	479. Play with the computer	673. Well, I do not know....
125. Family	296. Important life events	480. Playing	674. Well, I get up in the morning ..
126. Father's working status	297. important social risk	481. Playing soccer, running and do..	675. Well, I go to play hand fronton..
127. Favorite day	298. In childhood nothing worries y..	482. playing with anything	676. Well, I need to put a lot of ..
128. Feeling about living in NiNi status	299. in life, is there is someone y..	483. Poor leadership skills	677. Well, I try to see more often..
129. Feeling of not having a formal job	300. In the policies it says that w..	484. Poor people's expectations	678. Well, I was.....so-so, not so ..
130. Find a job	301. Independence	485. Poverty	679. Well, in order that they do no..
131. find a solution for the proble..	302. Individual expectations	486. Practice	680. Well, it's a little colder [th..
132. Five year plan	303. Informal economy	487. probably there is a reason	681. Well, it was crying all the ti..
133. For me the basics are the tool..	304. Interaction spaces	488. probably there is a reason, th..	682. Well, it's that we need some t..
134. force them to continue studyin..	305. Interest in volunteer work	489. Problems for finding a job	683. Well, that, they should first ..
135. Free union	306. Internet	490. progress	684. Well, we can say that in part ..
136. Free will	307. involved in the different task..	491. protective dad	685. Well, when my mom took me out ..
137. Freedom	308. Is there someone you admire in..	492. Pull up bar	686. Well, you learn by watching
138. Freedom first. At least I feel..	309. It's a gargyle and the name o..	493. Putting much effort	687. What advice would you give to ..
139. French teacher	310. It's a very large and very com..	494. Quality of education	688. what are the three things that..
140. French was a communication too..	311. it's like a brotherhood	495. Reading	689. What are your dreams?..
141. From what you had and what you..	312. it's the same the next day	496. really dynamic	690. What are your problems?..
142. genealogy, its historicity	313. It's too much work for the lit..	497. Relationship with coworkers	691. what do you do, how do you get..
143. Generational differences	314. It's very simple, I mean it is..	498. Relationship with father	692. What do you like about marijuana..
144. get along well	315. it feels weird	499. Relationship with friends	693. What do you like to do in 5 years..
145. Girlfriend/boyfriend relationship	316. It is a matter of love. Let th..	500. Relationship with mother	694. What do you think about not ha..
146. Give them the tools	317. It is eventual, it's for certa..	501. Relationship with parents	695. what does drugs, sex, and..
147. giving them affection	318. It is not easy but it is not i..	502. Relationship with partner	696. what does it mean for you sex,..
148. go back to the old days	319. it is not that they do not und..	503. Relationship with the community	697. what is essential for you in..
149. Goal-oriented	320. it is something that entertain..	504. Relaxation	698. What is your favorite day?
150. Going to a party	321. It is the best support of all	505. Religion	699. what is your social contribution..
151. Going to museums	322. it was a distant relationship	506. Repeated history	700. What it moves me is to meet..
152. Going to the movies	323. It was always like that	507. research interviewer job	701. What support do you receive fr..
153. Good relationship with siblings	324. it was more respectful before	508. resilience	702. what you make is enough? I: No..
154. Good teachers inspire students..	325. It was very difficult!	509. Respect	703. When I have money I will come ..
155. Gosh, it really feels good tha..	326. Jail	510. Responsibilities	704. when one is starving, education..
156. Government	327. Job opportunities	511. return to school	
157. Group therapy	328. Juggling	512. Revolutionary activity	
158. Guidance	329. keep busy	513. Role model	
159. Guns	330. Key insights / learnings	514. Run errands	
160. Hand fronton	331. kids with special needs	515. Running	
161. Happiness	332. Lack of economic resources	516. Sacrifice	
162. happiness is put aside	333. lack of money	517. sad and depressed	
163. Hate	334. Lack of trust	518. satisfaction for success	
164. Having fun	335. Lack of willingness	519. scarcity of food to eat	
165. He ate his tacos and drank a C..	336. language and culture	520. School	
166. He comes and asks me: "Hey dad..			
167. he could not get into			

<p>college</p> <p>168. he hurt my pride</p> <p>169. He relieved me from hunger</p> <p>170. he said: "you're going to stud..</p> <p>171. he tried several times</p> <p>172. he was more focused on making ..</p> <p>173. Heavy work</p> <p>174. help young people</p> <p>175. Helping young people</p> <p>176. here you learn alone, by yours..</p> <p>177. high unemployment</p> <p>178. Higher expectations</p> <p>179. History</p> <p>180. Household chores</p> <p>181. How are your best friends and ..</p> <p>182. how do I learn? Well looking a..</p> <p>183. How do you see yourself in 5 y..</p> <p>184. How do you think we can help t..</p>	<p>are close..</p> <p>337. Languages</p> <p>338. Last grade studied</p> <p>339. Later, life taught me, mainly ..</p> <p>340. laziness</p> <p>341. Leadership</p> <p>342. Learn a language</p> <p>343. Learning by performing</p> <p>344. Learning environment</p> <p>345. Learning from the bottom</p> <p>346. Learning method</p> <p>347. Left</p> <p>348. Leisure</p> <p>349. Life is</p> <p>350. Limitations</p> <p>351. listen to the voices of many y..</p> <p>352. Living alone</p> <p>353. Living with parents</p> <p>354. Locking myself in my room</p> <p>355. look into the roots of the pro..</p> <p>356. Love</p> <p>357. Machismo</p> <p>358. macro- structural problem</p> <p>359. Main reason for stop studying</p> <p>360. make money</p> <p>361. Making linkages</p> <p>362. Making the problem vanish</p> <p>363. Mantaining socio-economic conditions</p> <p>364. Many people spend their lives ..</p> <p>365. Many sleepless nights because ..</p> <p>366. Marijuana</p> <p>367. marketing campaign</p>	<p>521. School graduation</p> <p>522. school was not for me</p> <p>523. Schooling needs</p> <p>524. search many voices</p> <p>525. see</p> <p>526. Seeking entertainment</p> <p>527. Self-employed</p> <p>528. self-sacrifice</p> <p>529. Service</p> <p>530. setting the example</p> <p>531. Sex</p> <p>532. she had no time</p> <p>533. Shopping</p> <p>534. Short education schedules</p> <p>535. Short majors</p> <p>536. Should teach me</p> <p>537. Siblings</p> <p>538. Siblings' schools status</p> <p>539. Sick</p> <p>540. Sick relationship</p> <p>541. Singing</p> <p>542. sit down in a quiet place</p> <p>543. skips school</p> <p>544. slavishly life</p> <p>545. slow to learn</p> <p>546. Small children</p> <p>547. So you took the food away from..</p> <p>548. soccer matches</p> <p>549. social benefits</p> <p>550. social phenomenon</p>	<p>705. When they force you nothing is..</p> <p>706. when we are kids and we are..</p> <p>707. who beat others, men who beat ..</p> <p>708. who do you admire the most, yo..</p> <p>709. Who they admire?</p> <p>710. Who they would like to become</p> <p>711. Why did you stop studying? I: ..</p> <p>712. Why do you think they smoke..</p> <p>713. Why would you like to be Feder..</p> <p>714. widening their scope</p> <p>715. with 100 pesos we started</p> <p>716. with my mom better, there..</p> <p>717. With technology we are creating..</p> <p>718. Women at work</p> <p>719. Work</p> <p>720. work hard and learn</p> <p>721. Work is hard, for people who..</p> <p>722. Work schedule</p> <p>723. worked hard so my youngest bro..</p> <p>724. Working days</p> <p>725. workshops</p> <p>726. Wrong decisions</p> <p>727. yes he beat her</p> <p>728. Yes, giving them material thin..</p> <p>729. Yes. I live with my partner</p> <p>730. You cannot hit me</p> <p>731. you experienced the whip</p> <p>732. You have to find a way to win ..</p> <p>733. Younger siblings</p>
---	---	---	--

APPENDIX J: Second coding cycle process

Table 2: List of codes resulting from the second coding cycle process: Axial coding

(Strauss & Corbin, 1998).

Research Question 1: What is the everyday life experience of people living in NiNi status?

RQ1: ACCESS TO ECONOMIC RESOURCES_

1. RQ1: Access to economic resources_Formal work
2. RQ1: Access to economic resources_Working on temporary basis

RQ1: EVERYDAY ACTIVITIES_

3. RQ1: Everyday activities_Alcohol
4. RQ1: Everyday activities_Combining school and work
5. RQ1: Everyday activities_Contribute income to their home
6. RQ1: Everyday activities_Cultural activities (museums, art exhibitions, movies, etc.)
7. RQ1: Everyday activities_Doing drugs
8. RQ1: Everyday activities_Exercise
9. RQ1: Everyday activities_Going to parties
10. RQ1: Everyday activities_Household chores
11. RQ1: Everyday activities_Listening to music
12. RQ1: Everyday activities_Ordinary activities (Watch TV, play w/computer, etc.)
13. RQ1: Everyday activities_Soccer
14. RQ1: Everyday activities_Taking care of child(ren)
15. RQ1: Everyday activities_Weekend activities

RQ1: PEER INFLUENCE_

16. RQ1: Peer Influence_Girlfriend/boyfriend relationship
17. RQ1: Peer influence_Relationship with friends
18. RQ1: Peer influence_Role model
19. RQ1: Peer influence_Siblings
20. RQ1_Peer influence_Relationship w/others

Research Question 2: How do they make meaning of their everyday life experiences?

RQ2: YOUTH PERSPECTIVES_

21. RQ2: Youth perspectives_Communication with parents
22. RQ2: Youth perspectives_Emotional support
23. RQ2: Youth perspectives_Favorite day
24. RQ2: Youth perspectives_Feeling bad
25. RQ2: Youth perspectives_Feeling well
26. RQ2: Youth perspectives_Free will
27. RQ2: Youth perspectives_Freedom
28. RQ2: Youth perspectives_Generational differences
29. RQ2: Youth perspectives_Key insights / learnings
30. RQ2: Youth perspectives_Lack of support
31. RQ2: Youth perspectives_Most important activities
32. RQ2: Youth perspectives_Need for economic resources
33. RQ2: Youth perspectives_Nowhere to go
34. RQ2: Youth perspectives_Putting a lot of effort
35. RQ2: Youth perspectives_Responsibilities
36. RQ2: Youth perspectives_Seeking happiness/entertainment

Research Question 3: How do they learn and develop through their performance of everyday life activity?

RQ3: PERFORMING IDENTITIES_

37. RQ3: Performing identities_Find a job (formal economy)
38. RQ3: Performing identities_Going back to school
39. RQ3: Performing identities_Independency (business and/or home)

- 40. RQ3: Performing identities_Music or DJ job
- 41. RQ3: Performing identities_Revolutionary role
- 42. RQ3: Performing identities_Sports
- 43. RQ3: Performing identities_Travel
- RQ3: RECONSTRUCTION OF PAST LIFE EXPERIENCES_
- 44. RQ3: Reconstruction of past life experiences_Last grade studied
- 45. RQ3: Reconstruction of past life experiences_Main reason for stop studying
- 46. RQ3: Reconstruction of past life experiences_Personal/Family
- 47. RQ3: Reconstruction of past life experiences_School
- 48. RQ3: Reconstruction of past life experiences_Sports
- 49. RQ3: Reconstruction of past life experiences_Work
- RQ3: ZPD_
- 50. RQ3: ZPD_Conciousness/Self-reflection
- 51. RQ3: ZPD_Developmental tools
- 52. RQ3: ZPD_Discipline
- 53. RQ3: ZPD_Languages
- 54. RQ3: ZPD_Learning at school
- 55. RQ3: ZPD_Learning by combining school and work
- 56. RQ3: ZPD_Learning by observing/experimenting
- 57. RQ3: ZPD_Learning by reading
- 58. RQ3: ZPD_Learning environment
- 59. RQ3: ZPD_Learning in relationships with mentor/others
- 60. RQ3: ZPD_Learning with conversations

Research Question 4: What are the impediments for their learning and development?

- RQ4: CONTRADICTIONS_
- 61. RQ4: Contradictions_Abuse
- 62. RQ4: Contradictions_Crime
- 63. RQ4: Contradictions_Discrimination
- 64. RQ4: Contradictions_Early parenting
- 65. RQ4: Contradictions_Environment
- 66. RQ4: Contradictions_Everyday life problems
- 67. RQ4: Contradictions_Labor market dissatisfaction
- 68. RQ4: Contradictions_Lack of opportunities
- 69. RQ4: Contradictions_Learning obstacles
- 70. RQ4: Contradictions_Motivation
- 71. RQ4: Contradictions_Poverty
- 72. RQ4: Contradictions_Problems with family members
- 73. RQ4: Contradictions_Time in NiNi status
- 74. RQ4: Contradictions_Trapped by the street
- RQ4: INTERGENERATIONAL FACTORS_
- 75. RQ4: Intergenerational factors_Economic support
- 76. RQ4: Intergenerational factors_Mother's working status
- 77. RQ4: Intergenerational factors_Parents' civil status
- 78. RQ4: Intergenerational factors_Parents' working status
- 79. RQ4: Intergenerational factors_Support from family members
- 80. RQ4: Intergenerational factors_Support from father
- 81. RQ4: Intergenerational factors_Support from mother

APPENDIX K: Third coding cycle process

Table 3: List of codes resulting from the third coding cycle process: Theoretical coding (Strauss and Corbing, 1998).

Research Questions	Codes	Theoretical Constructs
Research Question 1: What is the everyday life experience of people living in NiNi status?	RQ1: ACCESS TO ECONOMIC RESOURCES_ 1. RQ1: Access to economic resources_Formal work 2. RQ1: Access to economic resources_Parent's economic support 3. RQ1: Access to economic resources_Working on a temporary basis	Low socioeconomic status (SEU, 1999; Schoon, et al. 2002; Yates, et al., 2011; Genda, 2007)
	RQ1: EVERYDAY ACTIVITIES_ 4. RQ1: Everyday activities_Alcohol consumption 5. RQ1: Everyday activities_Combining school and work 6. RQ1: Everyday activities_Cultural activities (museums, art expositions, movies, etc.) 7. RQ1: Everyday activities_Doing drugs 8. RQ1: Everyday activities_Exercise 9. RQ1: Everyday activities_Going to parties 10. RQ1: Everyday activities_Household chores 11. RQ1: Everyday activities_Leisure activities (Watch TV, play w/computer, etc. 12. RQ1: Everyday activities_Listening to music 13. RQ1: Everyday activities_Soccer 14. RQ1: Everyday activities_Taking care of child(ren)	Everyday life activities (Hedegaard, 2012; Holzman, 1999, 2009; Sawchuk, 2003)
	RQ1: PEER INFLUENCE_ 15. RQ1: Peer influence_Relationship with friends 16. RQ1: Peer Influence_Relationship with partner 17. RQ1: Peer influence_Siblings 18. RQ1 Peer influence_Relationship w/others	Peer influence (Pembernton, 2008)
Research Question 2: How do they make meaning of their everyday life experiences?	RQ2: PAST LIFE EXPERIENCES_ 19. RQ2: Past life experiences_Main reason for stop studying 20. RQ2: Past life experiences_Personal/family experiences 21. RQ2: Past life experiences_School 22. RQ2: Past life experiences_Sports 23. RQ2: Past life experiences_Work	Educational / labor market disaffection (Pembernton, 2008; Renisson, et al, 2005; SEU, 1999) Reconstruction of past life experiences (Alheit, 1986, 1994; Gulbrandsen, 2012)
	RQ2: YOUTH PERSPECTIVES_ 24. RQ2: Youth perspectives_Communication with parents 25. RQ2: Youth perspectives_Emotional support 26. RQ2: Youth perspectives_Feeling bad 27. RQ2: Youth perspectives_Feeling well 28. RQ2: Youth perspectives_Freedom 29. RQ2: Youth perspectives_Generational differences 30. RQ2: Youth perspectives_Most important activities 31. RQ2: Youth perspectives_Need for economic resources 32. RQ2: Youth perspectives_Nowhere to go 33. RQ2: Youth perspectives_Putting a lot of effort 34. RQ2: Youth perspectives_Relationship with family members 35. RQ2: Youth perspectives_Responsibilities 36. RQ2: Youth perspectives_Seeking happiness/entertainment 37. RQ2: Youth perspectives_Support from father	Youth's perspectives (Hedegaard, 2012; Hojolt, 2012; Holzman, 2009)

	38. RQ2: Youth perspectives_Support from mother	
Research Question 3: How do they learn and develop through their performance of everyday life activity?	RQ3: PERFORMING IDENTITIES_ 39. RQ3: Performing identities_Find a job (formal economy) 40. RQ3: Performing identities_Going back to school 41. RQ3: Performing identities_Independency (business and/or home) 42. RQ3: Performing identities_Performing arts/sports 43. RQ3: Performing identities_Revolutionary role 44. RQ3: Performing identities_Travel	Performing identities (Newman & Holzman, 1996-2006; Holzman, 1999, 2009)
	RQ3: ZPD_ 45. RQ3: ZPD_Conciousness/Self-reflection 46. RQ3: ZPD_Developing confidence 47. RQ3: ZPD_Developing with activities 48. RQ3: ZPD_Development tools 49. RQ3: ZPD_Discipline 50. RQ3: ZPD_Languages 51. RQ3: ZPD_Learning at school 52. RQ3: ZPD_Learning by combining school and work 53. RQ3: ZPD_Learning by observing/experimenting 54. RQ3: ZPD_Learning by reading 55. RQ3: ZPD_Learning environment 56. RQ3: ZPD_Learning in relationships with mentor/others 57. RQ3: ZPD_Learning with conversations	Zone of Proximal Development (ZPD) (Engeström, 2009; Fenwick, et al, 2011; Holzman, 1999, 2009; Vygotsky, 1978)
Research Question 4: What are the impediments for their learning and development?	RQ4: INTERGENERATIONAL FACTORS_ 58. RQ4: Intergenerational factors_Both parents working 59. RQ4: Intergenerational factors_Lack of support from father 60. RQ4: Intergenerational factors_Marital status 61. RQ4: Intergenerational factors_Siblings in NiNi status 62. RQ4: Intergenerational factors_Working mother	Intergenerational factors (Bynner & Parsons, 2002; Pemberton, 2008)
	RQ4: LIMITATIONS_ 63. RQ4: Limitations_Abuse 64. RQ4: Limitations_Being discriminated 65. RQ4: Limitations_Crime 66. RQ4: Limitations_Difficult environment 67. RQ4: Limitations_Early parenting 68. RQ4: Limitations_Everyday life problems 69. RQ4: Limitations_Labor market disafection 70. RQ4: Limitations_Lack of motivation 71. RQ4: Limitations_Lack of opportunities 72. RQ4: Limitations_Lack of support 73. RQ4: Limitations_Learning obstacles 74. RQ4: Limitations_Poverty 75. RQ4: Limitations_Problems with family members 76. RQ4: Limitations_Time in NiNi status 77. RQ4: Limitations_Trapped by the street	Contradictions (Engeström, 2009; Holzman, 2009; Vygotsky, 1978)

APPENDIX L: Final codes and themes

Table 4: Codes and themes for young people in NiNi status (research questions 1 and 2)

#	Codes	Young People in NiNi Status		Themes	Typology 1: Young people who are trying to enter a public university		Typology 2: Young people who are taking care of children		Typology 3: Young people in performing arts / sports		Typology 4: Young people in street activities		
		#	%		#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	
RQ1: ACCESS TO ECONOMIC RESOURCES													
1	Working on temporary basis	36	3%	Everyday life activities include working on temporary basis, doing household work, taking care of children, doing exercise, listening to music, and going to parties.	4	2%	0	0%	14	3%	6	3%	
2	Parent's economic support	29	2%		4	2%	5	4%	12	2%	6	3%	
3	Formal work	0	0%		0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	
RQ1: EVERYDAY ACTIVITIES													
4	Exercise	31	2%		4	2%	0	0%	12	2%	4	2%	
5	Doing drugs	25	2%		0	0%	0	0%	10	2%	6	3%	
6	Listening to music	24	2%		10	4%	0	0%	13	3%	0	0%	
7	Soccer	22	2%		0	0%	2	1%	8	2%	6	3%	
8	Going to parties	17	1%		4	2%	1	1%	5	1%	5	2%	
9	Household chores	15	1%		3	1%	2	1%	5	1%	4	2%	
10	Taking care of child(ren)	8	1%		0	0%	7	5%	0	0%	1	0%	
11	Alcohol consumption	6	0%		0	0%	0	0%	3	1%	2	1%	
12	Cultural activities (museums, art expo)	3	0%		1	0%	0	0%	1	0%	0	0%	
13	Leisure activities (Watch TV, play w/co)	3	0%		3	1%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	
14	Combining school and work	1	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	1	0%		
RQ1: PEER INFLUENCE													
15	Relationship with friends	76	6%	Friends influence the engagement of everyday activities and mothers are the main source of emotional support.	22	9%	3	2%	18	3%	19	9%	
16	Emotional support	45	3%		9	4%	11	8%	18	3%	2	1%	
17	Support from mother	39	3%		10	4%	6	4%	8	2%	7	3%	
18	Relationship with partner	14	1%		0	0%	6	4%	6	1%	1	0%	
19	Relationship w/others	13	1%		0	0%	1	1%	7	1%	1	0%	
20	Siblings	7	1%		1	0%	0	0%	2	0%	3	1%	
RQ2: PAST LIFE EXPERIENCES													
21	Work	36	3%	Past school and work experiences do not help young people to make a successful transition to higher education or as pathways to careers.	6	3%	7	5%	17	3%	3	1%	
22	School	33	2%		6	3%	5	4%	9	2%	6	3%	
23	Personal/family experiences	29	2%		4	2%	3	2%	8	2%	7	3%	
24	Main reason for stop studying	25	2%		3	1%	2	1%	15	3%	3	1%	
25	Sports	6	0%		0	0%	0	0%	3	1%	0	0%	
RQ2: YOUTH PERSPECTIVES													
26	Seeking happiness/entertainment	51	4%	Feeling bad for not doing productive activities.	7	3%	3	2%	26	5%	8	4%	
27	Feeling bad	24	2%		9	4%	1	1%	2	0%	4	2%	
28	Most important activities	21	2%		4	2%	5	4%	6	1%	2	1%	
29	Putting a lot of effort	21	2%		11	5%	3	2%	4	1%	2	1%	
30	Relationship with family members	20	1%		7	3%	1	1%	6	1%	1	0%	
31	Communication with parents	18	1%		2	1%	1	1%	8	2%	3	1%	
32	Freedom	18	1%		0	0%	0	0%	16	3%	1	0%	
33	Need for economic resources	14	1%		1	0%	0	0%	2	0%	8	4%	
34	Feeling well	12	1%		0	0%	1	1%	6	1%	3	1%	
35	Nowhere to go	12	1%		4	2%	0	0%	0	0%	5	2%	
36	Responsibilities	7	1%		1	0%	2	1%	2	0%	0	0%	
37	Support from father	7	1%		0	0%	0	0%	5	1%	1	0%	
38	Generational differences	5	0%		0	0%	0	0%	4	1%	1	0%	

Table 5: Codes and themes for young people in NiNi status (research questions 3 and 4)

#	Codes	Young People in NiNi Status		Themes	Typology 1: Young people who are trying to enter a public university		Typology 2: Young people who are taking care of children		Typology 3: Young people in performing arts / sports		Typology 4: Young people in street activities	
		#	%		#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
RQ3: Zone of Proximal Development (ZPD)												
39	Learning by observing/experimenting	36	3%	Learning occurs through imitation and collaboration with others.	4	2%	2	1%	17	3%	6	3%
40	Development tools	32	2%		7	3%	0	0%	16	3%	2	1%
41	Learning with conversations	27	2%		6	3%	2	1%	9	2%	5	2%
42	Learning in relationships with mentor/	19	1%		3	1%	2	1%	10	2%	0	0%
43	Discipline	15	1%		2	1%	0	0%	7	1%	3	1%
44	Consciousness/Self-reflection	12	1%		2	1%	0	0%	7	1%	0	0%
45	Learning by reading	7	1%		4	2%	1	1%	2	0%	0	0%
46	Learning at school	6	0%		2	1%	0	0%	1	0%	2	1%
47	Developing with activities	5	0%		2	1%	0	0%	1	0%	1	0%
48	Learning environment	5	0%		0	0%	0	0%	4	1%	0	0%
49	Developing confidence	4	0%		0	0%	1	1%	1	0%	2	1%
50	Learning by combining school and wor	4	0%		0	0%	1	1%	0	0%	3	1%
51	Languages	1	0%		0	0%	0	0%	1	0%	0	0%
RQ3: PERFORMING IDENTITIES												
52	Going back to school	34	2%	The lack of opportunities creates a movement away from institutions.	14	6%	9	7%	1	0%	6	3%
53	Revolutionary role	24	2%		6	3%	0	0%	14	3%	0	0%
54	Find a job (formal economy)	20	1%		3	1%	2	1%	3	1%	7	3%
55	Performing arts/sports	20	1%		1	0%	0	0%	18	3%	1	0%
56	Independency (business and/or home	19	1%		2	1%	1	1%	10	2%	1	0%
57	Travel	17	1%		0	0%	0	0%	15	3%	0	0%
RQ4: INTERGENERATIONAL FACTORS												
58	Lack of support from father	10	1%	The lack of opportunities creates a movement away from institutions.	4	2%	0	0%	5	1%	0	0%
59	Marital status (divorced, free union)	8	1%		0	0%	4	3%	2	0%	0	0%
60	Working mother (head of household)	7	1%		3	1%	0	0%	1	0%	1	0%
61	Both parents working	4	0%		2	1%	0	0%	0	0%	2	1%
62	Siblings in NiNi status	1	0%		1	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
RQ4: LIMITATIONS												
63	Being discriminated	39	3%		6	3%	9	7%	10	2%	0	0%
64	Everyday life problems	38	3%		6	3%	4	3%	17	3%	3	1%
65	Difficult environment	28	2%		1	0%	3	2%	10	2%	9	4%
66	Lack of opportunities	26	2%		3	1%	2	1%	7	1%	4	2%
67	Lack of support	19	1%		0	0%	4	3%	4	1%	9	4%
68	Problems with family members	19	1%	0	0%	1	1%	10	2%	1	0%	
69	Learning obstacles (personal)	18	1%	6	3%	1	1%	9	2%	1	0%	
70	Abuse	16	1%	0	0%	0	0%	11	2%	0	0%	
71	Time in NiNi status	16	1%	4	2%	2	1%	5	1%	2	1%	
72	Early parenting	12	1%	0	0%	7	5%	0	0%	5	2%	
73	Trapped by the street	11	1%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	8	4%	
74	Labor market disafection	7	1%	0	0%	0	0%	7	1%	0	0%	
75	Crime	4	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	1	0%	
76	Poverty	4	0%	1	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	
77	Lack of motivation	3	0%	0	0%	0	0%	3	1%	0	0%	

Table 6: Codes and themes for working adults (research questions 1 and 2)

#	Codes	Working Adults		Themes	Silent Generation		Baby Boom Generation		Generation X		Generation Y		
		#	%		#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	
RQ1: ACCESS TO ECONOMIC RESOURCES_													
1	Formal work	34	3%	Older generations entered the labor workforce at an earlier age and younger generations focused on cultural and recreational activities.	10	4%	19	6%	2	1%	3	1%	
2	Parent's economic support	28	3%		9	4%	6	2%	6	2%	7	2%	
3	Working on temporary basis	2	0%		1	0%	0	0%	0	0%	1	0%	
RQ1: EVERYDAY ACTIVITIES_													
4	Alcohol consumption	13	1%		0	0%	6	2%	2	1%	5	2%	
5	Combining school and work	13	1%		5	2%	1	0%	2	1%	5	2%	
6	Cultural activities (museums, art expo)	10	1%		0	0%	0	0%	2	1%	8	3%	
7	Doing drugs	8	1%		0	0%	1	0%	0	0%	7	2%	
8	Exercise	7	1%		0	0%	0	0%	5	2%	2	1%	
9	Household chores	5	0%		1	0%	1	0%	1	0%	2	1%	
10	Listening to music	5	0%		1	0%	1	0%	0	0%	3	1%	
11	Going to parties	2	0%		0	0%	0	0%	1	0%	1	0%	
12	Leisure activities (Watch TV, play w/cd)	0	0%		0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	
13	Soccer	0	0%		0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	
14	Taking care of child(ren)	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%		
RQ1: PEER INFLUENCE_													
15	Relationship with friends	34	3%	There is a historical shift from family to friends in the influence of everyday life activities.	5	2%	6	2%	7	3%	16	5%	
16	Emotional support	23	2%		3	1%	6	2%	7	3%	9	3%	
17	Support from mother	17	2%		3	1%	6	2%	6	2%	2	1%	
18	Relationship with partner	10	1%		1	0%	3	1%	3	1%	3	1%	
19	Siblings	10	1%		4	2%	3	1%	1	0%	2	1%	
20	Relationship w/others	9	1%		1	0%	6	2%	1	0%	1	0%	
RQ2: PAST LIFE EXPERIENCES_													
21	School	41	4%	Life experiences fostered meaning-making processes.	6	3%	5	2%	10	4%	22	7%	
22	Personal/family experiences	40	4%		16	7%	8	3%	9	4%	9	3%	
23	Main reason for stop studying	18	2%		5	2%	5	2%	3	1%	5	2%	
24	Work	18	2%		4	2%	5	2%	3	1%	6	2%	
25	Sports	2	0%		0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	2	1%	
RQ2: YOUTH PERSPECTIVES_													
26	Generational differences	34	3%	Generational differences influence people's meaning making processes.	15	7%	12	4%	4	2%	3	1%	
27	Responsibilities	30	3%		8	4%	12	4%	9	4%	3	1%	
28	Seeking happiness/entertainment	12	1%		1	0%	6	2%	4	2%	1	0%	
29	Communication with parents	11	1%		2	1%	4	1%	3	1%	2	1%	
30	Support from father	11	1%		2	1%	3	1%	4	2%	2	1%	
31	Putting a lot of effort	9	1%		2	1%	1	0%	2	1%	4	1%	
32	Feeling bad	6	1%		1	0%	1	0%	3	1%	1	0%	
33	Need for economic resources	6	1%		2	1%	1	0%	0	0%	3	1%	
34	Relationship with family members	5	0%		1	0%	1	0%	1	0%	2	1%	
35	Most important activities	4	0%		0	0%	0	0%	2	1%	2	1%	
36	Nowhere to go	4	0%		0	0%	2	1%	1	0%	1	0%	
37	Freedom	3	0%		0	0%	0	0%	2	1%	1	0%	
38	Feeling well	1	0%		0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	1	0%	

Table 7: Codes and themes for working adults (research questions 3 and 4)

#	Codes	Working Adults		Themes	Silent Generation		Baby Boom Generation		Generation X		Generation Y	
		#	%		#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
RQ3: Zone of Proximal Development (ZPD)												
39	Discipline	51	5%	Learning occurs through observation, experimentation, conversations and in collaboration with others.	15	7%	12	4%	13	5%	11	4%
40	Learning with conversations	51	5%		10	4%	18	6%	12	5%	10	3%
41	Consciousness/Self-reflection	31	3%		11	5%	5	2%	11	4%	6	2%
42	Learning in relationships with mentor/	30	3%		7	3%	22	7%	1	0%	1	0%
43	Learning by observing/experimenting	22	2%		10	4%	8	3%	2	1%	2	1%
44	Learning environment	18	2%		3	1%	2	1%	5	2%	8	3%
45	Languages	15	1%		0	0%	1	0%	0	0%	14	5%
46	Developing confidence	12	1%		1	0%	0	0%	5	2%	6	2%
47	Development tools	11	1%		1	0%	2	1%	7	3%	1	0%
48	Learning by reading	11	1%		1	0%	0	0%	2	1%	8	3%
49	Learning at school	10	1%		2	1%	0	0%	3	1%	5	2%
50	Learning by combining school and wor	10	1%	1	0%	6	2%	3	1%	0	0%	
51	Developing with activities	6	1%	3	1%	0	0%	1	0%	2	1%	
RQ3: PERFORMING IDENTITIES												
52	Revolutionary role	9	1%	0	0%	0	0%	3	1%	6	2%	
53	Independency (business and/or home	7	1%	1	0%	2	1%	0	0%	4	1%	
54	Travel	6	1%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	6	2%	
55	Find a job (formal economy)	3	0%	0	0%	1	0%	2	1%	0	0%	
56	Going back to school	1	0%	0	0%	0	0%	1	0%	0	0%	
57	Performing arts/sports	1	0%	0	0%	1	0%	0	0%	0	0%	
RQ4: INTERGENERATIONAL FACTORS												
58	Lack of support from father	7	1%	0	0%	4	1%	2	1%	1	0%	
59	Working mother (head of household)	7	1%	3	1%	1	0%	0	0%	3	1%	
60	Both parents working	6	1%	0	0%	1	0%	2	1%	3	1%	
61	Marital status (divorced, free union)	4	0%	0	0%	1	0%	0	0%	3	1%	
62	Siblings in NiNi status	1	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	1	0%	
RQ4: LIMITATIONS												
63	Difficult environment	44	4%	The lack of emotional support has been the main limitation for the development of working adults.	2	1%	10	3%	27	11%	5	2%
64	Everyday life problems	43	4%		11	5%	11	4%	10	4%	11	4%
65	Lack of support	32	3%		10	4%	8	3%	8	3%	7	2%
66	Abuse	27	3%		6	3%	18	6%	2	1%	1	0%
67	Lack of opportunities	20	2%		0	0%	7	2%	2	1%	11	4%
68	Learning obstacles (personal)	17	2%		5	2%	3	1%	4	2%	5	2%
69	Poverty	17	2%		5	2%	4	1%	3	1%	5	2%
70	Being discriminated	14	1%		3	1%	2	1%	5	2%	4	1%
71	Crime	14	1%		4	2%	2	1%	6	2%	2	1%
72	Lack of motivation	11	1%		0	0%	4	1%	6	2%	1	0%
73	Labor market disafection	8	1%		2	1%	5	2%	0	0%	1	0%
74	Problems with family members	6	1%		0	0%	2	1%	1	0%	3	1%
75	Early parenting	1	0%		0	0%	1	0%	0	0%	0	0%
76	Time in NiNi status	1	0%		0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	1	0%
77	Trapped by the street	1	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	1	0%	

APPENDIX M: Analysis of codes using the Atlas.ti software for qualitative analysis

Figure 1: Main codes for young people who are trying to enter a public university

(Typology 1).

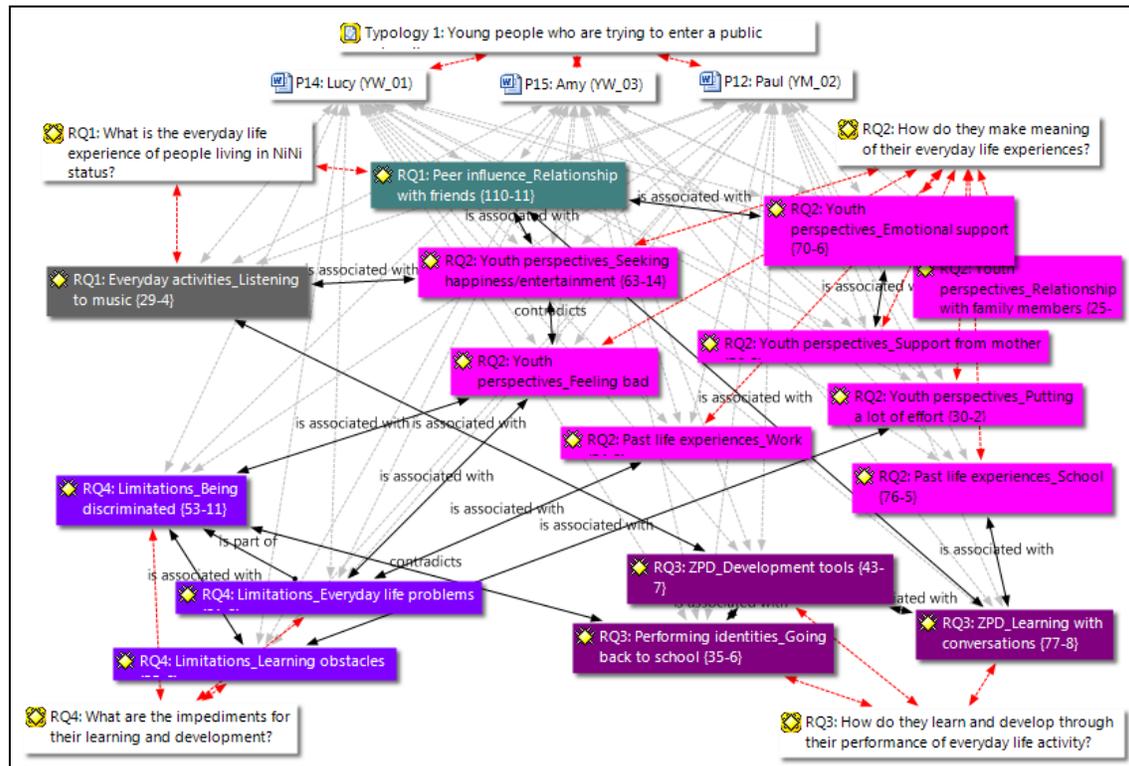


Figure 1 depicts the 16 codes with the highest number of comments (representing 61% of total comments) for typology 1: Individuals living in NiNi status who are trying to enter a public university. Red-dotted lines indicate the linkage to one of the four research questions and black solid lines indicate the relationship with other codes. For example, the code “Peer influence: Relationship with friends” is linked to research question 1 (What is the everyday life experience of young people living in NiNi status?) and it is also associated with the codes “Youth perspectives: Emotional support” and “Youth perspectives: Seeking happiness/entertainment” from research question 2 (How do they make meaning of their everyday life experience?). These associations reveal a twofold role of friends for young people living in NiNi status; friends influence young people to engage in specific activities, and they are an important source of emotional support. Similarly, the figure reveals a paradox lived by these young people for being in NiNi status. As observed in the figure, the code “Youth perspectives: Seeking happiness / entertainment” contradicts the code “Youth perspectives: Feeling bad” that is also associated with the codes “Limitations: Being discriminated” and “Limitations: Everyday life problems”. The relationship among these four codes is explained in the following way: although young people want to have fun, the fact of being discriminated by public universities because of their academic performance and the constant problems they have with their families make them feel bad.

Figure 2: Main codes for young mothers taking care of their children (Typology 2).

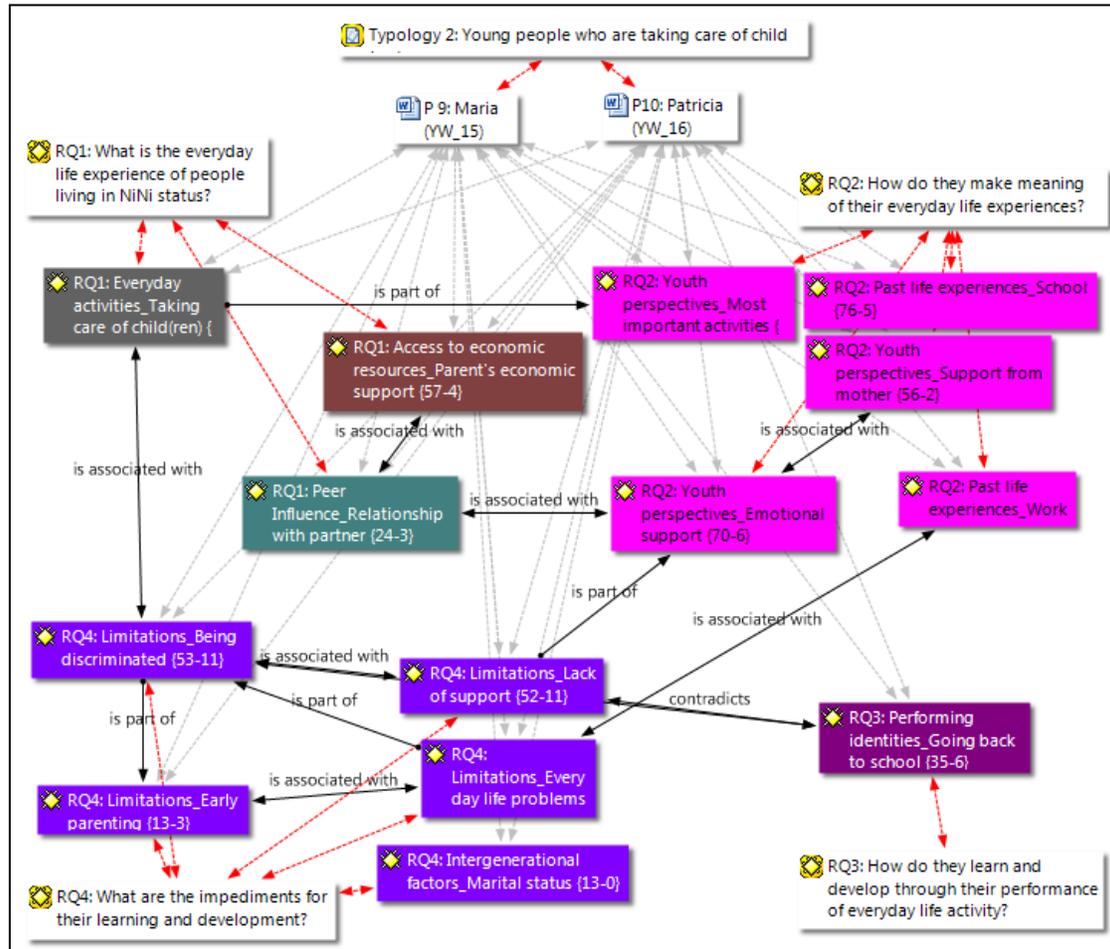


Figure 2 depicts the 14 codes with the highest number of comments (representing 66% of total comments) for typology 2: Young people who are taking care of their child(ren). The visual representation of codes, allows capturing the dialectical relationship of everyday life activities of stay home young mothers. The code “Everyday life activities: Taking care of child(ren)” is part of “Youth perspectives: Most important activities” and is also associated with “Limitations: Being discriminated” that in turn, is part of “Limitations: Early parenting”. The relationship among these four codes explains that young mothers consider a priority to stay-at-home and raise their child(ren); at the same time, they report the discrimination young mothers face to join the labor market. This finding question the advances achieved in gender equality because labor opportunities should be given to all females regardless if they have children or not. In addition, the code “Youth perspectives: Emotional support” is associated with the codes “Peer influence: Relationship with partner” and “Youth perspectives: Support from mother” and contradicts the code “Limitations: Lack of support”. This last code has a twofold relationship; it is associated with the code “Limitations: Being discriminated” and contradicts the code “Performing identities: Going back to school”. The relationship among these four codes is explained in the following way: young mothers highly need emotional support that they get from their partners and their mothers; nevertheless, when they are asked about their future development, they reported a lack of support and discrimination to engage in school and work activities.

Figure 3: Main codes for young people engaged in performing arts/sports (Typology 3).

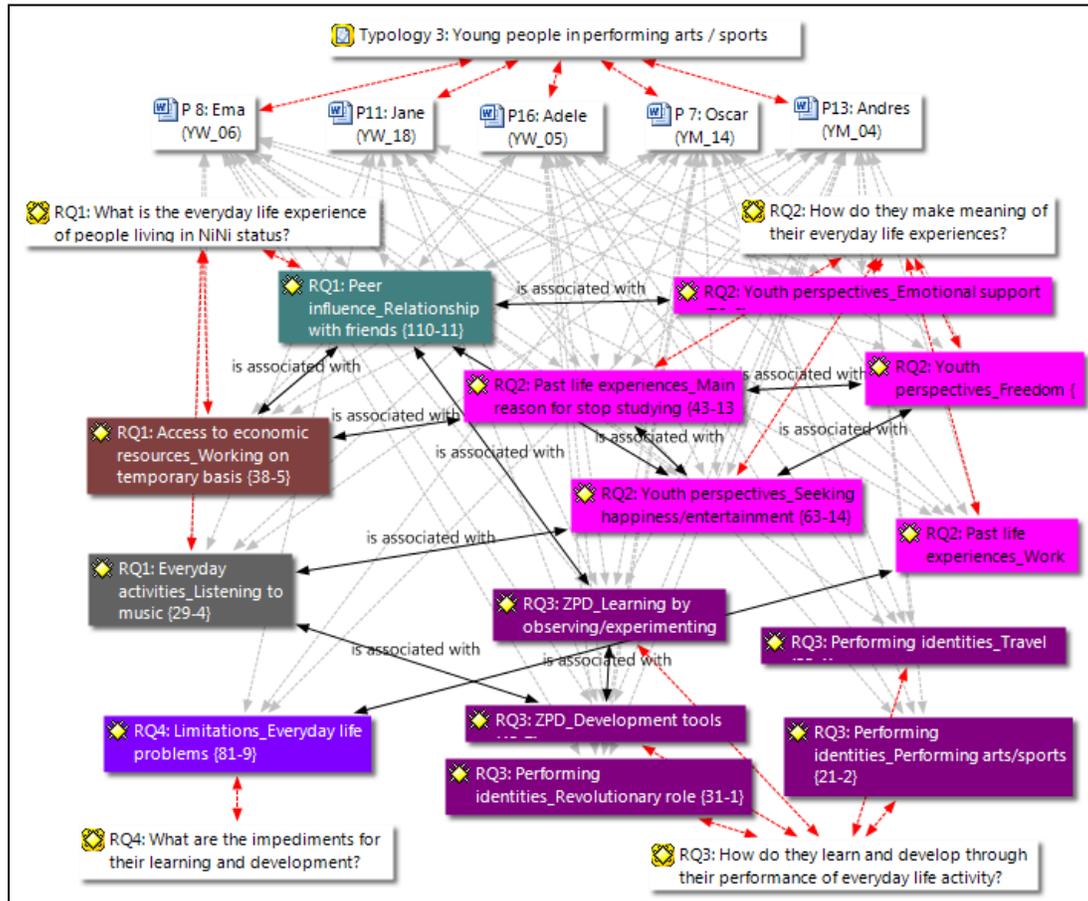


Figure 3 depicts the 14 codes with the highest number of comments (45% of total comments) for typology 3: Young people in performing arts/sports. The analysis of relationships among codes allows understanding an important finding: happiness and freedom is a priority for these individuals. In addition, friends are constitutive of who they are and who they become. Friends are associated with happiness, temporary work activities, learning (mostly by observing/imitating), and the provision of emotional support. Another interesting finding is revealed in the association of codes related to the reasons for stop studying that are the continuous search for happiness/entertainment, freedom, and work on a temporary basis to access economic resources. If these young people do not find the required motivation in formal school and work activities they quit; they prefer to stay away from institutions that make people conform to the system. Lastly, this group learns by creative imitation; by observing and imitating others, and in collaboration with their network of friends. These individuals are very creative and they dedicate long hours to activities they like and they resist conforming to status quo (one of them described herself as a hippie and to go “against the government”); therefore the decision to stay in NiNi status is a conscious one, and it is a silent call to remind us the many ways of expression for human development.

Figure 4: Main codes for young people in street activities (Typology 4).

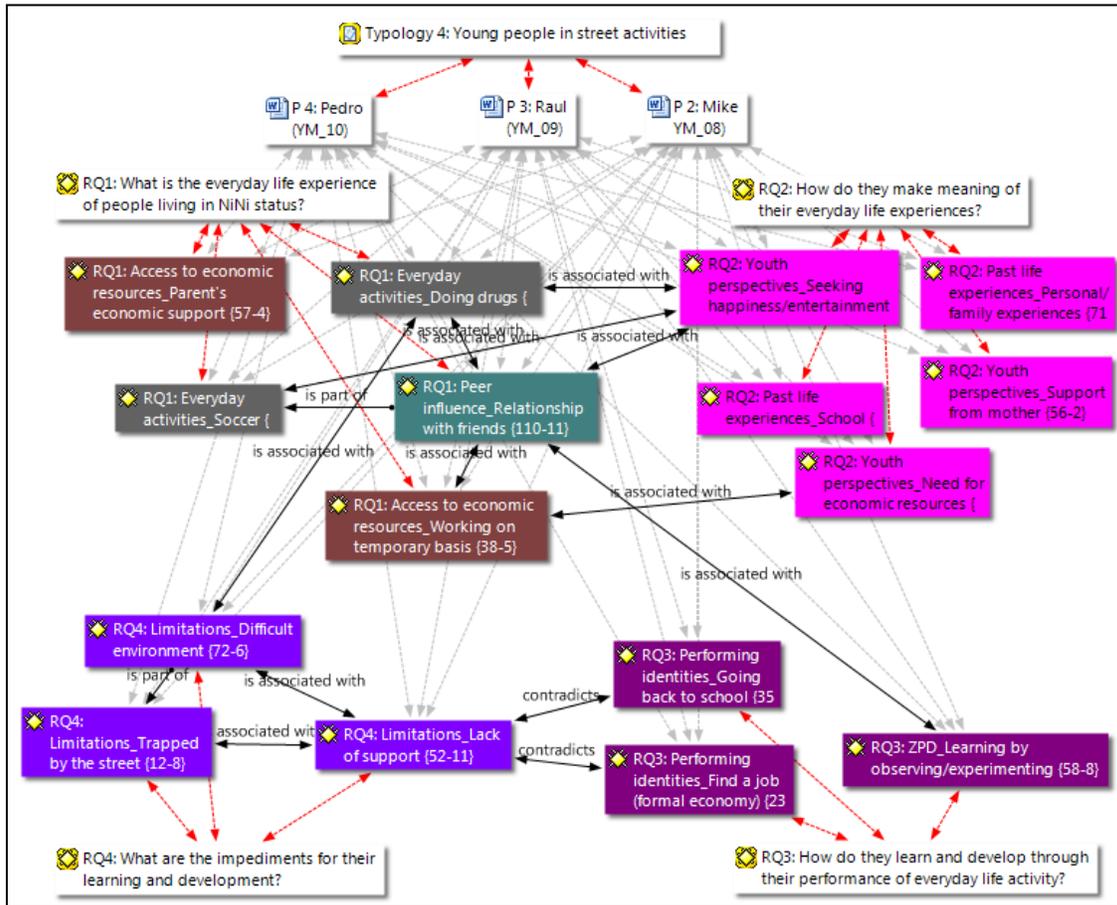


Figure 4 depicts the 20 codes with the highest number of comments (representing 61% of total comments) for typology 4: Young people in street activities. The many relationships among codes allow identifying two salient themes for this typology: (i) the strong influence of friends “to be who they are and who they are becoming” and (ii) the overall negative feeling for being in NiNi status. As shown in the graphic, the code “Peer influence: Relationship with friends” is associated with seven codes related to their everyday life activities, their continuous search for happiness, and their learning processes. Similarly, the code “Youth perspectives: Feeling bad” is associated with six codes related to the barriers they find to their learning and development and the contradiction resulting from their continuous search for happiness. Although many of them drop-out of school to “be happy”, the many problems and limitations they face make them feel bad, unhappy and “trapped” in an environment lacking opportunities and support.

Figure 5: Main codes of the historical analysis of working adults.

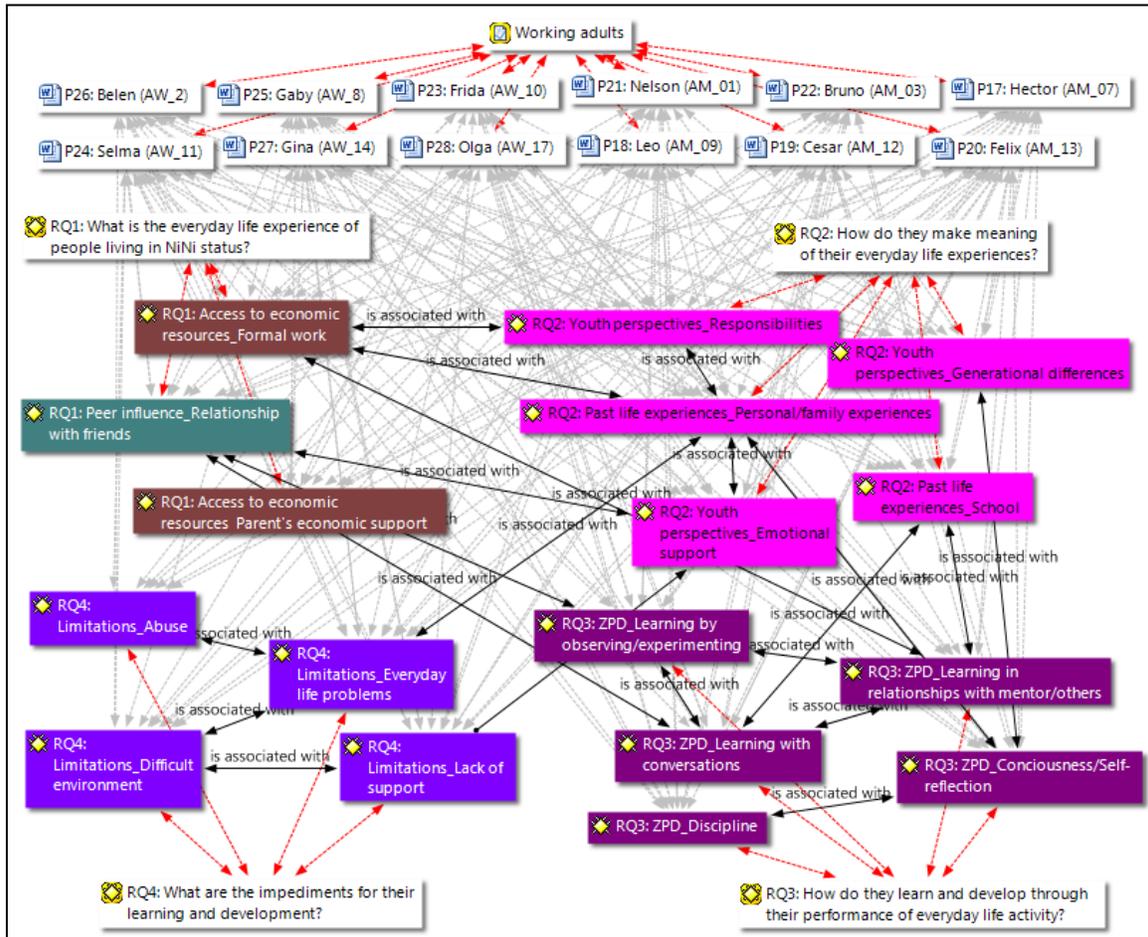


Figure 5 depicts the 17 codes with the highest number of comments (representing 56% of total comments) for working adults from four age generations. The analysis of main relationships among codes reveals three main themes: (i) Most working adults have entered the formal labor workforce at an early age because their families had economic needs or they faced other personal situations (see relationships among the codes: “Access to economic resources: Formal work”, “Past life experiences: Personal/family experiences”, “Youth perspectives: Responsibilities”, and “Youth perspectives: Emotional support”); (ii) the network of peers, mentors and friends is an influence in their learning processes and a source of emotional support (see relationship among codes: “Peer influence: Relationship with friends”, “ZPD: Learning by observing/experimenting”, “ZPD: Learning with conversations”, and “ZPD: Learning in relationship with mentor/others”); (iii) the dialectical unity of thinking, speaking and performing in activity fosters their learning and development process (see the relationship among codes: “ZPD: Learning by observing/experimenting”, “ZPD: Learning with conversations”, and “ZPD: Learning with mentor/others”)

APPENDIX N: Analysis of most frequently occurred codes

Table 8: Codes and themes for typology 1 (People who are trying to enter a public university)

Research Question	Codes	% of total	Selective Comments	Themes
What is the everyday life experience of people living in NiNi status? [What are they doing?] (Descriptive dimension)	RQ1: Everyday activities_ Listening to music	4%	"...I like rap music a lot...Without music it would not be the same, my life would be very boring"(Paul); "I have to be listening to something good. I have to be listening to something if not I am desperate" (Lucy); "We [friends] like to do the same, going out, listening to music and not being so crazy" (Amy)	Everyday life activities include working on temporary basis, doing household work, taking care of children, doing exercise, listening to music, and going to parties.
	RQ1: Peer influence_ Relationship with friends	10%	"I have a friend who sometimes needs help in his work....If I need money I can ask him, 'get me some work OK?' And he says yes" (Paul); "My best friend is a guy who is already studying at a university" (Lucy); "My best friends work. They are very good people because they support us and we support them as well. They come to my house and I invite them to eat and then when we have no money they also invite us. They are very cool." (Amy)	Friends influence the engagement of everyday activities and mothers are the main source of emotional support.
How do they make meaning of their everyday life experiences? (Subjective, phenomenological and interpretive dimensions)	RQ2: Youth perspectives_ Emotional support	4%	"Well, we are getting by because my mom works. And emotionally we are OK too" (Paul); "...emotionally, they [my parents] are very supportive to me" (Lucy); "...[my friends] mean a lot to me. Some are just friends and others are very close to me because they are always there...If you do not tell them about your problem, they learn about it by someone else and they are there, supporting you, and you say, "Wow that is cool!" (Amy)	Feeling bad for not doing productive activities.
	RQ2: Youth perspectives_ Relationship with family members	3%	"We are fine the three of us...We are happy...Me, my sister and my mom"(Paul); "I have two brothers and four sisters....We have always supported each other in all respects"(Lucy); "My family is my example"(Amy)	
	RQ2: Youth perspectives_ Putting a lot of effort	5%	"... I am one of those who gets distracted very easily. But if I am alone or if I put a lot of attention at school, I learn..." (Paul); "I need to hold on, hold on until the government attends our demands" (Amy); "I would like them to see the reasons why these people do not work or study and how like in my case, we do our best we can" (Lucy)	Past school and work experiences do not help young people to make a successful transition to higher education or as pathways to careers.
	RQ2: Youth perspectives_ Seeking happiness/entertainment	3%	"I want to work on something I like..." (Paul); "With my best friends I go out for a walk, to dance, we go to parties, to eat, to the parks." (Lucy); "I like to live well..." (Amy)	
	RQ2: Youth perspectives_ Feeling bad	3%	"I do nothing productive. I feel bad" (Paul); "At first I was disappointed....For not being accepted. For not doing something productive." (Lucy); "I feel bad because I am waiting for a response and nothing happens... I sometimes complain that I am sick of this, and that I want to be in a private school" (Amy)	
	RQ2: Past life experiences_ School	3%	"At one point they [My school experiences] were very fun and sometimes very boring" (Paul); "At school ... I found it a bit stressful" (Lucy); "They were good but they should have taught us a little more. I understood everything and I did well" (Amy)	Learning occurs through observation, experimentation, conversations and in collaboration with others.
	RQ2: Past life experiences_ Work	3%	"Work is hard, for people who do not study..."(Paul); "I had a good job. I liked it...I worked in a TELCEL company in customer service... I studied hard [to prepare for the exam] and quit from my job" (Lucy); "My work experiences were okay. I was paid well. I liked them. I worked as hostess..." (Amy)	
How do they learn and develop through their performance of everyday life activity? (Historic, cultural, and performative dimensions)	RQ3: Performing identities_ Going back to school	6%	"I think that studying is very important and we should not let time pass by...One year without studying is a lot" (Paul); "I'm preparing for the exam and I hope to be accepted"(Lucy); "First, I need to be in a public university and find a good job" (Amy)	The lack of opportunities creates a movement away from institutions.
	RQ3: ZPD_ Development tools	3%	"If I see that I do not understand, I search in the Internet for tutorials and I try until I understand..."(Paul); "I have to be listening to something..."(Lucy); "The computer to work...or to find information on the Internet...or sending and receiving information by email" (Amy)	
	RQ3: ZPD_ Learning with conversations	3%	"...I like her to know what I think and I like to know what she thinks of what I think" (Paul); "I think that my learning method is by listening" (Lucy); "Well, giving the reason to the other person, acknowledging your mistakes and saying, "Oh mom, I did not realize that I yell at you, I got desperate" or something like that" (Amy)	
What are the impediments for their learning and development?	RQ4: Limitations_ Being discriminated	3%	"...I have learned that not all people are equal and we should not judge people by how they dress and how they look" (Paul); "They consider you lazy, they think that you do nothing that you are always outside home, and they call you everything" (Lucy); "... they [employers] say that they need people with experience. They should not say that" (Amy)	The lack of opportunities creates a movement away from institutions.
	RQ4: Limitations_ Everyday life problems	2%	"It is a serious problem for me. One year without studying is a lot" (Paul); "I sometimes complain that I am sick of this, and that I want to be in a private school, but we have economic problems and we cannot afford it" (Amy); "The labels that society puts on people" (Lucy)	
	RQ4: Limitations_ Learning obstacles	3%	"The problem is that I get distracted ... well I am one of those who gets distracted very easily" (Paul); "I had a lot of homework and in that time I had to study and work and it was very difficult for me" (Lucy); "...they should have taught us a little more. I understood everything and I did well" (Amy)	

Table 9: Codes and themes for typology 2 (young mothers taking care of their children)

Research Question	Codes	% of total	Selective Comments	Themes
What is the everyday life experience of people living in NiNi status? [What are they doing?] (Descriptive dimension)	RQ1: Everyday activities_ Taking care of child(ren)	6%	"Oh, well I take care of my baby . Here at my house... we have breakfast together, and then I clean the house, wash our clothes and I'm with him, I take care of him , we play, yes, that is almost what I do" (Maria); "I wake up, I wake my children up. They have breakfast. I put them in the shower, I shower, I take them to school , they go to school, I go back to do my work, the household work, I prepare the food. I pick them up from school at 12 and a half. I got home, I finish preparing food, I go pick up my daughter at 2 pm at school, I come back, they change, we eat, and we do homework . At 6 pm we go outside so they can play for a while , at 7-8 pm we go back home, they take a shower and they wait for their dad to have dinner and then they go to sleep." (Patricia)	Everyday life activities include working on temporary basis, doing household work, taking care of children, doing exercise, listening to music, and going to parties.
	RQ2: Youth perspectives_ Most important activities	4%	" Taking care of my baby , well, looking after him more than anything. I am with him and taking care of him."(Maria); "For me, the most important thing in my life is my family ; first of all my children and my husband. I put them as my first priority, and after them my mom and dad. I have a solid concept of family." (Patricia)	
How do they make meaning of their everyday life experiences? (Subjective, phenomenological and interpretive dimensions)	RQ1: Peer Influence_ Relationship with partner	5%	"With my partner? Good...Yes, yes, we try to mutually support each other , right?" (Maria); "[On moving with partner at 15] "I do not know. Maybe it was a decision that I felt was going to be okay with my partner. I loved him so much ; I love him so much that I do not regret it." (Patricia)	Friends influence the engagement of everyday activities and mothers are the main source of emotional support.
	RQ2: Youth perspectives_ Support from mother	4%	"Yes, with my mom, because more than anything we get along well. We have a lot of confidenceAs I told you, I already worked once, and once they took care of my baby, well my mom took care of him and the truth I said, getting back to work? No. Actually I prefer to study than getting back to work, really."(Maria); " There is nothing like a mom , I have always said it, not even your granny; they will never take care of them like you do." (Patricia)	
	RQ2: Youth perspectives_ Emotional support	8%	"From my partner too, all my family supported me , I was not alone or anything like that, yes, it was unconditional support." (Maria); "From my partner everything. Emotionally, we love each other, it has been 11 years.... Emotionally I cannot complain , he is a very good man to tell you the truth. I cannot complain. He is a very good father, and a very good husband." (Patricia)	
	RQ2: Past life experiences_ Work	5%	"I already worked once.[My experience was] The worst . It is very heavy, well I think that it may depend on the job, but mine was, I mean, they paid well, but it was very heavy ." (Maria); "I would have to study something more to have better opportunities. I worked, I worked 3 ½ years in a good job, I worked as a waitress, because other work requires preparation and I cannot get it. But I liked my job , I was doing well, but the kids needed my attention ." (Patricia)	
How do they learn and develop through their performance of everyday life activity?	RQ2: Past life experiences_ School	3%	"I presented my exam at the National University and I was not accepted ...Well, I think I got B's and also A's. Yes, I was not as dedicated, but I did not flunk; I think I was a regular student, right?" (Maria); " I completed Middle School I went to live with him [my partner] very young, at the age of 15." (Patricia)	Past school and work experiences do not help young people to make a successful transition to higher education or as pathways to careers.
	RQ3: Performing identities_ Going back to school	7%	"I learned with the advice that other people gave me, "Feed your baby by placing his milk bottle like this". I got advice and maybe experimenting and trying as well ." (Maria). "In 5 years, I hope to have finished my major...I see myself finishing my major." (Maria); "...with my kids, I try to teach them: "kick it like this or like that" . Eventually you learn some tricks..." (Patricia). "...I decided to give more time to my children... maybe later I would be able to work or study something short, like nursing , being a nurse calls my attention." (Patricia)	
What are the impediments for their learning and development?	RQ4: Limitations_ Being discriminated	7%	"Yes, I remember that when I looked for a job they asked me: "Do you have children?" I said yes and they asked me: "Do you have somebody to look after him?" And I said "yes" but they do not give you [the job] and you suffer a lot and they ask you to come back again and again " (Maria); "In fact she was one of the triggers for me to stop working, because she got him ideas... he was very jealous and we had many fights, many conflicts and I decided to quit ." (Patricia)	Feeling bad for not doing productive activities.
	RQ4: Limitations_ Early parenting	6%	"Oh, well, when I knew it was amazing and you feel that the world comes over you , because you are young and say now what should I do? I mean, everything comes to your mind, everything, everything, and everything. It was not like "oh how nice!" no, no, it was not like that ."(Maria); "The time when I had my two children; that is a unique event. You cannot explain it....I do not know, being always in union with my family. Being together is something I do not change for anything." (Patricia)	
	RQ4: Limitations_ Everyday life problems	3%	"Well, mostly I would say that I would like jobs for young people with children, but also who want to study one in the afternoon and one in the morning. Yes, I feel that more than anything, that is what we need, support with our kids, day care nurseries, right?"(Maria); "Yes, I fight with my partner because sometimes his work is very absorbent. ..That bothers me, the fact that he does not spend time with my children, he leaves at about 6 am and my sons are sleeping and when he comes back it is past midnight, 12:30 am and they are sleeping. That has always been my fight." (Patricia)	The lack of opportunities creates a movement away from institutions
	RQ4: Intergenerational factors_ Marital status	3%	" We live in free union ."(Maria); "...I have always said that I do not need a paper to be sure that I will be with him forever. I'm not interested in getting married ; I'd rather live like that. I do not know if tomorrow we may not get along well and it's easier for everyone to go their way and the children will always be children of the two" (Patricia)	

Table 10: Codes and themes for typology 3 (Young people in performing arts/sports)

Research Question	Codes	% of total	Selective Comments	Themes
What is the everyday life experience of people living in NiNi status? [What are they doing?] (Descriptive dimension)	RQ1: Access to economic resources_Working on temporary basis	3%	"...sometimes on weekends my role is as a DJ , right? You could say that although it is not a formal job, my job is to produce music... " (Oscar); "I do not study, I do not work. At least not formally. I'm a juggler. "(Emma); "On weekends... I am asked to participate in an event to mix music. " (Andres); " I do tricks with juggling clubs and I also make crafts. " (Adele).	Everyday life activities include working on temporary basis, doing household work, taking care of children, doing exercise, listening to music, and going to parties.
	RQ1: Everyday activities_Listening to music	3%	" I'm a musician , I have a production studio and I produce music." (Oscar); "Right now it is in to be into the rave...they play electronic music.... oh no! That is the best!" (Emma); " Music, I always listen to music. " (Jane); "I usually go to bed at 2 am because I like to mix music. I like the idea of being a DJ and I spend quite a time doing that." (Andres)	
	RQ1: Peer influence_Relationship with friends	4%	"Well, most of my friends were musicians right?" (Oscar); "I started... I had a friend, she hung out with many jugglers ...I found out about juggling ... that moved me" (Emma); "... same as me , they love soccer and they are very sociable."(Jane); "I've never had such a good friend.. he is always there to support me. " (Andres); "...I meet friends, artisans, musicians, jugglers and we travel and know places together. " (Adele).	Friends influence the engagement of everyday activities and mothers are the main source of emotional support
How do they make meaning of their everyday life experiences? (Subjective, phenomenological and interpretive dimensions)	RQ2: Youth perspectives_Emotional support	3%	"I have the support of my parents that is the most important, right?" (Oscar); " With my mom I have more communication... " (Emma); " My mom has been very attached to me... "(Andres); " My parents were very supportive... my best friends... are those who are always with me, those who always travel with me..." (Adele)	Feeling bad for not doing productive activities.
	RQ2: Youth perspectives_Seeking happiness/entertainment	5%	"If something does not call my interest I do not do it. I get bored and I quit. " (Oscar); " Juggling... is what I love , one discovers movements and see new things, learning excites you more than anything." (Emma); "I quit because I got bored..." (Andres); " I live happy, I live well. I do not worry about getting late. Zero stress. "(Adele)	
	RQ2: Youth perspectives_Freedom	3%	"I mean, what is essential for an educational institution is freedom , right?... Being employed is my only concern... " (Oscar); "Well I am my own boss... I do not have to worry for being reprimanded ...[feel bad because] why do people stare at you? " (Emma); " Each person decides what to do... people should start thinking about supporting artisans and jugglers... we are not bad people. " (Adele)	Past school and work experiences do not help young people to make a successful transition to higher education or as pathways to careers.
	RQ2: Past life experiences_Work	3%	"I was not treated well... " (Oscar); "I've been a promoter, supervisor, vendor, demonstrator...but I did not find something that motivates me... " (Emma); "...I go and work for a week or so but it's kind of heavy , also it is a factory." (Jane); " There is exploitation at work. " (Andres); "I have worked in a restaurant...It was very bad, very stressful , very bad for the little money you get paid." (Adele).	
	RQ2: Past life experiences_Main reason for stop studying	3%	"I have always been very bad student . I have never been disciplined."(Oscar); "I drop-out of school because ... I was expelled twice from Saint Johns. I was very problematic... " (Andres); "I was part of a problematic group of friends and I was disobeying. I was expelled when I was a senior in high school. I did not like school." (Adele)	
How do they learn and develop through their performance of everyday life activity? (Historic, cultural, and performative dimensions)	RQ3: ZPD_Learning by observing/experimenting	3%	"In my case is imitation...I learn by myself , right?(Oscar); "I started to search for new moves in YouTube videos and I rehearsed and rehearsed them..." (Emma); " Seeing, watching how he does it and trying it out" (Jane); "I met, artisans or jugglers... they taught me to make macramé, bracelets, and other juggling tricks " (Adele).	Learning occurs through imitation and collaboration with others.
	RQ3: Performing identities_Performing arts/sports	3%	"...I do want to be a musician , right? And I'm doing everything to achieve it..." (Oscar); "I want to learn a little bit what my dad does and play soccer. " (Jane); "I like the idea of being a DJ and I spend quite a time doing that..." (Andres); "I will become into an experienced craftswoman. I will be learning more about juggling. " (Adele)	
	RQ3: Performing identities_Travel	3%	"I'd like to be in Europe... " (Oscar); "I imagine myself in Europe . I want to go to Cadiz, Spain." (Emma); "I want to be playing in different parts of the world. I would love to go on tour. " (Andres); "I know the Mexican republic, but by then I want to know other continents and meet new people, other cultures, everything." (Adele).	
	RQ3: ZPD_Development tools	3%	"I have a production studio and I produce music , I spend some time on the Internet but I return and I basically spend all day making music. " (Oscar); "Being on the road all day and talk to many people."(Emma); " Music. " (Jane); "The best I have had is music." (Andres); "My tools would be the threads, wood, and my juggling clubs. " (Adele)	
What are the impediments for their learning and development?	RQ4: Limitations_Everyday life problems	3%	"I do not know, they ask too much experience for all jobs " (Oscar); ". fight s, the arguments I have with my brother and then with my mom , yeah. Or sometimes with my dad too because he is very stubborn..." (Jane); "I have some problems with my mom because I do not have my room ordered or things like that..." (Andres); " we are not bad people. "(Adele)	The lack of opportunities creates a movement away from institutions

Table 11: Codes and themes for typology 4 (Young people in street activities)

Research Question	Codes	% of total	Selective Comments	Themes
What is the everyday life experience of people living in NiNi status? [What are they doing?] (Descriptive dimension)	RQ1: Access to economic resources_ Working on temporary basis	4%	"...I watch out the cars..." (Mike); "...helping people, taking out the trash from the ladies' houses..." (Raul); "I help people, running errands, I always want to have something in my pockets, I try to earn something." (Diego); "It is eventual, it's for certain occasions, when the man has work he suddenly calls me..." (Tony); "On average I work 3-4 days a week....I help people in "tianguis" [flea or street markets]..." (Adam)	Everyday life activities include working on temporary basis, doing household work, taking care of children, doing exercise, listening to music, and going to parties
	RQ1: Everyday activities_ Exercise	3%	"...running and doing pull ups" (Mike); "We mostly need activities for people to not fall into drugs. Installing sports facilities...." (Raul); "I go running, I go to do exercise" (Pedro); "...doing exercise..." (Diego); "For me the most important thing right now is hand fronton...I like to exercise" (Tony); "...exercise, soccer, and pull up bar." (Adam)	
	RQ1: Everyday activities_ Doing drugs	3%	"Because they induce you to drugs, I do not know, to do bad things and there we go, we do nothing." (Pedro); "I like marijuana, right?...I also do 'active' [glue sniffing]. But, as I say, I'm not using it on every day basis..." (Diego); "...maybe we have a little vices..." (Adam)	
	RQ1: Peer influence_ Relationship with friends	7%	"Well, they are a mess, right? [Drug] addicts, drunks...I was quiet, I did not like to spend much time on the street, I liked school. And then it was the opposite when I met them." (Mike); "Well, my friends, are a hobby right?" (Raul); "Because they induce you to drugs, I do not know, to do bad things..." (Pedro); "...I was around 16 and that's when I started going out with the gang" (Diego); "...they are in good and bad times with us. They do not leave us alone. We provide each other support, little or much..." (Adam)	Friends influence the engagement of everyday activities and mothers are the main source of emotional support
How do they make meaning of their everyday life experiences? (Subjective, phenomenological and interpretive dimensions)	RQ2: Youth perspectives_ Support from mother	3%	"...she is the one who have been there for us, right?" (Mike); "I communicate well with her; she's very hard working..." (Raul); "She says that I should change because I am going to have a baby..." (Pedro); "...my mom has always been there..." (Diego); "My mom is everything to me. I love her so much." (Tony); "Well, I think I have more confidence with my mom." (Adam)	Feeling bad for not doing productive activities
	RQ2: Youth perspectives_ Seeking happiness/	3%	"Well, at first I said, that is cool! Right? My day, I'm not going to study, today I'm not going to do the same..." (Mike); "...Fridays...it's nice and we have fun until Saturday, right? We have fun." (Pedro); "...with my friends, messing around and having fun with them." (Diego)	
	RQ2: Youth perspectives_ Feeling bad	2%	"...it feels kind of weird." (Mike); "Well, my cousins are moving forward, right?there are times when you really feel bad right?" (Raul); "...it sometimes makes you feel bad..." (Diego); "...with school can have several opportunities without school you have no opportunities." (Tony); "I feel bad....." (Adam)	
	RQ2: Past life experiences_ School	3%	"I consider myself an average student..." (Mike); "She took me out of High School because I was a real mess..." (Raul); "I was] an average student... At school you start fooling around..." (Pedro); "I dropped out of school because I no longer wanted to continue studying..." (Tony); "...sometimes I have not eaten in a day or two, then that's what led me to take their food away..." (Adam)	Past school and work experiences do not help young people to make a successful transition to higher education or as pathways to careers.
How do they learn and develop through their performance of everyday life activity? (Historic, cultural, and performative dimensions)	RQ3: ZPD_ Learning by observing/ experimenting	3%	"Well, seeing people how they do things, right? And trying to do it better." (Mike); "Well, just by looking, I always learn by observing. I learned to drive by observing my dad and then one day [I said] 'Let me try dad'..." (Raul); "Well, I try to see more often how other players play...I just watch them and that's it." (Pedro); "Well, you learn by watching, suddenly you start trying it and you keep doing it until you know how to do things, right? You practice until you can do it." (Tony)	Learning occurs through imitation and collaboration with others
	RQ3: ZPD_ Learning with conversations	2%	"Well, speaking, speaking well, and speaking well with their parents, right?" (Pedro); "...you learned many things...by talking, right?" (Raul); "Well, talking, right? All I do is talk..." (Diego); "They should convince them that they can achieve something in life, right?" (Adam)	
What are the impediments for their learning and development?	RQ4: Limitations_ Being discriminated	3%	"...we are all the same; I mean, all of us should have the same support to succeed. Not just for a few." (Diego); "Because of the tattoos...They discriminate in the jobs. That's my big problem" (Tony); "...people abuse of us, they humiliate us and that is not right...I do not know why some people mistre at others or why they mistre at us." (Adam)	The lack of opportunities creates a movement away from institutions
	RQ4: Limitations_ Lack of opportunities	3%	"I wish there were part-time jobs where we could have the opportunity to study and work at the same time." (Mike); "...right now there are no opportunities." (Raul); "...without school you have no opportunities. There are more closed doors for those who have not studied." (Tony); "...because we do not have that guidance to focus us, we simply let opportunities go...we do not realize that the guidance is a good support to succeed" (Adam)	

Table 12: Codes and themes for working adults

Research Question	Codes	% of total	Selective Comments	Themes
What is the everyday life experience of people living in NiNi status? [What are they doing?] (Descriptive dimension)	RQ1: Access to economic resources_Formal work	3%	"I started working when I was 8-10 years old."(Leo); "I was 14 when I started working in car repair mufflers..." (Felix); "I started working at the age of 9....I started working because I had 18 siblings." (Nelson); "I started working when I was 18."(Frida); "I stop studying to help my mom..." (Selma); "...I used to work with my parents ...then I went to college..." (Belen); "I studied every day and in addition to study, I worked. I came from a large family; in my house they needed the economic support of children." (Olga)	Older generations entered the labor workforce at an earlier age and younger generations focused on cultural and recreational activities.
	RQ2: Past life experiences_School	4%	"...when one is starving, education doesn't work and that is the truth." (Felix); "I was studying, because I returned to finish high school." (Leo); "...I was in the School of Psychology"(Cesar); "I enjoyed college life a lot..." (Bruno); "As soon as I finished high school I entered college."(Selma); "From 18 to 23 years old I was going to college." (Gaby); "My dad told us that our work was to study, studying was our only obligation." (Gina)	
	RQ1: Peer influence_Relationship with friends	3%	"The Bags" has always been insisting...."Hey mufflers come and drink a beer with us." (Felix); "I met friends with the same interests..." (Bruno); "...my friends... were educated the same..." (Frida); "I used to hang out with the most dedicated students..."(Gaby); "...we always got drunk..." (Belen); "...the atmosphere of the three of us was very healthy." (Gina); "My friends were from school...their parents were very similar to mine, strict..." (Olga)	There is a historical shift from family to friends in the influence of everyday life activities.
How do they make meaning of their everyday life experiences? (Subjective, phenomenological and interpretive dimensions)	RQ2: Youth perspectives_Emotional support	2%	"...my wife used to talk to me...; "My parents were very strict....but there was a lot of love." (Frida); "...my mom always supported us..." (Selma); "[my grandfather] said that I had to be the best" (Gaby); "My friends made high school more bearable...we supported each other" (Bruno); "...I also had friends who were very supportive..." (Belen)	Life experiences fostered meaning-making processes.
	RQ2: Past life experiences_Personal / family experiences	4%	"...my mom's death was a watershed..." (Hector); "The events are the poverty in which you live, that is what gets you through."(Leo); "When my mom died, I had to leave..." (Felix); "I married when I was 23. And I needed to work harder." (Nelson); "...my dad had a heart condition and stopped working..."(Bruno); "I did not have an easy youth..." (Belen); "...[my father] wanted us...not be dependent of any man." (Gina)	Generational differences influence people's meaning making processes.
	RQ2: Youth perspectives_Generational differences	3%	"At that time there were not drugs, or at least, they were not booming like now." (Leo); "...they are like little kids and they think everything is easy." (Felix); "... young people think that in six months they are already stylists and that's a lie." (Frida); "...already tried marijuana" (Belen); "...there are a lack of principles, disrespectful, uncivility..." (Olga)	
	RQ2: Youth perspectives_Responsibilities	3%	"...I did something for them and I cared for them..." (Hector); "I started working because I had 18 siblings." (Nelson); "...my parents told us...we will pay for your education."(Bruno); "...my dad said that we must contribute to the house." (Frida); "I stop studying to help my mom..."(Selma); "My dad told us that our work was to study, studying was our only obligation."(Gina)	
	RQ3: ZPD_Discipline	5%	"I was trying to adopt an almost stoic position for studying and self-sacrifice"(Bruno); "there was discipline. Now there is none at all." (Frida); "my mother was very strict" (Gaby); "They controlled us a little more..." (Gina)	
How do they learn and develop through their performance of everyday life activity? (Historic, cultural, and performative dimensions)	RQ3: ZPD_Learning with conversations	5%	"some of these talks work..." (Hector); "I liked talking to people..." (Cesar); "I started thinking and I started another life." (Felix); "I listen to them..." (Bruno); "I was very attracted by these stories." (Selma); "I liked speaking and listening." (Gaby); "he always said he wanted us to study for tomorrow."(Gina); "I learned best by listening." (Olga)	Learning occurs through observation, experimentation, conversations and in collaboration with others
	RQ3: ZPD_Learning by observing/experimenting	2%	"We copy everything, even what we should not copy." (Hector); "I learned by experience when I worked with my dad..." (Leo); "I started learning by observing... even if I fail, I tried it out." (Felix); "Later, life taught me, mainly at work." (Nelson); "... I was observing how she did it..." (Frida); "By watching him, I was seeing how he performed, what he said, and how he sold." (Olga).	
	RQ3: ZPD_Learning in relationships with mentor/others	3%	"My dad was a mechanic. He taught me the mechanic trade." (Leo); "my boss taught me... the trade of car mufflers repair..." (Felix); "the teacher was super strict"(Frida); "I admired my French teacher..."(Gaby); "...a person...I am very grateful to him..." (Olga)	
What are the impediments for their learning and development?	RQ4: Limitations_Everyday life problems	4%	"I never married because of my shyness." (Hector); "I went through a process of late acne, it hit me hard..." (Cesar); "... well, for me that was not stealing, it was a necessity to survive, to eat..." (Felix); "...lack of money, and scarcity of food to eat." (Nelson); "it was difficult to get the resources to study..." (Bruno); "I used to be depressed a lot."(Gaby)	The lack of emotional support has been the main limitation for the development of working adults.
	RQ4: Limitations_Lack of support	3%	"I was too shy...It was painful for me to reveal it to others." (Hector); "...[my father] didn't pay too much attention to us." (Leo); "... I went away from them." (Cesar); "...[my parents] did not have time to study with me." (Felix); "My mom did not have time..." (Nelson); "My parents worked all day" (Gaby); "my mom did not fulfill that space." (Gina)	