"La suerte no existe"
"Luck does not exist"
Youth, Risk and Leisure
in Cali, Colombia

Teresita María Sevilla Peñuela

B.A. Sociology

1. Introduction

This document is the academic report of a doctoral research study in sociology focused on voluntary risk taking behaviours of late adolescents and emerging adults, in contexts of leisure and recreation, using a qualitative approach to conduct a case study in the city of Cali, Colombia. The project started in October 2001, began its fieldwork stage in April 2003 and is presented here as a written document in April 2005. Full funding was obtained by the Faculty of Legal, Social and Educational Studies of the Queens University of Belfast and academic support and supervision was provided by the School of Sociology and Social Policy of the same institution.

The main findings can be summarized along the two lines of theoretical questioning which structured the study: (1) The nature, elements and currency of risk in the life of youth in contrast with the notion of fatalism, and (2) the possibility of understanding *risk taking as a positive tool* for socialising and entering adult life in light of specific social contexts. Through the first theoretical line, this study will argue that risk is conceived in everyday terms based on different constitutive components: (a) a causal process with elements of rationalism, ranking of priorities, decision making, and both abstract and concrete calculation of risks; (b) an assessment of the time factor with an approach particu-

lar to youth; (c) the major negative view that current western societies have a risk, with specificities on the nature and role of fear and danger; and (d) the role of personal/social- internal/external control in risk management. However, the study will also stress the complexity of these views by identifying and analysing the interweaving of risk with current elements of fatalism of diverse kinds. The second line develops three central ideas. (1) That besides the general association to negative outcomes, youth also perceive benefits in voluntary risk taking associated with (a) self-improvement, (b) emotional engagement, (c) construction of family and socio-cultural identity, and (d) gaining group approval and a sense of belonging in the process of growing up; (2) That risk plays a social-class and gender mediated role in the shortening or elongation of the *moratorium*, the period of transition between youth and adulthood, and that this process is directly related to the level of social *integration* of youth; and (3) that the motivations, meanings and positive and negative consequences of risk taking have to be dimensioned in the social context in which they take place.

2. The research problem and its theoretical backdrop

The theoretical framework of this proposal finds its roots in the work of Beck (1992, 1998) and Giddens (1991) regarding the risk society and

individualization processes in late modernity; in the considerations of Douglas (1992) and Luhmann (1991) on the anthropological and sociological aspects of the notion of risk, and in the extensive and current research on the topic developed by Lupton (1999), and Lupton and Tulloch (2001, 2002a, 2002b, 2003). A growing body of research has also been analysing risk taking in youth regarding processes of transitions, identity construction, and social inclusion and exclusion (Plant and Plant, 1992; Furlong and Cartmel, 1997; Foreman et al., 2000; Williams, 2003; Mitchell, et. al., 2004). In sociological terms, the research problem has been formulated using two lines of discussion: Fatalism against the idea of risk, and positive risk taking.

Fatality versus Risk

According to Green et al. (2002: 110), current society "is less likely to perceive 'risks' in terms of fate, chance or random acts and more likely to recognize 'risks' as a result of human action or intervention within nature and tradition". This study aims to explore if this conception is valid in the case of the youth population in a middle size, urban city in Latin America. In this sense, the first objective is to understand if engaging in certain behaviours labelled as "risky", is conceived by the (risk) takers under the broad notions of (a) fatality or (b) risk.

This shift from fatalism to risk has been explained by Luhmann (1991) as a process where the latter takes the place formerly assigned to witchcraft, magic and religion in terms of misfortune and the inevitable. From a fatalistic perspective, the outcomes of engaging in certain behaviours are not under the control of the individual, nor a result of his or her actions. In contrast, a conception of risk will allow the individual to think that his or her decisions and actions have a direct influence on the consequences. As stated by Douglas (1992) the notion of risk has become central as an organising concept in contemporary societies. When addressing actions and attitudes in terms of risks, the individual is situated in a process of calculating the future, since the notion of risk is deeply entrenched in the notion of time and future (Luhman, 1991: IX). Regarding this issue, Beck has also stated that given that our current risk society is marked by the end of both tradition and nature, the individual shifts from the fear of what nature (the unknown, the inevitable) can do to us, to the awareness of what we can do to nature and the consequent outcomes. Since individuals see themselves as victims of their own acts, there is a tendency to *colonize the future*, to assure some certainty of what will come (Beck, 1998: 11). Therefore, the notion of the calculation of risk appears as a useful reaction of individuals facing uncertainty. Thinking about the future (or the consequences that follow one's actions) in terms of fatality can also be seen as a more passive position than that which is assumed in terms of risk taking.

Regarding the tradition of risk studies, this research ascribes to what Lupton (1999: 35) has described as a *constructivist* approach, one that conceives of risk as "a hazard, threat or danger that is inevitably mediated through social and cultural processes and can never be known in isolation from these processes". Therefore, the analysis of risk and risk taking should include the exploration of the contexts in which these processes take place and the individual and social meanings attributed to such risks. Using Lupton and Tulloch's (2002a) design, this study assumes the idea of social risks as a constructed notion; therefore, the task is to explore the characteristics of this construct, e.g. the definitions and meanings of risk, and the individual and social factors that need to be considered in its construction. Another example of this model is that used by Vanegas (1998) in his research on youth and violence in Cali. His ethnography of urban violence was based on a qualitative exploration of the meanings that people give to their reality, getting closer to real life settings where uses and habits take place. Alongside a critical analysis of Cali's recent socio-economic history, the author places an emphasis in the description and understanding of the social contexts and real actors where violence, as a complex phenomenon, takes place. To explain his view on the topic, Vanegas states that:

"Violence *[risk]* is not an abstraction, it identifies faces and voices. So-cial actors show their humanity –skin and bone-, their dreams, their hopes, their loves, and their wishes – like everyone" (1998: 31)

Lupton and Tulloch, and to a lesser extent other authors, tested the theoretical ideas of Beck (1992) and Giddens (1991), in the field. As can be seen in the literature (e.g. Lupton and Tulloch, 2002a, 2002b; Furlong and Cartmel, 1997; Foreman et. al., 2000; Johnston et al., 2000, Williams, 2003) findings from these studies have shown that ideas such as the effects of globalisation on the processes of individualization are supported by field research, whereas others are contradicted by it, such as the notion of social categories having little effect in the shaping of opportunities for the young population and their engagement in risk activities. The present study is framed along the same guidelines, in order to explore the extent to which the notions of risk society and individualization in late modernity are coherent with the perceptions of youth towards risk taking.

It is important to note, however, that a significant body of research has focused on risk taking in youth from a contrasting approach, the *realist perspective* (Lupton, 1999), with major contributions from health related disciplines and developmental and cognitive psychology. The focus of these studies differs from the constructivist approach. The realist perspective seeks to understand risk taking as part of

developmental procedures and conceives, in a certain way, that there is one normal, socially accepted way in which people should behave and react. This has been strongly influenced by idealistic models of health that assume that there is a normal state of things. Accordingly, this position tends to consider that risk taking is a failure of the process that connects information about the negative effects of engaging in such activities and the ability to not engage on them (e.g. Greene et al., 2000). In this regard, this study has taken on board critical analysis to this tradition, like that of Duff in the case of youth drug use, which can be applicable broadly to our design:

This science of risk fails to examine the *lived experience* of drug use, and th range of decisions that individuals make about their drug use behaviour. It fails to explore the range of putative benefits that users typically draw from this practice, instead focusing solely on the risks or the costs (…) any practical assessment of risks involves some measure of cost-benefit analysis whereby an individual comes to make a judgement about whether a particular risk is worth taking when measured against a potential benefit. Thus it is not that drug users are indifferent to risk, or necessarily ignorant of the range of risks associated with their drug use, although clearly many are, rather it is to point to the array of factors that inform a person's decisions about the use of illicit substances. Divorcing the analysis of the risks or costs associated with the consumption of such substances from any understanding of the context of their use only ensures that researchers miss this vital point (2003: 289-290)

The idea of positive risk taking

Duff's perspective provides a cue for the second question of study. According to Douglas "a risk is not only the probability of an event but also the probable magnitude of its outcome and everything depends on the value that is set on the outcome" (1992:31). In consequence, the analysis of risk calculations should focus on the meanings that such behaviours may have for the people that engage in them, and also on the individual and social value given to what could be potentially lost, affected or transformed. Most of the literature on risk reviews how this concept has moved from its original, neutral use, meaning a positive or negative outcome, to the contemporary notion of risk referring to negative outcomes, "the word has been preempted to mean bad risks" (Douglas, 1992: 24). This idea has two direct effects upon this specific research. On the one hand, the conception of risk as being a negative situation with regard to the activities young people engage in, suggests that –as a second objective- this study was to explore the extent to which activities and scenarios are perceived by the young population as risky, and the explanation for these perceptions. On the other hand, it also points out a need to explore the idea

of "positive" risk taking (regarding outcomes). Lupton and Tulloch have noted that while risk avoidance tends to be taken as a rational behaviour, the engagement in risky behaviours is seen as irrational or as a consequence of lack of knowledge or faulty perception (2002b: 114). Their work, and the research done by Lyng (1990) on what he calls edgework, as well as some findings from current research on youth risk identities (Foreman et al, 2000, Mitchell, et. al, 2004) support the idea of perceived positive outcomes from engaging in risky activities. Hence, people actually can engage in risky behaviours through a rational process that involves the seeking of what they rate (or in some cases even what society rates) as positive outcomes. This study focuses on this situation, trying to identify the characteristics of positive perceptions of risks and the values and meanings that support them, exploring the potential impact of traditional social markers such as gender and social class.

3. The setting and the population of study

The research was conducted as a case study in Cali, Colombia's third largest city. In Cali, and in Colombia in general, there is growing concern about the increasing level of mortality due to external causes in the young population (aged 15-24). According to the national office for statistics, in Colombia in 1997, 61% of those who died as a result of traffic accidents, homicides and suicides were between 5 and 34 years of age, and 30% were between 15 and 24 (DANE, 2001). Specific figures on Cali's youth mortality (which will be detailed in the following chapter) indicate that externally-caused deaths have young people not only as the main victims but also as perpetrators. However, these figures can only show a small part of the situation regarding risk activities in the young population. The nature and purpose of the information collected by statistics is related to mortality (and in some cases to accidents and morbidity (a focus which is different to that selected for this study) and not to risk taking. Due to the different aims, information collected by the institutions in charge of such research is not detailed enough to be considered sufficient as a base for a study like the one proposed here. There is much absent from statistics that takes place day to day in the regular contexts of life and culture.

Youth as a target population remains a very interesting part of the society to be analysed, since it can not be denied that activities regarded as risky tend to have a higher rate of occurrence within this age band (Arnett, 2001). In a summary of her extensive work on the topic, Griffin (2001: 149) gives another important reason to continue studying this part of the population:

'Youth is treated as a key indicator of the state of the nation itself (…)

young people are assumed to hold the key to the nation's future, and the treatment and management of 'youth' is expected to provide the solution to a nation's 'problems' (…) Research on youth tells us at least as much about the social, psychological and political concerns of adult societies, in all their diversity, as it does about the lives of young people themselves (…) the two are fundamentally intertwined'.

From another perspective, Galindo (1989:37) explains the duality that is the relationship between society and its youth and why studying it is a necessary task that at the same time carries the hope of a revelatory self-assessment:

"The young person is a promise; he (sic) is still not a reality. For current society the most important promise to continue being as it is. Only those who say no, those who resist themselves, those that run away, can establish a new order. Society protects itself very well from youth's energy and tries to shape it according to its own will. For those who wait for a change in youth's behaviours, those who wait for a different future as a consequence of the action of new generations, young individuals rather than being a promise are a deception. While the young individual taking shape, acquires the face of the adult world, a very conservative world that organises its new actors in the same old logic". (My translation)

The task of researching youth implies facing the challenge of assuming a notion of youth, a categorisation of it, which means establishing limits and subscribing to defined models of what one understands as youth. On this issue, Muñoz (1999: 17-20) recalls current discussions of the need to use more than age to define youth. According to this perspective the notion of youth should be constructed *a posteriori*, once the different historical, cultural and political circumstances that give meaning to age and to youth in each society have been analysed. However, this same trend is aware that *biological age* is still the only visible and empirical information that one has to begin when approaching the young population in any society. Consequently, age is also in this case the first, main, element of categorisation of the target population: Cali's youth.

When conducting research on youth, it is likely that most of the information one gathers through statistics and other legal and social documents includes all people between 15 and 24 years of age. However, recent work developed both from the psychological and the social sciences tend to differentiate between what is called late adolescents (15-18) and emerging adults (19-25) (Arnett, 2001; Furlong and Cartmel, 1997). Age differences represent diverse social dynamics within each group, especially in relation to educational status, socialization patterns, economic and occupational characteristics and relationships with

parents, family and other social institutions. This study follows this line of distinction to focus on both late adolescents and emerging adults in order to identify contrasts on the age segments that could provide elements for the analysis of the time factor and changing process of the self in risk taking.

There was, however, a need for a practical consideration regarding late adolescents. According to legislation in Colombia[2] as well as international agreements that the Country subscribes to[3], the population under 18 is regarded as minors and, specifically, those under 16 face different regulations than those over that age limit. Consequently, the study decided to exclude those under 16, despite the importance of their situation in relation to scenarios such as pregnancy and involvement in minor illegal activities.

The target scenarios

This research grounded the idea of risk taking in the exploration of behaviours, activities, and *situations* within typical leisure and recreational contexts among youth in Cali. The decision to focus on such activities stemmed from the desire to work with "ordinary" populations and their social worlds. While involvement in activities linked to organised and structural criminality, which could lead to events such as homicide and enrolment in social/political/economic organisations (including armed militias, paramilitary groups or right- or left-wing guerrillas, drug-trafficking gangs and mafias, among others), is a significant concern for the city, they still remain "extra-ordinary" situations. This was arguably less central to this research since it belongs to a different behavioural complex that does not affect the majority of the youth population (although of course having some dynamic connections with the topic of study). The closest example of this approach was given by Muñoz in her research into current patterns of socialization, ideas and perspectives of Cali's youth, where she clearly explains that her tar-

---

[2] In Colombia, all people under 18 are covered by the "Código del Menor" (law for under aged), established by the law 127 – 37 of the 27th of November, 1989 and ruling after 1999. This law has special considerations for people over 16, which allows them, among other things, to get married or have a driving license with special permission from the parents or legal minders, to work full time, and to purchase alcohol and cigarettes (but not go into pubs and clubs, which is restricted to those over 18). On the other hand, there are also special considerations for law breakers over 16 and under 18 years of age, such as special reclusion institutions and law procedures, which work in close agreement with the National Institution for the Welfare Children and Family (ICBF).

[3] Colombia subscribes to the United Nation Convention on the Rights of the Child, and ratified its participation in January 1991. It also subscribes to the two optional protocols on armed conflict and on child prostitution in September 2000.

get was "anonymous, ordinary kids that were not organised in any specific way nor belonged to a micro society that served as a link to engage them in the project (…) eventual belonging to certain groups was not central, nor inclusive, nor exclusive" (1999: 99). Another pragmatic reason for excluding participants in organized crime was the inherent difficulty and risk of this type of research. The focus selected leads to a more coherent research design. Consequently, the situations and activities explored were framed in the following categories:

- Sexual activities
- The use of psychoactive substances (alcohol, tobacco and other related substances) in contexts not connected with organized criminal activities
- Traffic-related culture (including drinking and driving)
- "Minor" illegal activities (shoplifting, joyriding, use of fake Ids, etc)
- Extreme sports

A case study

(1) As mentioned, the research took place in Cali in the form of a case study. The descriptive characteristics of the city as a case are:

- A middle sized urban city with an important process of development on the demographic, social, urban, and economic levels.
- A Latin American city that combines (1) the difficulties of belonging to a developing country (regarding urban distribution, economy, migration and social conflicts), (2) the potentialities of the native social, ecological, cultural and historical resources, and (3) the opportunities of receiving influence and aid of a diverse nature from developed countries.
- A city highly impacted by national social conflicts such as violence and drug production and trafficking, whose consequences are seen in the social, economic and cultural structures.

(2) A third of Cali's population is between 10 and 29 years of age. The condition of a young city that faces violence as a main threat for its youth and, as well, that offers diverse and complex ways of living, makes it a suitable site for studying the topic of risk and youth. Cali's background of migration and its dynamic of social inclusion and exclusion offer an opportunity to approach this situation. Using Vanegas' words, Cali is a city that holds different cities (1998). Previous studies show that the city has a global social, economic and cultural logic that breaks down into contrasting different logics within the localities that co-exist. Studying Cali's youth offered the advantage of exploring this multiplicity in order to identify the ways in which variables such as gender, occupation and social conditions determine in different ways the meanings, uses and habits related to risk taking.

(3) In a broader sense, the study also offered a possibility of establishing connections and comparisons with (i) other contexts and (ii) other, previously explored aspects of risk taking in other age spans.

(4) As part of strategies of national and local governments to tackle (i) the impact of social conflicts related to violence and the drug industry; (ii) the uneven social and economic distribution (inclusion/exclusion); and (iii) specific social problems such as unplanned teenage pregnancy, the use of alcohol and drugs, and issues concerning traffic culture, among others, Cali is currently taking part in different research and intervention projects. Cali's current Plan of Development has the young population as the main target of all these strategies; this situation offers a good opportunity to develop projects such the present one as it fits within the guidelines of the government with respect to public policies in education and health.

Conducting the study was also justified by findings of other recent research in the city: (1) Vanegas described the duality faced by young males between engaging in acts of violence that imply a high risk of un-lethal and lethal injuries, or being apprehended by the police. On the one hand, they state a will and wish to live their lives at a "slower rhythm", but, at the same time, they explain how violence, aggression and physical strength are highly valued in their local contexts in relation to individual and collective identity construction (1998: 153). (2) According to Urrea and Quintín (2000: 150), drinking large amounts of alcohol in parties and public places is related to young men's need of proving to their peers the strength of their bodies and the capability of resistance. This latter idea is found across all their research on male identity construction in excluded areas of the city. (3) One of the more complex findings in this field relates to female sexuality and socio-economic conditions. While pregnancy proves to be a "pass" into adulthood, an improvement of familial and social status, an assurance of womanhood for girls in a context where study and work opportunities are very limited, girls from middle and upper *estratos* face a continuous struggle to demonstrate that they can be full women without the necessity of a direct experience of maternity and that sexuality includes both reproductive and erotic dimensions that should both be equally valued morally and socially (Vanegas, 1998: 139; Rosero and Saldarriaga, 1999: 10). These findings show that specific scenarios of "risk taking" cannot be seen from a black and white perspective, and that the social and economic conditions of the local contexts are strong determinants of such actions.

4. A qualitative approach: Aspects of methodology

On theoretical grounds regarding the tradition of risk studies, the research can be framed under the *constructivist approach,* however, its epistemological perspective is supported by a broader position known as *critical realism.* As will be explained in detail further on, this conception acknowledges that underneath the motivations and meanings assigned to risk taking in the complexity of social situations, there are also biological, mechanical and other non-humanly charged factors that should also be considered. This means that regardless of the values and meanings assigned to their outcomes, sexually transmitted diseases, pregnancies, car crashes caused by weakened driving skills and resulting in bodily traumas, among others, are an unavoidable reality that has to be recorded and taken on board. In this regard, quantitative tools are helpful to record such events as plots, or *fabric of actions* (*tramas*); however, these events are also surrounded by plots or fabrics of motivations, *meanings* and *interest* that result from the human-social nature are more susceptible to be understood and interpreted by qualitative means (Ricoeur, 1983; Sevilla-Casas and Sevilla, 2005). The study explores narratives of motivations, meanings and perceptions with detail into the routines and social contexts they took place in. At the same time, it is important noting that this research is interested in exploring the *situational logics* of risk taking instead of individual patterns of behaviour.

The research tools included several months of participant observation, the execution of four focus groups and fifty individual semi-structured interviews with an emphasis on life stories. Sampling and contacting strategies included quotas (by age, gender and social status), targeting of specific cases and key informants, and snowballing. Participants were between 16 and 25 years of age from both genders and more from a background outside of institutions rather than within them. Verbal informant consent was always acquired and information was collected via tape recording and fieldwork journal notes. Analysis was supported by ETHNOGRAPH V.5.0., a computer based programme that allowed structuring the information through categories or families of codes, expedited the coding and was also helpful in synchronising the theory with the fieldwork results.

Structure of the document

The document is presented in five chapters. Regularly, reports like this would follow the "IMRD" scheme, Introduction, Methods, Results and Discussion, however, the characteristics of the findings which will be presented in a detailed narrative, demand the consideration of a more balanced structure. Accordingly, the reader will find in Chapter One, "Being a young Caleño at the beginning of this centu-

ry" an initial section with the description of the setting and the population of study with the use of some current figures on demography and other central characteristics. A second section describes the process of growing up and the patterns of socialization of young caleños, and the following five sections give full account of the main findings in relation to their experiences on the target areas of study (use of psychoactive substances, sexuality, traffic culture, extreme sports, and minor illegal activities).

To provide a bridge between the ethnographic narrative and the theoretical discussion, Chapter Two will present the "Research Methods and Methodology". This chapter presents in detail the process of conception, design and the manner in which the present study was conducted in regards to methodology. A first section describes the epistemological and theoretical position that supports the use of a qualitative and interpretative approach to the study of youth risk taking in a framework that will be called situational logic. A second section gives an account of the research plan and presents aspects of sampling, access and contact of the participants and selection criteria. The characteristics of the participants and the technical aspects of the final sample of study will be discussed in section three, and the concrete strategies and tools for gathering the information will be presented in section four. Section five discusses the process of analysis and interpretation of the material, section six will discuss ethical issues of the research, and a final section on reflexivity will analyse the study as a personal experience.

Chapter Three is divided into two main parts. The first part presents the literature review considering the notion of risk, the origin of the concept and the main empirical and theoretical perspectives. The latter includes a description of the tradition of risk studies in the health sciences, the analysis of the work of three central authors (Mary Douglas, Ulrich Beck and Anthony Giddens) and the description of the current stream of youth risk taking analysis. The second part draws on the findings of the study for the first time to describe the constitutive elements of risk taking through the lenses of youth; following Lupton and Tulloch's model (2003), the next section analyses youth's personal definitions of risk; and a final section develops the idea of control and its role in the process of risk taking.

The analysis and discussion of the findings will be developed in Chapter Four, where two sections address the theoretical questions of study. The first part will analyse the characteristics of youth risk taking, and present the elements of fatalism traced in the narratives of study. The second part will consider the function of risk taking, the notion of positive risk taking -with the development of the ideas of *moratorium* and *social integration*- and, finally, the question of the social construc-

tion of risk with a critical analysis of the notion of vulnerability.

A final chapter will summarize the main conclusions and proposed contributions to the academic debate and, potentially, to the fields of public health and social policy that have youth as a central concern. Future scenarios of study and cues for developing ideas identified or initially analysed in the research will also be sketched.

The reader will find that the description of the findings and part of the analysis makes a strong use of direct quotes from the participants of this study. Selecting this style of writing was based on a personal decision to keep the study closely connected to the field, and to make full use of the richness, depth and complexity of the information collected. As the study was conducted in a Spanish speaking country, the quotes had to be translated to English by the researcher, which introduces a filter that should be acknowledged, as the original structure and word setting could be altered in this process; however, a complete record of the original quotes can be found in Appendix 1, should anyone be interested to have a direct read.

It is the hope of the researcher that this work contributes to the social, academic and political debate on risk taking but, above all, that it reinforces the construction of a bridge that connects the abstract, adult-centred vision of the world to that of youth, acknowledging their perspectives and tuning

our frequencies accurately enough to listen and to understand their narratives and every day experiences of life.

5. Conclusions and Perspectives

This final section summarizes the central empirical and theoretical findings presented and developed throughout this document, with an emphasis on the convergences and divergences with the current debate on risk research in the local and global academic milieu.

5.1. Methodological and epistemological aspects

The study was conducted in Cali, Colombia, and used a qualitative approach for the study of risk-taking in the youth population. This was mostly done by conducting participant observation and undertaking four focus groups and fifty interviews with males and females aged sixteen to twenty five, from different socio-economic backgrounds in the city.

The epistemological design has been orientated by the idea of describing and interpreting reality as a stratified complexity of *tramas* or fabrics of *objective events, meanings* and *interests*. The first layer is composed of all human and non human actions and processes, including biological, mechanical, physical and environmental factors. At this first level, objective events have to be recorded and described, as they represent the prime

material of social contexts and human situations. In this line of thought, both qualitative and quantitative tools of research are useful to keep account of these elements. A second layer of *tramas* would be made of individual and collective *meanings* that these actions have in each context, and, as a third level, the interests that motivate and play out the interaction of the other two levels. It should be noted that, as in a thick crafted weave, these levels interrelate with each other to produce a complex social *situation*. In terms of social research, the two latter levels and the complete interweaving of the diverse elements are not only to be described but to be *interpreted* and *understood*. As a consequence, the methodological approach to these levels should be of a *hermeneutical* nature, which is usually provided by qualitative strategies and methods of analysis. It should also be noted that the main focus of this project was not the exploration of individual conceptions and behaviours but the analysis of *situational logics of risk* which include personal as well as collective, social and contextual processes.

By acknowledging the existence of *tramas* of *objective events, meanings* and *interests*, this study has also supported the ideas of *critical realism* which believes that underneath the motivations and meanings assigned to risk taking in complex social situations, there are also biological, mechanical and other non-humanly charged factors that should also be considered. In terms of the theoretical tradition of risk studies this research followed the lines of the *constructivist* approach, one that conceives of risk as "a hazard, threat or danger that is inevitably mediated through social and cultural processes and can never be known in isolation from these processes". Therefore, in addition to the level of *tramas* of objective events, the analysis of risk and risk taking included the exploration of the contexts in which these processes take place and the individual and social meanings attributed to such risks. The most highly contrasting approach to this is the *realist perspective* with major contributions from health related disciplines and developmental and cognitive psychology, where the focus differs from the constructivist approach as it seeks to understand risk taking as part of developmental procedures and assumes, in a certain way, that there is a normal way in which people should behave and react. This has been strongly influenced by 'ideal' models of health which assume that there is a normal state of things. Accordingly, this position tends to consider risk taking as a failure of the process that connects information about the negative effects of engaging in such activities and the ability to not engage on them.

5.2. Main Findings

This research was orientated by two aims: (1) to analyse the notion of risk and its constitutive elements with-

in everyday conceptions and behaviours of young people, in reference to their perception of fatalism, and (2) to describe the role of risk in terms of functions and perceived associated benefits in the life of youth, in order to explore the idea of *positive risk taking* in relation to social contexts.

5.2.1. Youth, risk and fatalism

Regarding the first line of research, it was found that risk is central to the regular discourses and conceptions of everyday life of youth, and that it has four major constitutive elements.

(1) The notion of a causal process. Consistent with the literature, narratives showed a conception of risk as a chain of causation, which underlines the awareness that certain actions lead to other actions or situations. This element is critical in the theoretical debate between constructivist and realist approaches, as the latter tends to associate risk taking with irrationality. However, the accuracy of the constructivist approach in this regard is confirmed here by evidence showing that, not only elements of rationality are present in a risk taking situation, but also that it involves complex processes of decision making where **prioritising between different sets of values and potential negative and positive outcomes is a regular pattern**. This situation of risk calculation appeared in both abstract and practical levels, as young people develop skills to calculate risk in terms of com-

panion (risk – whom with), places (risk – where) and moments (risk – when). Following the idea of situational logics of risks, narratives showed that engagement in risk- taking activities was conceived and highly valued as "thick moments" or complex situations and not only as a particular behaviour; for example, attending *piques* (illegal car races) offered more than the possibility of racing a car (which many did not actually do), it offered integration to exclusive networks and the opportunity to meet people. Stating that these calculations are made through the development of specific skills underlines that risk management is a constructed – learnt process where family, peers and same-gender-companions play a critical role. In this particular case, gender was identified as a structural differentiating marker, as females showed a strong peer/self-monitoring process in terms of their gender identity, their narratives described that besides the regular concerns regarding personal safety, health and relationship with peers (common to both girls and boys), for them, reputation and respectability seemed to be constantly at stake.

(2) A second element was the assessment of the time factor as part of the process of risk taking. In relation to the idea of a causal chain, time, in the notion of future, is central to the concept of risk; this characteristic can be noted better when exploring elements of fatalism where the absence of a notion of future and the idea of

living the present moment are clearly identified. An important feature of time is its plasticity, the probability of living multiple scenarios, of changing from one pattern of life to the other with little difficulty, as an element of being young. Narratives showed that time provides the possibility of creating potential scenarios, of experimentation – a central task for youth - and of resuming the tracks of life that would be expected from adult-centred society. This opportunity, initially, appears to be clearer for upper-middle/integrated classes than for lower-excluded populations, due to the structure of the social agents that support them through these processes, such as family and networks for study and work. Finally, it should also be mentioned that narratives express that time and life are lived in a very *intense* way, which allows the exploration of multiple scenarios and patterns of behaviours in short slots of time.

(3) A central characteristic of risk in current times is that it is negatively charged in terms of its outcomes; this means that, regularly, risk is conceived as *bad* risk. This feature was also present in youth's narratives and it was usually represented through discourses of *fear*. As it will be developed further, fear (as other features of risk) can be associated with potential outcomes, and plays a role in processes of self-improvement; however, it is presented here as the particular shape that the notion of risk, as a negative situation, takes in youth experiences. Major fears associated with potential outcomes of risk are: (a) losing control of oneself, that is, a fear of breaking personal limits and undermining personal principles and values (usually as a result of regular or occasional use of psychoactive substances); (b) failure (related to reputation and image, especially affecting parents, peers and significant others); (c) physical pain (in many occasions as part of a poor, self-damaged health); (d) death. In the case of females, losing self control would usually put them in a vulnerable and clear position as victims of all kinds of aggression, whereas males would perceive themselves as more likely to become aggressors. It should also be noted that fear was perceived as a tool to keep oneself grounded and centred, acting as an inner restraint. In cases such as the regular practice of extreme sports, for instance, fear was seen as the difference between failure and success as it would maintain an awareness of the personal limits and skills, meaning that it is helpful in the process of risk calculation.

(4) Consistent with hints given by previous research for broader age spans and other categories, control was noted to be an element recurrent in youth's reflections on the process of risk taking. Central associated notions included: (a) Irresponsibility, as risk taking was eventually seen as a failure in the fulfilment of personal, familiar and social responsibilities or roles assumed. In this case, lack of control and self restraint was conceived as a trig-

ger for avoiding or failing to take responsibilities. Once more, it is important noting that despite the proposed idea that risk taking is experienced through processes of rationalisation and calculation of diverse positive and negative potential outcomes, this choosing may sometimes produce inner conflicts with regards to the set of values and guides of action that are highly influenced by adult-centred structures and internalised by the individual during long periods of social and family education. However, as noted by literature on socialisation, youth is characterised by the confrontation and personalisation of these schemes.

(b) "External risks / internal choices", an idea which stresses the role of self-control and personal will, in the process of risk management. Resources to deal with such situations are believed to be acquired at home and with peers during the stages of socialisation.

(c) Narratives also stressed that personal risks were easier to manage and calculate than global/external risks. An important emphasis was made in the general awareness of risks related to the country's socio-economic stability and testimonies included experiences or personal reflections regarding political violence (such as kidnappings and bombings), social violence and instability (robbery), and interpersonal violence (different levels of aggression).

(d) On occasions, control was associated with the presence of others in situations of risk management or calculation, in two broad senses. Firstly, being in the company of others (usually friends) would assure a safety network that helps the individuals to stay grounded and in contact with their personal values; that is, friends would serve as a "pole to the earth" in situations of potential loss of control. Main gender differences were observed as females would stress strong peer and gender monitoring, whereas males would refer to friends more in terms of support and companionship rather than in terms of guards. In a second sense, being with others would usually keep individuals aware of the way in which their actions could affect their companions. Gender differences showed that females perceive themselves as an influential factor causing males to maintain self control, such as when they are the main companion of a drunk driver, whereas males describe themselves as active control takers or power holders; narratives describe male reflections about the potential harm they could cause to others and how, once this possibility is eliminated, they would be more relaxed about weakening their self control.

(e) Finally, narratives would stress their conception of "older and wiser", as perceptions regarding self control often described it as a consequence of growing up and becoming mature. Reflections described how the effect of time would allow individuals to know their bodies, values, personal limits and characteristics of their

friends and, consequently, become more skilful with regard to staying in control and calculating risk. The latter does not mean that risk taking disappears with age, but that individuals do tend to be more consistent in their values and beliefs and strengthen their self control as they experience life.

An additional consideration to the sociological analysis of risk was the potential contribution of elements usually explored by the psychological field such as sensation seeking, the notion of a personal fable, and the optimistic bias. Traditionally, these elements are seen as biological – developmental factors that characterise young populations and have an impact on their mental structure, which leads them to underestimate the potential outcomes of (risky) actions and believe that they are less likely to be affected by negative situations than other people. The study explored the social (and not the neurological) basis and characteristics of these factors to understand the complexity of risk taking. Narratives described in detail how the personal fable is a constitutive element of risk taking as in many occasions a feeling of control and uniqueness tends to overcome the assessment of other factors. This is not to say that young people undertake their actions without having at least a basic awareness of the consequences; it is just that they genuinely believe that they have the capability of mastering the situation. Consistent with current literature, the role of peers and social networks was found

to be crucial for the engagement of youth in risk behaviours, where males underline their role as companion and support, and females stress their contribution in self and gender monitoring. A recurrent figure in this category was the idea of living a heroic life, a situation identified as a tool for confronting reality and engaging in processes of self-actualisation. Narratives described how breaking the rules or testing one's values and skills was critical to show self control and reinforce elements of masculinity, femininity or youth. However, responses also stressed that, as much as the idea of being heroic provides positive effects for processes of self and social construction of the self, it is also recognised as a potentially harmful element that stands on the edge of what is acceptable or unacceptable within an individual's patterns of behaviours.

Underlining the notion of *tramas* of objective events, meanings and interests, the study found that, despite the fact of risk being a central element to youth's conception of the world, it was regularly interwoven with aspects of fatalism, though these appear on a lesser extent. The most outstanding shapes that this concept takes in youth narratives are: (1) A failure to take responsibility for one's actions and placing it either in others or in external circumstances. As a general pattern, individuals assumed passive roles of victims, which can be traced in practices such as the use of psychoactive substances or unsafe sexual practices. An

interesting point of discussion in this situation is that justification for risk taking is placed, for instance, in the physical effects of the substances used, but little self-assessment is done over the use of substances itself and, when it happens to be mentioned, it is usually done to blame others for the situation. A contrast that highlights this position was perceived with non-fatalistic cases where individuals acknowledged the effects that these substances have in them and took measures to control them. (2) An absolute, direct association between risk taking and the social context, which leads to the belief that any scenario, opportunity, action or behaviour is completely and only predetermined by socio-economic conditions, and that "breaking" this scheme is only possible via risk taking. An example of this position is the engagement in illegal activities to access leisure, recreation and other symbolic goods. (3) An avoidance of the notion of future and planning which is usually supported by the idea of being young and living the moment without worrying about the future. On many occasions the idea of "youth spirit" appeared in narratives as a justification or an umbrella to avoid taking responsibility, supported by the idea that risk taking behaviours should be something to be expected and accepted from youth. This element could be explained by the traditional influence of realist models (especially from areas of health and developmental psychology) which have promoted a certain notion that

youth risk taking is the result of the failure of processes of rationality that are still under development. (4) The belief in fate, god or a higher power that controls and rules one's life and that, in some occasions, has already predetermined what will happen to each and every one. (5) A disdainful position towards life, which can be described as loss of interest and a lack of motivation for actions and behaviours. This position would perceive life as a temporary episode that has a beginning and an end, thus, behaviours sometimes would challenge death or simply would not fear it. As a consequence, some narratives would state that as death is an imminent reality to all, they may as well encounter it while having fun. (6) The idea that people are born with elements of risk taking in their character which they develop through life but which cannot be modified. As a consequence, it was believed by some that they had a danger-seeking or deviant *nature* and that it was not possible for them or anyone to modify its basics.

5.2.3. Positive Risk-Taking

The second line of discussion developed the idea of positive risk-taking in youth. Discourses identified perceived benefits in risk taking, which are precisely those taken under consideration during processes of risk calculation. Consequently, narratives note that risk (through its potential benefits) can be perceived as having diverse functions in the life of youth: (1) Con-

sistent with current literature, risk is perceived to promote self improvement and actualisation at physical, emotional or social levels during and after taking part in such activities. Discourses continuously mentioned risk taking as the opportunity to test the self, to reinforce their youth spirit and to build their personal identity. (2) On occasions, risk taking allowed an emotional engagement which promoted the self to extend beyond the adult-centred structures of culture and society. In this regard, it was noted that the process of rationalisation and assessment of personal priorities in relation to risks place important value on emotional reasons and experiences. (3) In the particular settings of leisure and recreation, risk taking proved to have an important role in the construction of familiar and cultural identity and, at the same time, in gaining (4) peer-group approval and a sense of belonging. In both cases, narratives were consistent with previous studies that stressed the role of risk taking in these behaviours as *rites de passage*, substantially supported and promoted by peer and adult networks. (5) In the particular case of youth, risk taking has been deeply connected to issues of personal and social image, in terms of peer groups as well as in terms of gender identity.

Based on recent local research, the study used the notion of modern social integration (or exclusion) to describe youth that has (or lacks) economic, social and symbolic resources for personal development and, in regards to these classifications, the role that risk plays to expedite or extend their entrance to adult society. The period where this process takes place usually begins with late adolescence and emerging adulthood until the formal enrolment in society as an adult in terms of work, housing and family/marital status; it is known in the current literature as *moratorium* and risk is central to its structure.

In the case of excluded populations, the study used the example of early pregnancies, usually perceived as a social and health risk activity, to explore the role that risk plays as a tool to shortening the *moratorium* and, therefore, to accelerate the integration into adult networks. For females, early pregnancies represent benefits such as (1) Improvement of social status within the household, (2) Securing a partner, (3) Leaving home and starting one's own family, (4) Accessing social benefits from governmental and non governmental institutions, (5) Increasing personal safety, and (6) Exercising womanhood. For males, benefits took the shape of (1) Reinforcing and demonstrating masculinity, (2) A passage into adulthood, (3) Assuring the prolongation of their lineage, and (4) The possibility of settling down, consolidating a family and entering the legal – stable labour market. Generally, both males and females tend to perceive risk as an opportunity for transformation of their pathways and as alternative channels for integration.

In contrast with excluded populations, risk among already integrated populations was perceived as a tool for elongating moratorium and slowing the entrance to adulthood. This study found in these social environments an association between risk taking and the avoidance of two central markers of adult life: commitment and long-term planning; this is usually done by exploring scenarios such as regular attendance at raves and after parties, the use of psychoactive substances –especially "hard drugs"-, engagement in illegal activities and even elongating stages of training and education. As part of their conditions as *integrated* youth, narratives showed that family, peers and society in general provides them with the resources and opportunities to easily resume the expected pathways, and that their experiences as risk takers end up being considered a constitutive path of their youth.

These findings can be summarized in two main theoretical ideas: (1) Consistent with previous local research, it was noted that **lower socio-economic strata tends to have shorter periods of moratorium; thus, insertion into adult life in terms of work, economic production and consolidation of own families is done faster and earlier than in upper classes**. This can be explained by the economic constraints that force young people to become economically active as quickly as possible in order to help their families and to cover their own expenses. This transformation is usually associ-

ated with the insertion into the labour market. (2) Initially, it could be understood from the findings that fatalism is stronger in lower socio-economic populations than in middle-upper classes. This is true only to a certain extent. On the one hand, it is noted that poor economic conditions lower the possibilities of action and potential future scenarios for youth; to use a statistical term, it can be said that **excluded, "poor" segments of the population have less "degrees of freedom" than people from integrated, wealthier environments, to plan and develop their life**. Thus, **apparently in the "lower" extreme of the scale there is a stronger manifestation of fatalism; however, it should be considered that as in these environments social and economic resources are more limited**, consequently, so are the potential outcomes that can be achieved through them. On the other hand, it has to be stressed that narratives from these populations still present the constitutive elements of risk taking. This is, that **despite the lower, limited conditions or degrees of freedom, the logic of risk in terms of planning, the conception of a causal process, and the weigh of potential outcomes is still applied.** This means that engagement in the studied behaviours does not happen "automatically" but that, in different levels of complexity, it is considered as *an option* and their potential outcomes are weighted and prioritised. Accordingly, **instead of fatalism,**

young people adopt a calculative realism. Limited conditions force people to be strategic in their conception of life, which, in the case of youth, can be described in terms of logics of risk calculation. It should also be noted that as this **tension between fatalism and risk is mediated by socio-economic conditions**, the actions undertaken to expedite or avoid *moratorium* are consistent with the resources and conditions individuals have at hand. This means that people do what they can with what they have at both extremes of the scale. Thus, an important consequence is that behaviours contrast dramatically, as it is not the same to elongate *moratorium* by taking a year off studies to party and use drugs, than to shorten it by having a child. A Colombian expression describes accurately this situation, "hacer de tripas corazon", that is, in excluded strata people make a heart out of their bowels.

The traditional idea of social constructivism was explored through the analysis of the role of females in Colombia's male-centred traffic culture, specifically as the companion of a drunk driver. The use of this particular example was also intended to confront the idea of gender vulnerability in order to explore the current ways in which it has been transformed into an active agency where individuals are concrete actors -and not victims- of their social environments, and to identify the role of risk within this complexity. Thus, the study stressed that

risk, as a central element of current social scenarios, is not imposed but constructed as an option to deal with reality (that, yes, can be uneven and segregated), weighing and prioritising all the elements at stake. Among these priorities and potential scenarios and motivations, the study found that, in the case of the female driving companion, reasons for engaging in this particular "risky" scenario included elements closely related to the construction of personal, social and gender identity. Analysis of these elements was supported by theory regarding gender differences in moral reasoning, which suggests that while males tend to be justice orientated, females are more likely to be responsibility orientated. Consequently, it is noted that women have been taught to care for other people and expect others to care for them; in addition, while men think in terms of rules and justice, women are more inclined to think in terms of caring and relationships. This pattern was clear in the reviewed narratives and allows the inference that, **even when prioritising the other over the self, female risk serves a personal interest in the construction of their feminine role.** In this regard, it is worth questioning the vulnerability of females in this situation and understanding that their use of their own self (bodies, companions and role as females) can be transformed from a passive-victim position to one of active agency.

5.3. Putting risk in perspective: concluding comments

This study has aimed to respond to current literature's cues to explore the notion of risk within specific social contexts with an emphasis on the process of prioritising potential negative and positive outcomes. It has also intended to bridge the alleged gap between reason and risk taking through the exploration of youth narratives, disclosing situational logics of risk and *tramas* of objective events, meanings and interest, where social agents such as family and peers, and social markers like gender and social background, have proved to be critical.

In terms of a general debate, mostly developed in Anglophone and western literature, the study takes place in a very active period of research into youth risk taking, which has been producing a series of reports from diverse perspectives, very useful in the construction of this particular analysis, especially in understanding risk in terms of gendered and locally lived experiences. This study aims to contribute to this debate through the analysis of risk-taking in a developing country, a perspective that, according to recent literature, is lacking. We suggest a particular emphasis on **the connection between the idea of *morato-***

rium (very current in the local-Latin American analysis of youth) **and the role of risk in different and complex socio-economic contexts**.

In relation to the Latin American milieu, the study has built upon recent innovative efforts to analyse youth and its interaction with elements of the complex social reality (violence, criminality, relationship with the body and projects of the self, and processes of use and creation of cultural products, among others) from a qualitative approach which tries to describe these *situations* from the inside; that is, underlining the point of view of the human actors and describing the *tramas* that produce their interaction. Thus, this study has proposed the use of **risk as a key concept for interpreting youth culture**, behaviours and conceptions, something hinted at but not fully used before in local academic literature. In addition, the effort to construct this analysis has been focused on partial segments of this population as a cross sectional exploration of class and gender that builds upon previous research that in order to go further to a more integrated perspective.

As for Cali and Colombia, the study provides a broad sociological analysis of the critical socio-economic situation of youth, which is constantly being pointed out as a major social and political concern[4] .

---

[4]   On this practical level, recent events in Cali leading to the widespread awareness of youth's involvement in several of the illegal activities recorded in this study require a general sociological analysis of the role of risk in this segment of the population,

Finally, as a tribute to the boys and girls that took part in this research and to those that have been working with them on a daily basis, it should be said that this study has tried to put risk into perspective, to critically analyse the current negative aura that surrounds it, especially from the adult-centred perspective, to understand it in the complexity of the day to day life: when a cigarette is lit to "catch a breath" and relax; when the lost and found lover has acceded for a romantic night and the condoms ran out, when the class mates jump into the car with a six pack of beers just to kill some time,... when life, ordinary life, happens. As the Panamanian singer Ruben Blades puts it, life is constantly being crafted through decisions of all sizes, where small victories follow small defeats and where big losses could become big wins, all to the beat of day to day life:

"Decisiones, todo cuesta, vengan y hagan sus apuestas, cada día

Decisiones, todo cuesta, alguien pierde, alguien gana, Ave Maria"

[Decisions, everything has its price, come and make your bets, every day

Decisions, everything has its price, someone wins, someone loses]

Selected Bibliography

ARNETT, J.J. (2000). 'High Hopes In A Grim World: Emerging adults' views of their futures and 'Generation X'', *Youth & Society*, 31(3), 267-286.

ARNETT, J.J. (2001). *Adolescence And Emerging Adulthood: A cultural approach*. Upper Saddle River, N.J.; London: Prentice-Hall.

BECK, U. (1992). *Risk Society: Towards a new modernity*. London: Sage.

BECK, U. (1996). 'Risk Society and the Provident State', in S. Lash, B. Szerszinski and B. Wynne. (Eds.) *Risk, Environment and Modernity*: *Towards a new ecology*. London, Sage.

BECK, U. (1998). 'Politics of Risk Society', in J. Franklin (Ed.), *The Politics of Risk Society*. London: Polity Press. 9-22.

BERGER, P. and T. LUCKMANN. (1966). *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge,* Garden City, New York: Anchor Books.

BREWER, J.D. (2000). *Ethnography*. Buckingham: Open University Press.

BUNTON, R., P. Crawshaw and E. Green (2004). 'Risk, Gender and Youthful Bodies', in W. Mitchell,

beyond the description of the specific events from the journalistic or legal perspective provided so far. It is the intention of the researcher to elaborate from this report a series of articles on the topic that could be of interest to parents and families, as much as entities working in education, health and youth policies.

R. Bunton, and E. Green (Eds.) *Young People, Risk and Leisure. Constructing Identities in Everyday Life*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 161-179.

BURTON, V., F. CULLEN, T. DAVID, and G. DUNAWAY (1998). 'Gender, Self-control and Crime', *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, 35(2), May: 123-147.

CANAAN, J. (1995). "One thing leads to another': drinking, fighting and working-class masculinities' in Mairtin Mac an Ghaill, (Ed), *Understanding Masculinities. Social Relations and Cultural Arenas*. Buckingham-Philadelphia: Open University Press. 114-125.

CARTMEL, F. (2004); 'The Labour Market Inclusion and Exclusion of Young People in Rural Labour Markets in Scotland', in W. Mitchell, R. Bunton, and E. Green (Eds.) *Young People, Risk and Leisure. Constructing Identities in Everyday Life*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 75- 93.

COLES, B. (1997). 'Vulnerable youth and processes of social exclusion: A theoretical framework, a review of recent research and suggestions for a future agenda', in John Bynner et al (eds.) *Youth, citizenship and social change in a European context*. Aldershot: Ashgate.

CRAWSHAW, P. (2004). "The 'logic of practice' in The Risky Community: the potential of the work of Pierre Bourdieu for theorising young men's risk taking", in W.

Mitchell, R. Bunton, and E. Green (Eds.) *Young People, Risk and Leisure. Constructing Identities in Everyday Life*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 224- 242.

CRUZ, F. (1989). 'Cali, Ciudad Caribe lejos del Caribe', *Gaceta (Colcultura)* 4: 29-32.

Departamento Administrativo Nacional de Estadistica (DANE), Presidencia de la Republica de Colombia (2004). Encuesta Nacional de Hogares.

DOUGLAS, M. (1992). *Risk and Blame – Essays in Cultural Theory*. London: Routledge.

DUFF, C. (2003). 'The importance of culture and context: rethinking risk and risk management in young drug using populations', *Health, Risk & Society,* 5(3): 285-299.

ELLIOT, K and LAMBOURN, J. (1999) 'Sex, drugs and alcohol: two peer-led approaches in Tamaki Makaurau/Auckland, Aotearoa/New Zealand', *Journal of Adolescence,* 22: 503–513.

FARMER, R., D. MILLER and R. LAWRENSON (1996) 2000. Lectures on Epidemiology and Public Health. Chapter tow: Cause and Risk. Oxford, Blackwell Science.

FEIXA, C. (1998). 'La Ciudad Invisible. Territorio de las culturas juveniles', in H. Cubides, M. Laverde, and C. Valderrama (ed.). *Viviendo a Toda: Jóvenes, territorios culturales y nuevas sensibilidades*. Colección de ensayos. Bogotá:

Universidad Central, DIUC, Siglo del Hombre. 83-109.

FERNANDEZ, A. (1993). *La Mujer de la Ilusión*. Buenos Aires: Paidos.

FOREMAN, A., E. GREEN, W. MITCHELL, R. BUTTON. (2000). *Risk Community; A study of risk and young people*. Final Report. Strategies for Life. Centre for Social Policy Research, University of Teeside. Printed by Way Ahead Printing Services.

FOX, N. (1998). 'Risks, hazards and Life choices: reflections on health at work', *Sociology 32*(4): 665-687.

FRITH, S. (1986) *The sociology of youth*. Ormskirk: Causeway.

FURLONG, A. and CARTMEL, F. (1997) *Young people and social change: individualization and risk in late modernit*y. Buckingham: Open University Press.

GEERTZ, C. (1973). *The Interpretation of Cultures*. New York: Basic Books. (Spanish version)

GIDDENS, A. (1991). *Modernity and Self –Identity: Self and Society in the Late Modern Age*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

GIDDENS, A. (1997). *Sociology: introductory readings* / edited by Anthony Giddens. - [2nd ed. rev. and updated]. - Cambridge: Polity

GIDDENS, A. (1998). 'Risk in the Context of British Politics', in J. Franklin (Ed.), *The Politics of Risk Society*. London: Polity Press.

GINER, S. (1997). 'Intenciones humanas, estructuras sociales: para una lógica situacional', In M. Cruz, (Ed), *Acción Humana*. Barcelona: Editorial Ariel.

GOMEZ, R. and J. GONZALEZ (2003). *Design: Designar/disenar el cuerpo joven y urbano*. Cali: Conciencias, Universidad del Valle, Instituto de Educación y Pedagogía, Escuela de Comunicación Social.

Goodman, N. (1978). *Ways of worldmaking*. New York: Hackett Publishing Co.

GREEN, E., MITCHELL, W. and BUTTON, R. (2000) Contextualizing Risk and Danger: an analysis of young people's perceptions of risk, *Journal of Youth Studies,* 3 (2)*,* 109-126.

GREENE, K., M. KRCMAR, L. WALTERS, D. RUBIN, J. HALE, L. HALE (2000). 'Targeting adolescent risk-taking behaviours: the contributions of egocentrism and sensation seeking'. *Journal of Adolescence,* 23: 439 -461.

HAMMERSLEY, M and P. ATKINSON (1995). *Ethnography: Principles in practice.* London: Routledge.

HERNANDEZ, M, *et al*. (1991) *Metodología de Investigación.* Mexico: McGrawhill

HERRERA C, and L. CAMPERO (2002). 'La vulnerabilidad y la invisibilidad de las mujeres ante el VIH/SIDA'. Salud Publica, Mexico 44(6):554-564.

HOPENHAYN, M. (1994). *Ni Apocalípticos, Ni Integrados. Aventuras de la modernidad en America Latina*. Santiago de Chile: Fondo de Cultura Economica.

HOYOS, G., M. SUÁREZ, A. FLÓREZ, and C. Ramírez. (1993). *La Influencia y/o Apropiación de Algunos Aspectos de la Cultura de la Mafia en un Sector de los Jóvenes de Clases Media Alta y Alta de Cali*. Cali: Escuela de Comunicación Social, Universidad del Valle. NP.

Instituto CISALVA/Univalle; Comite de Vigilancia Epidemiologica. (2005). Reporte de muertes por causa externa por grupos de edad en Cali, 2001-2004. N.P.

KOFES, S. (1998). 'Experiencias sociales, interpretaciones individuales: Posibilidades y límites de las historias de vida'. In, L. Thierry, P. Vargar and L. Zamudio (Eds), *Los Usos de la Historia de Vida en las Ciencias Sociales*. Barcelona / Santafé de Bogotá: Editorial Antropos /Universidad Externado de Colombia. 82-101

LEE, R. (1993). *Doing Research on Sensitive Topics*. London: Sage. (1995). *Dangerous Fieldwork*. Qualitative Research Methods, Volume 34. Thousand Oaks: Sage.

LUHMANN, N. (1991). *Risk: A Sociological Theory*. Berlin: de Gruyter.

LUPTON, D. (2004). 'Pleasure, Aggression, and Fear: The driving experience of young Sydneysiders', in W. Mitchell, R. Bunton, and E. Green (Eds.) *Young People, Risk and Leisure. Constructing Identities in Everyday Life*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 27-41.

LUPTON, D. (1999). *Risk*. London: Routledge.

LUPTON, D and J. TULLOCH (2001). 'Border Crossings: Narratives of movement, 'Home' and Risk'. *Sociological Research Online*, 5: (4) U71-U85.

LUPTON, D and J. TULLOCH (2002a). "'Risk is Part of your Life': Risk Epistemologies Among a Group of Australians". *Sociology*, 36(2): 317-334.

LUPTON, D and J. TULLOCH (2002b). "'Life Would be Pretty Dull Without Risk': Voluntary Risk Taking and Its Pleasures". *Health, Risk & Society*, 4(2) 113-124.

LYNG, S. (1990). 'Edgework: A Social Psychological Analysis of Voluntary Risk Taking'. *American Journal of Sociology*, 95(4): 851-886.

LYNG, S. (1993). 'Dysfunctional Risk Taking: Criminal Behaviour as Edgework', in N. Bell and R. Bell (ed.), *Adolescent Risk taking*. London: Sage. 107-130.

MACHADO, A., and L. RODRÍGUEZ (1998). *El Proyecto Nacional de Educación Sexual y los Adolescentes Caleños*. Cali: Programa de Sociología, Universidad del Valle. NP.

MAGUELIS, M. and URRESTI, M. (1998). 'La Construcción Social de

la Condición Social de Juventud', in H. Cubides, M. Laverde, and C. Valderrama (ed.). *Viviendo a Toda: Jóvenes, territorios culturales y nuevas sensibilidades*. Colección de ensayos. Bogotá: Universidad Central, DIUC, Siglo del Hombre. 3-21.

MILLER, R and J. BREWER (Eds) (2003). *The A-Z of Social Research*. London: Sage.

MILLER, R. (2000). *Researching life stories and family stories*. London: Sage.

MITCHELL, W., P. CRAWSHAW, R. BUNTON, and E. GREEN (2001). 'Situating Young People's Experiences of Risk and Identity', *Health, Risk & Society,* 3 (2), 217-233

MUÑOZ, S. (1999). *Jóvenes en discussion: Sobre edades, rutinas y gustos en Cali.* Bogotá: Fundación FES, Fundación Social, Procívica TV.

NICHOLS, G. (2002). 'Young offenders, risk and personal development programmes', in Mark Cieslik and Gary Pollock (Eds.) *Young People in Risk Society*. Aldershot: Ashgate. 22-40.

PARRA, F., CASTAÑO, L. (1999). *La Voz de los Jóvenes.* Ibagué: Secretaría de Educación Municipal, Couniversitaria.

PARRA, R. (1998). 'El Tiempo Mestizo. Escuela y modernidad en Colombia', in H. Cubides, M. Laverde, and C. Valderrama (ed.). *Viviendo a Toda: Jóvenes, territo-rios culturales y nuevas sensibilidades*. Colección de ensayos. Bogotá: Universidad Central, DIUC, Siglo del Hombre. 278 - 306.

PEREA, C. (1998). 'Somos Expresión no subversión. Juventud, identidades y esfera pública en el suroriente bogotano', in H. Cubides, M. Laverde, and C. Valderrama (ed.). *Viviendo a Toda: Jóvenes, territorios culturales y nuevas sensibilidades*. Colección de ensayos. Bogotá: Universidad Central, DIUC, Siglo del Hombre. 129-149

PEREZ, D., MEJÍA, M. (1996). *De Calles, Parches, Galladas y Escuelas. Transformación en los procesos de socialización de los jóvenes de hoy*. Bogotá: CINEP.

PLANT, M and M. PLANT (1992). *Risk-takers: Alcohol, drugs, sex and youth.* London: Routledge.

RICOEUR, P. (1984). *Time and Narrative*, Vol. 1. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

ROBERTSON, M and M. WILLIAMS (Eds) (2004); *Young People, Leisure and Place.* New York: Nova Science Publishers.

ROSERO, K. and Z. SALDARRIAGA (1999). *Sexualidad y Maternidad en un Conjunto de Mujeres Jóvenes de Cali*. Cali: Programa de Sociología, Universidad del Valle. NP.

SALAZAR, A. (1998). 'Violencias Juveniles: Contraculturas o hegemonía de la cultura emergente?',

in H. Cubides, M. Laverde, and C. Valderrama (ed.). *Viviendo a Toda: Jóvenes, territorios culturales y nuevas sensibilidades.* Colección de ensayos. Bogotá: Universidad Central, DIUC, Siglo del Hombre. 110-128.

SANER, H and P. ELLICKSON (1996). 'Concurrent risk factors for adolescents' violence', *Journal of Adolescent Health*, 19(2): 99-103.

SEABROOK, T. and E. GREEN, (2004). 'Streetwise or Safe? Girls negotiating time and space', in W. Mitchell, R. Bunton, and E. Green (Eds.) *Young People, Risk and Leisure. Constructing Identities in Everyday Life.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 129-141.

SEVILLA-CASAS, E. y T. SEVILLA (2005). "Álgebras y tramas en el cálculo de riesgos." *Revista Colombiana de Antropología,* 40 (in press)

SEVILLA-CASAS, E. *et al.* (2003). *El espejo roto: ensayos antropológicos sobre los amores y la condición femenina en la ciudad de Cali.* Cali: Fondo Editorial de la Universidad del Valle.

SEVILLA-CASAS, E., K. ROSERO and Z. SALDARRIAGA. 'Los Amores Populares Libres' (in press), in E. Sevilla-Casas. *El espejo roto y otros ensayos antropológicos sobre amores y la condición femenina en Cali.* Cali: Universidad del Valle.

SEVILLA, T (1998). *Dos Aportes Preliminares para una Interpretación Sociológica del Suicidio en Jóvenes de Cali.* Cali: Programa de Sociología, Universidad del Valle. NP.

SHORT, J. (1986). The Social Fabric at Risk: Towards the transformation of risk analysis. In *American Sociological Review, 49:* 711.

SKELTON, T. (2002). 'Research on Youth Transitions: Some Critical Interventions', in Mark Cieslik and Gary Pollock (Eds.) *Young People in Risk Society.* Aldershot: Ashgate. 100 -116.

SKIDMORE, D. and E. HAYTER (2000). 'Risk and Sex: Egocentricity and sexual behaviour in young adults', *Health, Risk & Society*, 2(1): 23-32.

SLOVIC, P. (Ed.) (2001). *Smoking, risk, perception & policy.* Thousand Oaks, California; London: Sage Publications.

SLOVIC, P. (2000). *The perception of risk.* London: Earthscan Publications.

SLOVIC, P. (1987). 'Perception of Risk', *Science,* 236: 280-285.

TARPET, S, G. AARONS, G. SEDLAR, S., BROWN (2001). 'Adolescent Substance Use and Sexual Risk-taking Behaviour', *Journal of Adolescent Health*, 28: 181-189.

THOMPSON, R., R. BELL, J. HOLLAND, S. HANDERSON, S. Mc. GRELLIS and S. SHARPE (2002). 'Critical Moments: Choice, chance and opportunity in young people's narratives of transition', *Sociology*, 36(2): 335-354.

TULLOCH, J. and D. LUPTON, (2004). *Risk and Everyday Life*. London: Sage

ULLOA, A. (1992). *La Salsa en Cali*. Cali: Ediciones Universidad del Valle.

URREA, F. and P. QUINTÍN (2000). *Jóvenes Negros de Barriadas Populares en Cali: Entre Masculinidades Hegemónicas y Marginales*. Cali: CIDSE, Universidad del Valle.

VALENZUELA, M. (1998). 'Identidades Juveniles', in H. Cubides, M. Laverde, and C. Valderrama (ed.). *Viviendo a Toda: Jóvenes, territorios culturales y nuevas sensibilidades*. Colección de ensayos. Bogotá: Universidad Central, DIUC, Siglo del Hombre. 38-45

VANEGAS, G. (1998). *Cali Tras el Rostro Oculto de las Violencias*. Cali: Instituto CISALVA, Universidad del Valle.

VÁSQUEZ, E. (2001) *Historia de Cali en el Siglo XX. Sociedad, Economía, Cultura y Espacio.* Cali: Darío Henao & Pacífico Abella.

WARREN, C. (1988). Gender Issues in Field Research. Qualitative Research Methods, Volume 9. Thousand Oaks: Sage.

WEBER, M. (1978). *Economy and Society.* Berkeley: California University Press

WILLIAMS, C., V. CHUPROV, and J. Zubok (2003). *Youth, Risk and Russian Modernity.* Hampshire: Ashgate.

Wyn, J. and R. White. (2000) 'Negotiating Social Change: The paradox of youth', *Youth & Society*, 32(2): 165-183.

WYNNE, B. (1996). 'May the Sheep Safely Graze? A Reflexive View of the Expert – Lay Knowledge Divide', in S. Lash, B. Szerszinski and B. Wynne (Eds.) *Risk, Environment and Modernity*: *Towards a new ecology*. London, Sage.

World Health Organisation, (2001). *Vital Statistics Review.* Official Website.