

**‘Tomar decisiones es el futuro de uno’ [To make decisions is one’s future]:
The gendering of youth agency within two Honduran communities**

A DISSERTATION
SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL
OF THE UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA
BY

KATHRYN S. McCLEARY

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Dr. Joan G. DeJaeghere, Co-Advisor
Dr. R. Michael Paige, Co-Advisor

December 2013

Acknowledgements

There is a long-list of amazing individuals who have supported me through this process intellectually, emotionally, and physically.

Dr. Joan DeJaeghere – I owe you the greatest thanks for your mentorship from the moment I joined the CIDE program at the University of Minnesota. The lessons I learned from you and with you both in and outside the classroom live with me every day. The research you have undertaken and manuscripts you have published during the time I have known you are huge contributions to the field of comparative, gender, and intercultural education. The projects you undertake push and reshape the field's understanding of theory; while always providing insights for the practitioners engaged at the grassroots level and implementing the programs. There are no words for the amount of respect and awe I have for all that you do.

Dr. Michael Paige – the lessons you taught me in relation to cross-cultural and intercultural learning were with me throughout my research study in Honduras. Your expertise as a communicator and writer were crucial in pushing me to be clear and precise in my own thinking and writing throughout this process. Collaborating with you on a number of projects during my time at the University of Minnesota has enabled me to have a voice within the field of international education and to be making a difference in my current position at Washington College. Thank you for including me in so much of your work, and for your guidance.

Dr. Fran Vavrus – being a part of your Gender and Education class was instrumental in my learning. The course positioned me to solidify my research study through the literature, discussions, and feedback you provided in the course. Your

classroom pedagogy provided me with a framework that I seek to emulate in my own teaching. The expectations you held for us in the class pushed us to engage with course materials and our own thoughts in new ways. Thank you for being an expert teacher, and teacher of those aspiring to be experts.

Dr. Martha Bigelow – during the 2006-2007 academic year I went to a session hosted by CARLA about immigrant youths' identities in the Twin Cities. During that session, you spoke and shared the outreach and research you were doing at the time with the Somali community within the Twin Cities. The way that you talked about your collaboration with the youths and community is something that has stuck with me today and was at the forefront of my mind while in Honduras. You are a role model for me in the level of engagement and the investment you make in the lives of the communities with which you partner.

There are five other faculty members I wish to thank. Dr. Ilene Alexander, Dr. David Chapman, Dr. Peter Demerath, Dr. Chris Johnstone, and Dr. Rebecca Ropers-Huilman – you were instrumental in pushing me as a researcher, scholar, and instructor. Each of you contributed to my doctoral education in ways both big and small but all very impactful. A special thanks is extended to Dr. Shirley Miske who provided me with invaluable experiences conducting research with her organization. She serves as both a role model and mentor in her work on gender and education around the globe.

To my cohort – Yi Cao, Mohammed Elmeski, Tara Harvey, Raya Hegeman-Davis, Jasmina Josic, Akiko Maeker, Paul Maeker, Ingo Stolz, Diana Yefanova, Katherine Yngve, thank you for partaking in this journey with me. Jasmina – the cultivation of our friendship during our doctoral studies is the biggest bonus to being a

part of the CIDE program! You will always be my go-to person to talk about issues and ideas, and I look forward to finding a new project to collaborate on. Raya – thank you for being my friend, collaborator, and confidant. From Espresso Royale to Overflow, our writing dates and discussions that unfolded pushed me in my thinking and writing. Thank you, dear friend. To Tara, Mohammed and Ingo – I thoroughly enjoyed collaborating with you in various classes, and getting to know each of you and your families.

There are so many other colleagues and peers within the CIDE program that made my five years at the University of Minnesota intellectually and personally rewarding. While the list is quite extensive, I'd like to especially thank Lisa Burton, Jessica Grey-Werner, Nancy Pellowski Wiger, Christine Anderson, Andrew Williams, Josey Landrieu, Heidi Eschenbacher, Rhiannon Williams, Kyoung-Ah Nam, Garth Willis, Jinous Kasravi, Erik Erickson, Aryn Baxter, Beth Dierker, Christina Kwauk, Li Yang, and Ryan McCarthy.

CARE Atlanta, and especially Amanda Moll and Margaret Meagher, were hugely supportive of my work both through the framing and funding of my study. The Patsy Collins Trust Fund Initiative is an impressive venture by an NGO to address gender inequities across eight countries of the world – Bangladesh, Cambodia, Ghana, Honduras, India, Mali, Malawi, and Tanzania. The work undertaken by Amanda and Margaret, who is now with the GHR Foundation, along with countless others ensures that girls and women everywhere know that “they are powerful.” Thank you for your support of this research.

The College of Education and Human Development and the Office of International programs both invested in me and my research during my time at the University of Minnesota. The receipt of the Ruth Eckert Award and the Pre-Dissertation Grant provided me with funds to take part in research projects which contributed to my growth as a graduate student. The Pre-Dissertation Grant supported me as a Research Fellow with Save the Children, and so I would to extend thanks to Save the Children as well for seeking out graduate fellows to help you investigate the impactful work that you do. The support provided by the Department of Organizational Leadership, Policy and Development and the Learning Abroad Center through assistantships, programming, and advising was immensely appreciated.

A special thanks to Moriah Purdy who edited chapters of my dissertation and is a wonderful friend and fellow 'Berg alumni. Her talents as a writer live on not only in her published poetry and manuscripts, but in the editing of my thoughts and words as well.

Doctoral studies did not just push my brain and intellect to new levels of consciousness; they pushed my heart and soul to new understandings of myself and the world around me. Kara Balcerzak, Sara Benning, Kim Heremma, and Kari Thiel – you were my ever present, always available sources of renewal. From walks around the lakes to discussions over a glass of wine, each of you encouraged me and supported me in ways that kept me going even when I wanted to give up. Justin Biel and Emme Bruns – you gave me a happy home to return to at the end of each day full of laughter and really good food. When I think of “home” in MN, it is the two of you and our time in the little house on Chatsworth Street that comes to mind. Brenda Carr, Misty Curelli, and Amy

Steele – as my forever friends, you saw me through seven years of ups and downs. Your encouragement and love is irreplaceable.

Mom, Dad and Sean – thank you, thank you, thank you! I love you with all my heart and appreciate all you've done to support me through my graduate studies. Your trips out to MN and support of my trips home to PA always helped me reconnect with my roots, with who I was as a child, and all I strive to be as an adult. Your phone calls, e-mails, and cards held words of encouragement for me. Each was greatly appreciated – even if that was not expressed at the time.

Mom and Dad – you raised me to be a compassionate and caring person. Those attributes, along with my inherited questioning of the world around me, enable me to be an insightful researcher who knows the importance of relationships and connecting to people.

Gary Dahl – from day one you have supported me, my studies, and my dreams. You push me every day to stay connected to the things that matter and to focus on my desire to make the world a better place. Though there is no overlap in our areas of expertise, you listen with patience and are always willing to serve as a sounding board for ideas. I would not have gotten to this point without your ongoing words of support and ability to make me laugh when I want to cry. I love you so much and look forward to the adventures that await now that this is written!

From February to August 2010, the CARE Education Unit in Tegucigalpa, Honduras invited me in as a research fellow and a member of their team. Alba Luz Ramirez, Israel Castro, Rosa Soriano, and Edgar Dominguez are the most phenomenal team whose outreach, vision, reliability and dedication change the lives of children,

youths, and families on a daily basis. They supported this research project and made it possible for me to carry out this study. CARE Honduras as an organization was my home for six months, and the entire team extended their collegiality to me during my time there – *muchisimas gracias por su apoyo durante mi tiempo en Honduras*. Gloria Manzanares opened her home to me, and she and her family were there to make me laugh, care for me when I was sick, and make sure that I had a plurality of perspectives and insights in my research and writing. It was an honor to live with Gloria as her work with NGOS across Honduras has made a huge difference in many peoples' lives.

Within the two communities I need to give a special thanks to Don Rober and Doña Betty (pseudonyms). Don Rober was a trusted taxi driver who was there to take me into El Valle and El Pino when colleagues from CARE were not going into the communities. My time with Don Rober traversing the city streets of Tegucigalpa into the peri-urban areas of El Valle and El Pino was an educative experience in and of itself. His insights on the changes within Honduras and El Valle over the past twenty years contributed to a deeper understanding of the country and community. Doña Betty ran the soccer program in El Pino and was instrumental in helping me find male participants in El Pino. Her dedication as a volunteer to the soccer program and the newly formed youth program spoke to her commitment to the betterment of her community and the support of a new generation of Hondurans.

There are forty-four young men and women that I had the pleasure and honor of getting to know and spend time. Nineteen of those young people, took part as focal participants in this study. Our conversations, walks, games, and meals together were fundamental in writing this study, but beyond that those ideas and memories are a part of

me and live on in my mind and how I see the world. Angela, Ashley, Jessica, Lisa, Mariela, David, Jordi, Tomas, Milton, Arianna, Elena, Marta, Samantha, Vanessa, Carlos, Samuel, Mark, Brian, and Juan – cada uno de ustedes es alguien muy importante y especial. Ustedes son los que van a cambiar sus comunidades. Han participado en programas que tenían un gran impacto para sus compañeros y amigos. Nunca olvidan la luz que vive adentro de cada uno de ustedes. Todos me dieron gracias por lo que yo hacía, pero ustedes son los que merecen la gracia de mi parte. Gracias por la confianza que tenían en mi, por el tiempo que daban para estar conmigo, y la alegría que me traían durante mi tiempo en Honduras. (Each one of you is someone very important and special. All of you are the ones that change your communities. You've participated in programs that have had an impact for your peers and friends. Never forget the light that lives in each one of you. All of you thank me for what I did, but all of you are the ones that deserve thanks from me. Thank you for the trust you had in me, for the time you gave to me, and for the happiness you brought me during my time in Honduras.)

Dedication

My dissertation is dedicated to the young people I worked with in Honduras - Angela, Ashley, Jessica, Lisa, Mariela, David, Jordi, Tomas, Milton, Arianna, Elena, Marta, Samantha, Vanessa, Carlos, Samuel, Mark, Brian, and Juan. It is your words, thoughts, ideas and hopes that speak to themes regarding gender, agency, and what it means to be a young person in Honduras. A special dedication is extended to Lisa, her son, and her family. The amazing contributions she made during her short time on this earth, and her achievements and struggles, live on within this manuscript.

Abstract

This dissertation focuses on the ways that young women and young men from two peri-urban communities outside of Tegucigalpa, Honduras conceptualized and enacted their agency vis-à-vis non-formal education programs. The study examines the ways in which nineteen focal participants' gender identities were re-produced and/or transgressed in how they confronted, negotiated, and asserted influence, choice, and action. Furthermore, the research explores the ways participants' demonstrated agency in relation to cultural constructs of femininity and masculinity.

This six-month comparative case study additionally examines the role of a non-formal education program in cultivating youth agency. One of the communities in this study was home to a youth program run by the Education Unit of CARE Honduras. The CARE Education Unit encouraged participants to be self-reflexive through participatory action research, which further informs the way CARE cultivated youths' understanding of choice and influence. Findings from the study indicate that social discourses and interventions across local community and national spaces are influential in the ways that youths cultivate, construct, and enact their agency both in response to and reaction against local gender norms.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	I
DEDICATION.....	VIII
ABSTRACT.....	IX
TABLE OF CONTENTS	X
LIST OF TABLES	XII
PROLOGUE.....	XIII
CHAPTER 1: FRAMING THE STUDY	1
SITUATING THE STUDY IN GENDER AND EDUCATION	1
AN OVERVIEW OF WID AND GAD.....	3
POSITIONING GENDER AND AGENCY IN THIS STUDY.....	7
CARE AND GENDER PROGRAMMING.....	9
CARE HONDURAS' YOUTH PROGRAM IN EL VALLE	13
PURPOSE OF THE STUDY AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS.....	14
RESEARCH STUDY QUESTIONS.....	15
YOUTH, GENDER, AND AGENCY IN HONDURAS	16
LOS JÓVENES HONDUREÑOS (HONDURAN YOUTHS).....	21
OVERVIEW OF REMAINING CHAPTERS	25
CHAPTER 2: THEORIZATIONS OF AGENCY, YOUTH, AND GENDER	27
THEORIZING AGENCY	27
YOUTH.....	30
ONE HALF OF THE EQUATION: GIRLS' AGENCY	36
GENDER RELATIONS AND AGENCY.....	41
BOYS' ATTITUDES AND PERCEPTIONS OF GIRLS.....	44
POSITIONING THE RESEARCH STUDY WITHIN EXISTING LITERATURE	46
CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY	47
EPISTEMOLOGICAL GROUNDING	49
METHODOLOGY	52
DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS	61
PARTICIPANT FEEDBACK	69
LANGUAGE, TRANSLATION AND TRANSCRIPTION IN THE RESEARCH DESIGN & ANALYSIS.....	70
POSITIONALITY OF THE RESEARCHER	74
LIMITATIONS & STRENGTHS OF THE STUDY.....	76
ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS IN WORKING WITH YOUTH.....	79
CHAPTER 4: THE GENDER OF YOUTH AGENCY: TRANSCENDING MACHISMO IN THE ENACTMENT OF YOUTH AGENCY.....	80
INTRODUCTION.....	80
CULTURAL CONSTRUCTS OF "MACHO," "MACHISMO," AND "MACHISTA"	84
THE GENDERING OF YOUTHS' IDENTITIES.....	89
REPRODUCTIONS OF CULTURAL NORMS AND IDENTITIES WITHIN PUBLIC PLACES.....	90
TRANSGRESSING CULTURAL NORMS AND THE GENDERING OF AGENCY WITHIN PUBLIC AND PRIVATE PLACES ...	106
THE GENDERING OF AGENCY IN COMMUNAL SPACES: SOCCER FIELDS & CHURCHES	116
CONCLUSIONS ON THE GENDERING OF YOUTHS' AGENCY.....	125

CHAPTER 5: CULTIVATING YOUTH AGENCY THROUGH COMMUNITY PROGRAMS	126
WHAT I'VE LEARNED FROM YOU: HONDURAN YOUTHHOOD	126
DEVELOPING YOUTH AGENCY THROUGH NON-FORMAL EDUCATION PROGRAMS.....	126
SOCIETAL DISCOURSES AFFECTING YOUTHS IN HONDURAS.....	128
YOUTHS NAMING AND CLAIMING THEIR LIFE PATHS	131
COMMUNITY-BASED, NON-FORMAL YOUTH PROGRAMMING AND AGENCY	135
CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION.....	153
CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE STUDY TO CONCEPTUALIZATIONS OF AGENCY.....	155
IMPLICATIONS FOR NGOS ADDRESSING GENDER INEQUALITIES	158
IMPLICATIONS FOR GOVERNMENT ENTITIES WORKING WITH YOUTHS.....	159
RECOMMENDATIONS FOR CARE HONDURAS AND NGOS WORKING ON ISSUES PERTAINING TO GENDER AND YOUTH WITHIN CENTRAL AMERICA	160
RECOMMENDATIONS FOR NGO AND GOVERNMENT ORGANIZATIONS ADDRESSING YOUTH AGENCY.....	163
CONCLUSION	164
REFERENCES.....	165
APPENDIX A: SAMPLE QUESTIONS FROM INITIAL INTERVIEW; IRB APPROVED	186
APPENDIX B: SAMPLE QUESTIONS FROM SECOND INTERVIEW; IRB APPROVED	188
APPENDIX C: IRB APPROVAL LETTER	191
APPENDIX D: FOCAL PARTICIPANTS' YOUTH CONSENT FORM	193
APPENDIX E: YOUTH GROUP PARTICIPANTS' LETTER OF NOTIFICATION [SPANISH & ENGLISH].....	195
APPENDIX F: PARENT NOTIFICATION OF STUDY USED IN EL VALLE AND EL PINO	197
APPENDIX G: YOUTHS' CONSTRUCTIONS OF <i>MACHISMO</i> AND <i>MACHISTA</i> [SPANISH].....	199
APPENDIX H: LYRICS TO "CELOS" BY FANNY LÚ AND JKING MAXIMAN IN SPANISH AND ENGLISH (LÚ, 2008).....	200
APPENDIX I: NOTES COMPILED FROM MARCH 24, 2010 CARE YOUTH GROUP MEETING.....	203

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Youth Violence and Gender.....	22
Table 2: El Valle – Focal Participants’ Age, Family Demographics, and Education.....	59
Table 3: El Pino – Focal Participants’ Age, Family Demographics, and Education.....	60
Table 4: Youths’ Involvement in Community-based, Non-formal Education Programs.....	136

PROLOGUE

In September 2012 I received a phone call from Jessica, which is a pseudonym for one my focal participants and a young woman who I continue to correspond with from time to time. She sent me a text message saying she wanted to talk, so I called her cell phone via Skype. We caught up on what was happening in her life, she asked what me if I liked my new job, and when I was going to visit her and the others from the youth program. Towards the end of our conversation I asked her how Lisa, her close friend and another participant in the study was doing. After I asked this there was silence on the other end of the line. “There isn’t anyone by that name here, Katy,” she replied in Spanish. For a moment I thought that I had used the other young woman’s pseudonym, which I am doing here, rather than her real name. Checking myself, I replied, “You know who I’m talking about. Lisa, your friend, the one you came with you to meet with me when we did the interviews. Felix’s mom.” “She’s dead, Katy. She was murdered in February. I thought someone would have told you,” was Jessica’s reply.

The news of Lisa’s death knocked the wind out of me. I could not breathe and the Skype screen in front of me became blurred as tears welled up in my eyes. Jessica shared with me that Lisa had been killed. Lisa’s son was living with her mother and brothers, and Jessica had lost her best friend. Jessica and I spoke a little while longer, then wrapped up the conversation rather abruptly as Jessica did not seem to want to talk about her friend’s death.

In the coming days I exchanged e-mails with colleagues from CARE, and was finally able to call Doña Beatriz, a pseudonym for a woman who lived in a neighboring community to Lisa and had recruited her into a youth soccer program when she was

younger. In talking with Doña Beatriz I quickly learned why Jessica had been hesitant to talk with me. Doña Beatriz shared that the woman Lisa's husband was having an affair with had murdered Lisa. Both Lisa's husband and the woman he was living with were police officers. During our time together Lisa spoke about her difficult marriage and the problems she faced with her husband and son. Lisa was pregnant at 15, married at 16, and 21 during the six months I got to spend with her. Her husband was stationed at a police barracks in the southern part of Honduras and she only saw periodically when he came north to Tegucigalpa. During our time together, Lisa shared that her husband had taken up with another woman with whom he had another little boy. While her husband was asking Lisa for a divorce to be with the other woman, who was also stationed in southern Honduras, Lisa would not grant him a divorce as she needed his financial support to raise their son.

Doña Beatrice said that Lisa had continued to deny her husband a divorce and so the woman, with whom he had another child, murdered Lisa. The woman who murdered Lisa threatened Lisa's family telling them that if anyone got involved, she would murder Lisa's son as well. Because of this, Lisa's murder remains unsolved.

In Googling Lisa's real name and "asesina" [murder] I found two articles on her death. The one described her murder as a "crimen pasional" [crime of passion] and stated that it was under ongoing investigation. Another newspaper's website reported that Lisa's was the 35th murder of a woman since the start of the calendar year; Lisa died February 22, 2012. A photo of Lisa's legs and lower torso in a pool of blood on a cement sidewalk was posted on the newspaper's website.

Lisa was the most ambitious young woman I worked with in Honduras. In addition to caring for her son, helping within her family home, attending beauty school and the alternative education program, and taking on side jobs to have some income, she was a constant figure at CARE youth meetings. She dreamed of completing secondary school and going on to university to become a police officer or a physical education teacher. When I envision an agentic young woman, Lisa's life story comes to my mind. She overcame so much to get where she was, and all of that was gone in an instant. A son lost his mother, Jessica lost her friend, and Honduras lost an inspirational young woman and community leader.

CHAPTER 1

FRAMING THE STUDY

Situating the Study in Gender and Education

In the past twenty-five years, there has been extensive scholarship in the fields of international development and international education regarding gender¹ and development, and the impact of educating girls and women (see Hill & King, 1995; Hadden & London, 1996; Steans, 1996; Unterhalter, 2007). These many studies have led to broadening the range of understanding of gender and its relationship to parity, equity, and equality. These studies, however, have been primarily focused on girls and women. Over the course of the past decade, examining pertinent issues concerning boys and young men vis-à-vis community, education, and culture have found a welcomed space in the gender and development conversation (see Barker, 2006; Connell, 2000, 2005). Through the depth of scholarly work and engaged practice, gender and development continues to become more conceptually nuanced, particularly in how we use and name issues relating to “gender.” However, in many studies “gender” continues to serve as a designator for girls or women rather than the social and cultural constructions of characteristics assigned to ways of being and acting as boys/men and girls/women. In performing gender, women and men exert agency over their gendered identities and relations (Butler, 2004; McNay, 2000). This study seeks to contribute to a growing body of knowledge within development research by examining the experiences of *both* young women and young men in two peri-urban communities of Honduras, and how the young

¹ Using a definition from the Commission on the Status of Women, gender is defined as “how society constructs the differences between women and men... Looking at gender, therefore, does not focus primarily on women or on men, but rather on the relationship between their different roles, responsibilities and needs” (2000, p. 3).

men and young women of the communities construct, shift, and enact their agency as related to the gendered social relations. International organizations, such as UNICEF, have clearly documented the many issues that young women confront in educational settings such as safety and distance to schools, access to schools, domestic and labor responsibilities, physical and sexual abuse and harassment within schools, gender biases in the curriculum, inadequate sanitation facilities, and a lack of parental and community support (DeJaeghere, 2004; Miske, 2008; UNICEF, 2007). Within the development paradigm, girls' education has been traditionally viewed as programming focused directly on changing the educational outcomes of girls by examining and addressing the inputs and processes relating to the educational issues they face (Chapman & Miske, 2008). However as our knowledge and understanding of gender-based issues expands to be inclusive of both girls and boys, so must the way we view and seek to study gender-related issues of children and youths in education² and education-based programs.

Research over the past decade has demonstrated that gender and education are multilayered. Studies have sought to address how legal rights and policies, social structures, and cultural norms shape and influence gender, development and education (Maslak, 2008; Aikman & Unterhalter, 2005; Vavrus, 2003; Stromquist, 2001). In addition, the research on gender, empowerment and agency has evolved from that focused on the attitudes of boys and men and the effect on social attitudes towards issues confronting girls and young women (Raynor, 2005; Thorpe, 2005), to research that

² Education in this study is defined broadly to be inclusive of both formal and non-formal education. Based on Ardizzone's (2008a, 2008b) research, education is "a socializing agent and can serve as a means for social change. By providing learners with opportunities to raise their own consciousness and then apply this awareness by taking... education becomes a transformative experience for individuals and for society (Ardizzone, 2008b, p. 273).

examines the perceptions, attitudes, and responses of both girls/young women and boys/young men in relation to agency and empowerment (Murphy-Graham, 2011, 2012; Bajaj & Pathmaraja, 2011; Nayak & Kehily, 2008). Identifying boys' cultural gender norms serves as a way to examine the gendering of agency; as well as the movement from an explicit framing of "gender" as girls, to re-framing "gender" to mean the relationships between both girls and boys, which is termed gender relations throughout this manuscript (Pulerwitz & Barker, 2008). Other studies, such as those conducted by Ardizzone (2008a, 2008b) and Durham (2008), examine youth agency from a broader perspective where gender is a component to their framing of agency, but not overtly part of the analysis. The commonality across these studies is that they examine issues relating to gender, education, and youth from the perspective of both young women and young men rather than exclusively from a female vantage point. As DeJaeghere (2004) writes in reference to new directions in education, gender, and development for international organizations: "More attention needs to be given to the development of innovative projects that have an impact on changing girls' and boys' behaviours and that advance equality in the learning experience and equality of opportunity" (p. v). This study adds to the existing research by examining such an innovative program in order to consider the variations of the construction and enactments of agency across genders within the same cultural context.

An Overview of WID and GAD

Since the 1970s there has been a debate within the field of international development regarding women and gender in outreach and programming (Steans, 2006). The women in development (WID) approach, initiated by economist Ester Boserup in her

work on economics and agriculture in Mauritius, created a space for women and girls' issues to be brought into mainstream discussions and debates wherein previously the girls' and women's perspectives were marginalized (Aikman & Unterhalter, 2005; Steans, 2006). However, it was when WID morphed and changed to more broadly address issues pertaining to gender and development (GAD) that an examination of power and relationships among women and men emerged (Stromquist, 2001).

The GAD model has drawn attention to gender equality and equity issues, and produced noticeable strides for girls' and women's empowerment, but more progress still needs to be done (Akiman & Unterhalter, 2005). Concurrently, this approach has drawn boys and men into discussions of gender. As Young (1997) pointed out: "The focus in gender and development is not on women *per se* [original emphasis] but on gender relations, i.e. the relations between women and men in a variety of settings" (p. 52). Young's definition (1997) serves as foundational thinking on "gender relations;" however, it is Stromquist and Fishman's (2009) use of what they term an "intersectional perspective" on gender that informed the conceptualization of gender relations within this study. Stromquist and Fishman (2009) attribute the intersectionality of gender as "the way gender combines with... ethnicity, race, religion, and social class to create advantages and disadvantages on some occasions" (p. 466). They go on to state, "The use of gender from an intersectional perspective permits the analysis of women's and men's experiences, not as isolated categories but as part of broader social relationships..." (Stromquist & Fishman, 2009, p. 466). Thus, gender relations are the culmination of how various characteristics of one's identity intersects with what it means to be a woman or man, and the influence of how those characteristics impact the broader

“social relationships” that influence the interactions between women and men (Stromquist & Fishman, 2009, p. 466). These “intersectionalities” are named by Stromquist and Fishman as “producing different patterns of gender relations” (p. 466). Seeking to understand these “social relationships” requires investigations of how both women and men view and experience their own positionality independently and in relation to one another (Stromquist & Fishman, 2009). The GAD approach laid the groundwork for expanding and probing the multiple meanings of gender, and challenged those understandings across various geographic places (Stromquist & Fishman, 2009); including the differences between the global North and global South (Mohanty, 2003).

Inclusion of men and boys in the GAD approach. Since the 1990s there has been a discernible call in the field of international development to include boys and men in gender equality and equity work. One of the first calls came from recommendations emerging from the International Conference on Population and Development in Cairo in 1994 (United Nations, 1994). The following year, participants at the Beijing Conference on Women included men in their Declaration. Item twenty-five of the Declaration from the 1995 Beijing Conference on Women states: “Encourage men to participate fully in all actions towards equality” (United Nations, 1996, p. 4). The inclusion of working with men and boys on gender issues came to the forefront at the 2004 UN meeting on the Status of Women. Within their report on “The role of men and boys,” it was agreed upon that a “broader focus on gender roles” would be beneficial to both gains of equality for women, and also quality of life issues for men as their constructions of masculinities would not be so “oppressed” (United Nations Commission on the Status of Women, 2003, p. 4-5).

In a 2006 Expert Group Meeting for the United Nations Division for the Advancement of Women, Gary Barker (2006a) presented ways to “engage boys and men to empower girls” (p. 2). His report addressed the ways in which development programming was focused on empowering girls without sufficient attention to the boys. According to Barker (2006a), young men reinforce and maintain the subjugation of girls and young women through the treatment of their female counterparts. Barker cites a number of studies from India, Brazil, and Uganda that spoke to the ways in which young men’s actions continue to maintain patriarchal, unequal relationships between young women and young men. But through his work, Barker and his colleagues began to notice what he calls “cracks” or “inconsistencies” in the “performances of resistance” of the young men to the typical treatment and characterization of young women (Barker, 2006a, p. 5). Barker (2006a) calls on colleagues and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) who work on issues of gender inequality to seek out ways to foster collaboration between young men and young women through which they are able to understand what gender equitable relationships mean for them and in relation to one another. Critical reflection of their own attitudes on gender creates an open space for the participants to understand what Barker defines as “the costs of traditional forms of masculinity” that subjugate women and foster restrictive behaviors and attitudes for the young men as well (Barker, 2006a, p. 6).

International research on boys and young men has shown that certain cultural and social constructions of masculinities can be detrimental to young men (Barker, 2006b). Performances of masculinities within different contexts can require engagement in actions, such as gang membership or war which are damaging to boys and young men.

Power and patriarchy also construct femininities and masculinities in such a way as to marginalize the voices and perspectives of both young women and young men in the enacting of their gender identities (Tarrant, 2008; Butler, 2004; Connell, 2000). Chant and Gutmann (2002) argue that work on gender equality and equity can only go “so far” without including both men and women in the conversation regarding gender relations (p. 271). They also see gender roles and identities as being in flux. The notion of men and boys as “gatekeepers” to the inclusion of girls and women points out the problematic nature of taking up issues regarding gender without the collaboration of both women *and* men (Connell, 2005). These scholars suggest that the inclusion of boys and men within discussions and research on gender is needed for long-term change in gender equality (Chant & Gutmann, 2002; Barker, 2006).

Positioning Gender and Agency in this Study

In order to deepen our investigation and understanding of gender and development, research must depart from privileging the examination of empowerment, and more specifically agency, as strictly something to be considered through the lens of young women, but rather must adopt a gender-relational view that includes how young men construct and mediate their agency (Connell, 2000; Stromquist & Fischman, 2009). For the purposes of this study I have adopted a perspective on agency that is derived from research across theorized and applied constructions of agency. The following segments offer a theoretical grounding for considering youth agency in relation to gendered social structures for this study.

First, I view agency as a component of empowerment based on Naila Kabeer’s (1999) framework. Kabeer defines agency as “the ability to define one’s life goals and

act upon them” (p. 438). She goes on to add that agency is “the power within” as it goes beyond what is able to be observed and it “encompasses the meaning, motivation and purpose which individuals bring to their activity” (p. 438).

Durham (2008) writes extensively on youth agency in Botswana. From her research, Durham extends a number of questions to the field about how youths not only understand their agency, but how they exercise it. Durham (2008) asks, “We must ask what kind of agency they [youth] might have, how they come by it and exercise it, and how their agency relates them to others and to their society” (pp. 152-153). My research on youth extends the questions presented by Durham and looks to add the ways that issue of gender identity influences the construction and enactment of youth agency. It is in the ways that youths exhibited and described *gendered agency* (see Stromquist & Fischman, 2009) that a broader conceptualization of youth agency can be constructed.

Lastly – and central to the aforementioned concerns – are both power relations and gender relations that serve as structures in the enactment of agency (Maslak, 2008). As R.W. Connell (2000) explains:

In relational approaches, gender is seen as a way in which social practice is organized, whether in personal life, inter-personal interactions, or on the larger scale. It is common to refer to the patterning in social relations as ‘structure’, so the relational approach is sometimes summarized by describing gender as a social structure (p. 24).

Structures mediate the ways in which agency is enacted and gender is expressed. It is through the examination of structures and external entities that promote and/or inhibit the maturation and enactment of agency for both genders that a deeper understanding of

gender equality and equity will emerge (Durham, 2008; Nayak & Kehily, 2008; Paetcher, 2007). The research conducted with youth participants in Honduras sought to understand how Honduran youths, some who participated in an NGO program focused on gender and agency in the communities of El Valle³ and El Pino⁴, Honduras constructed and performed their own agency. Furthermore, an examination of how and in what ways there was a gendering to their agency was explored in relation to community, space, and place.

At the onset of this study, agency was defined as *the meaningful influence youth feel they have in the decisions they make and actions they take, individually or collectively, in their lives*. The definition has been adapted from Kabeer's due to the age group and the social positions of the youths involved with this study, which was informed by Durham's (2008) research. A more thorough literature review of agency, including perspectives from education and feminist conceptions of agency, will be offered in Chapter 2. The definition of agency in this research study evolved based on the in-country research and findings from the study and is discussed in later chapters.

CARE and Gender Programming

The evolution of this research study is based in my collaboration with CARE Honduras and CARE USA from 2008-2010, in conjunction with the University of Minnesota and the Minnesota International Development and Education Consortium, as a graduate researcher on the Patsy Collins Trust Fund Initiative PCTFI). CARE

³ El Valle, which means "the valley" in English, is a pseudonym used for the peri-urban area outside Tegucigalpa where the research was conducted, and the community in which CARE Honduras was actively working with the schools and community.

⁴ El Pino, which means "pine" in English, is the pseudonym used for the second site of research which was also a peri-urban area of Tegucigalpa. CARE Honduras began outreach in this community in January 2010.

International (CI) is an NGO and “a confederation composed of twelve national Members, each being an autonomous non-governmental organization in its own right. CI Members in North America, Europe, Asia and Australia carry out a range of project-related, advocacy, fundraising, and communications activities in support of CARE’s relief and development programmes worldwide” (CARE International, n.d.). Having conducted a policy review of CARE International’s gender policy, in relation to CARE USA’s policy in 2007, there was both harmony and discord in how their programs focused on the empowerment of girls and women, while their policies consistently identified boys and men as being “allies” in the empowerment process (CARE International, n.d. & McCleary, 2008). CARE International’s gender policy outlines an organizational focus on advancing human rights and dignity for all through the erasure of poverty from a social justice perspective. Examining systemic and structural practices, fostering the empowerment of women, and ensuring that men and boys are “allies in promoting gender equality” are commitments that CARE has made on an international level (CARE International, n.d.). CARE USA, which was the partner institution on the youth program with the Education Unit at CARE Honduras, viewed boys and men as significant partners in addressing gender inequality. The CARE USA Gender Policy states:

Gender inequality is not dismantled by working with girls in isolation. Power relations between women and men, girls and boys, need to be addressed in charting the path toward gender equality. Men and boys can be and need to be allies for women and girls in challenging gender discrimination... Extensive

evidence strongly suggests that investing in girls' education benefits boys, as well as the broader education system as a whole (CARE, n.d.).

Current documents shared through the Engaging Men and Boys page of the CARE Gender Policy Wiki speaks to the broader attention being raised about the inclusion of gender in the promotion of, and push towards, gender equality and work being carried out on positive gender relations. For example, the *Young Men Initiative* is a case study of work and outreach with young men around issues of gender equality and violence prevention in the west Balkans. Carried out by CARE International and the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs from 2007 to 2010, their work addressed the constructions of masculinity and patriarchy with a population of young men who grew up in a time of "post-conflict recovery" (CARE CI, 2012, p. 5). The identification of, and programming directed to, these young men speaks to the ways in which CARE seeks to address inequalities in power relationships not only from the perspective of both the one experiencing the unequal power relations, but also from the perspective of the group viewed as holding the power.

Putting policy into practice in gender relational research. Working with men in Burundi to address gender equality was also a recent initiative of CARE Burundi in cooperation with CARE Norway. In a report by Hilda Wallacher (2012) on the Abatangamuco movement to address both domestic violence and the involvement of women in a village savings programs, women's involvement had been curtailed by their husbands. Wallacher writes that it was through the changing of men's perceptions in what was deemed to be masculine and perceived to bring community harmony that there were changes in household power dynamics and domestic violence. For Wallacher, it

was the shift from “man-as-king model” to viewing the “ideal man” as “successful, prosperous, and trusted by his family” (Wallacher, 2012, p. 39). Both models existed within the Burundi communities where the Abatangamuco movement took place; thus it focused on the latter description of the “ideal man,” through the testimony of men who did see the benefits in the shift, which enabled the movement to gain traction. These two recent projects on men in CARE’s work and outreach speak to the broader scope of CARE’s work on gender as related to the work being done at CARE Honduras, in conjunction with CARE USA, on a youth program that sought to actively engage young men and young women in their community through the Patsy Collins Trust Fund Initiative.

The reach of the PCTFI. CARE U.S.A. is an organization that took up a multi-dimensional and inclusive perspective of gender and education. Through the Patsy Collins Trust Fund Initiative (PCTFI) and close work with participating CARE offices around the globe, CARE USA has utilized a conceptual framework of empowerment that included indicators for measuring program impact that sought to foster educational and community-based participation of girls and the most marginalized children and youths in eight countries (CARE Patsy Collins Trust Fund Initiative, 2007b; Meagher, 2007).

PCTFI and CARE Honduras. One of the locations selected by the Education Unit of CARE Honduras as a site for their interventions was a peri-urban area outside of Tegucigalpa, which is referred to as El Valle in this study. The intervention in El Valle focused on youth, inclusive of young women and men, leadership and empowerment through a community-based program. This research study seeks to understand the constructions and meanings of agency, as a component of empowerment, in this specific

community context. However, while the study was conducted in a culturally distinct, regional context, the issues that arose and ideas that came forth from the youth participants are applicable to broader conversations regarding youth, agency, and gender. The gendering of youth agency was a concept that evolved from the study which has broader conceptual applications outside this geographic context.

CARE Honduras' Youth Program in El Valle

Started in 2005, the El Valle youth program at the time of the study in 2010 had twenty-four youth participants (eighteen of which were female and six of which were male). The youth leader of the group was a young woman studying law at a university in Tegucigalpa, and the lead organizers of the different sections (i.e. culture, education, environment, health, and sport) were both young women and young men. The youth in the program initially came together to assist CARE Honduras in conducting a household census of El Valle and a neighboring community to the north. From the census, they learned that out of 962 six-to-eighteen year olds that lived in the communities, 281 were not enrolled in school. The census served as a foundation for subsequent PCTFI youth programming (CARE Honduras, 2010).

In addition to the youth program, a safety and security round-table, parent-teacher associations, a center for abused girls, a pre-school program, and an evening alternative education program were also implemented as part of the PCTFI program (CARE Honduras: Situational Analysis, 2008). As a group, the youth did periodic project planning on initiatives they wanted to take on that included their involvement in the kindergarten and the evening alternative education program, as well as other community initiatives. Their five committees included: education, sport and culture, the environment

and recycling, and health. CARE Honduras supported the youths in project planning and execution, along with providing funding to implement their plans (CARE, Republic of Honduras, n.d.).

Purpose of the Study and Research Questions

The purpose of this study is to investigate how the Honduran youths constructed and enacted their agency in relation to the CARE Honduras youth program and other non-formal education programming within the communities while being attentive to the role gender played in the mediation of their agency. The setting for the study was in two locations in Honduras: El Valle, where the youth program with a human rights based approach guided by CARE's gender empowerment framework was formed and running, and El Pino, where a youth program was being planned by CARE Honduras at the time of the research. It is important to note that the program in El Valle was a broad approach that did not focus exclusively on girls' or boys' education; rather, its purpose was on youth leadership and empowerment. Fostering youth to be agentic was seen as a necessary component to ensuring active engagement within their communities (CARE Republic of Honduras, 2008).

The CARE Honduras Education Unit described their program in El Valle as addressing the rights of all children and youth from a human rights perspective rather than a gender-based perspective (CARE Honduras Education Unit, personal communication, February 18, 2010). Focusing solely on empowering one sex, as a gender-based perspective, was seen as potentially jeopardizing to the sustainability and long-term effectiveness of the program. Adopting a human rights perspective was, therefore, viewed as more inclusive within the community by CARE Honduras

personnel. A human rights-based approach was also a pedagogical method the Care Honduras Education Unit was trained in and thus comfortable adopting. While quantifiable objectives of the El Valle youth program have been assessed (i.e. number of youth participants, number of youth-sponsored activities, and duration of youth involvement), the use of deep, inductively-oriented research on the broader impact of the program on youth, gender, and agency had not been conducted prior to this research study.

Research study questions. This study aimed to address the following research questions:

1. In what ways are constructions and enactments of agency different or similar between young men and young women?
2. How do young Honduran women and men participating in a youth community organizations construct and enact their agency?
3. Are there differences between the ways youth in a non-governmental organization sponsored group and those who are interested in being part of such a group enact and construct their agency?

The scope of the research questions sought to understand the ways gender and gender relations impacted agency, along with the broader constructions of youth agency within the Honduran context. The study seeks to further conversations within the field of gender, development and education on the ways gender mediates enactments of agency by youths. The following section unpacks focal issues pertaining to gender, education, and youths which were also topics of broader societal conversations within Honduras at

the time of the research study. The segments below align with issues taken up in the results chapters of the manuscript.

Youth, Gender, and Agency in Honduras

Honduras has made great strides in addressing gender inequalities at various societal levels. However, if we consider gender equality as “...the removal of deeply embedded obstacles and structures of power and exclusion such as discriminatory laws, customs, practices, and institutional processes, all of which undermine opportunities and outcomes in education” (Aikman & Unterhalter, 2005, p. 3), then some structures have changed while others have not. The study of gender and agency in youths’ lives cuts across both space and place, concepts explored in Chapter 4, and requires the examination of education (formal and non-formal), relationships (peer and romantic), home, and community. The forthcoming sections are points of exploration for the ways that Honduran youths’ lives are impacted by their gender, which in turn has implications for the ways in which their agency is cultivated and enacted.

Gender in education. Honduras, along with most parts of Latin America, has achieved gender parity in primary education enrollment, and young women have higher enrollment and completion rates in secondary education than do young men (Lewis & Lockheed, 2006; UNFPA, 2008). Eighty-one percent of boys and 87% of girls reach grade 5, and 66% of boys and 86% of girls enroll at the secondary level (UNFPA, 2008). While literacy rates of youth, ages 15-to-24, is much higher than past generations [Programa de las Naciones Unidas para el Desarrollo (PNUD), 2009]; in 2007 there was still a gender gap – favoring women – in literacy rates with females’ literacy rate at 93% and males’ literacy rate at 88% (UNICEF, 2007). At the tertiary level, UNESCO’s

(2010) Gender Enrollment Ratio for Honduras rates 22% of females being enrolled in higher education and 19% of males. However, it is interesting to note that there was a high level of young women's enrollment in *public* institutions of higher education. 35,606 females were enrolled in public universities in 2006 and only 18,560 males the same year (PNUD, 2009, p. 112). The Programa de las Naciones Unidas para el Desarrollo (PNUD) [The United Nations Program for Development] (2009) surmised that the gender imbalance in public university enrollment was due to the considerable cost difference between public and private universities. Families with college-aged children will opt to send their sons to private universities and, if able, send their daughters to public institutions. While overall enrollment in tertiary education is low for both sexes, private institutions, the more privileged spaces of higher education are still reserved for the young men. Girls and young women were viewed as succeeding in education by many program participants of the study. In the results section I return to the youths' perceptions of educational success as it relates to gender.

Gender and the workforce. Although parity, or even an advantage toward girls and women, has been achieved in enrollment at various educational levels, women in Latin America remain disadvantaged in relation to men in the labor market and earn considerably less than men (Stromquist, 2008). World Bank indicates that male participation in the labor force is 88.7% and 89.1%, in 2004 and 2007 respectively. In contrast, women's participation in the labor force was 39.6% and 38.6%, in 2004 and 2007 respectively (World Bank Genderstats, 2009). In addition, the reporting of these numbers does not take into account the differences between the formal and informal job

sectors where wage-based employment remains more available to men than women (Pine, 2008).

In addition to mere participation, gender roles in the labor market are changing. Globalization impacts labor distribution in Latin America, and specifically urban areas of Honduras, with the rise of "maquiladoras," [sweatshops]. A country historically reliant on agriculture and banana plantations, Honduran sewing factories are shifting the role of bread earner from men to women, but they are not paying women equal wages in comparison with men, and women's roles within the home remain the same giving them double the workload (Pine, 2008). The division of labor, labeled as "production relations" of gender by Connell (2000), and "the gendering of the breadwinner role as essentially male" by Steans (2006, p. 85), are determining factors in how gender roles prohibit more equitable interactions between women and men and boys and girls.

Honduran policies protecting women and girls. Legislation at the national level has put into place various laws and statutes that look to mitigate unequal treatment of people based on their biological sex. The Honduran government has been attentive to passing and enacting legislation that provides women equal opportunities within the labor market through the Ley de Igualdad de Oportunidades para la Mujer (Law of Equal Opportunity for Women) (Republic of Honduras, 2000). This set of statutes provides protection against discriminatory employment practices based on gender/biological sex, religion, age, pregnancy, HIV/AIDS, and marital status but does not recognize sexual orientation.

The September 29, 1997 Ley Contra la Violencia Domestica (Law Against Domestic Violence) decreed by the Honduran Supreme Court and executive branch,

guaranteed women the protection against domestic violence which included physical, psychological, and sexual violence (1997). Patrimonial violence was an additional clause under domestic violence and was defined as a woman's loss of home or material objects by means of violence or force (1997). The later Law Against Domestic Violence (2006) outlines a set of regulations that seek to better protect the victim through the promise of greater anonymity and protection against intimidation, and that governmental agencies and local municipalities will collaborate in pursuit of these efforts (p. 16). While the law is inclusive, it has not led to a violence-free situation for women, although it does serve as a means for women to take up the issue of violence against women within the household.

The protections in the Law Against Domestic Violence were solely for women in male-female relationships, it did not acknowledge female-female intimate relationships, nor did it protect men against any type of partner-based violence. Moreover, framing the law from a domestic violence perspective prevents a conversation about the gendering of violence in Honduras. From the 1993 enactment of the UN Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women came the term "gender based violence." Within the context of the UN Declaration, "gender based violence" meant, "Any act... of violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivations of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life" (United Nations, 1994). The UN declaration focused on women, but when applying this definition more broadly, it encompassed power in relation to gender, context, and structures. In the context of Honduras, young men from impoverished communities joined gangs due to "coercion or

arbitrary deprivations of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life” (United Nations, 1994). The various strata of power, which intersect with gender, placed Honduran men in vulnerable positions in regards to physical and psychological violence (Gallardo, et. al., 2009; Pine, 2008; Wolseth, 2008a). Moreover, the UN’s Declaration later goes on to state that, “...all appropriate measures, especially in the field of education, to modify the social and cultural patterns of men and women... and on stereotyped roles for men and women” must acknowledge the social and cultural forces to conform for both sexes (1994, p. 5). The ways in which gang and drug-based violence skews the violence rates aggressively towards men is explored in the next section that discusses Honduran youth, as many of the men engaged in violent acts were youths.

Vulnerable populations not protected under Honduran law. Other populations that remain vulnerable and unprotected in relation to both employment laws and domestic violence include lesbians, gays, or transgender individuals (Centro de La Mujer, 2006). While protective policies against gender discrimination and towards greater gender equality are in place at the national level, the resources to enact the law are questionable. As Stromquist (1995) notes, a law alone does not change the status of women. It is in the enforcement and provision of resources that laws can be upheld and a change in the status of women can be observed. The experiences of Lisa and Vanessa, two study participants from El Valle and El Pino, respectively, provide deeper insight into the disconnect between policy and practice in relation to gender-based violence and are discussed in the results section of this study.

Los Jóvenes Hondureños (Honduran Youths)

Defining youthhood within the international and Honduran contexts. The United Nations defines youth as individuals between the ages of 15-24 years; deferring to member nations to instate their own guidelines in defining youth (United Nations, n.d.). Honduras' definition of youth encompasses a greater lifespan between the ages of 12 to 30 as outlined by the Law for the Integral Development of Youth in Honduras (Republic of Honduras, 2006). Honduras' Law for the Integral Development of Youth, passed January 16, 2006, establishes a set of rights and duties promised to youth by the State. As youth make up half of the Honduran population, Honduras seeks to develop the active participation of youth in contributing to the positive development of the country (Republic of Honduras, 2006, A.1).

Threats to positive youth development and inclusion. The United Nations Development Council produced an in-depth examination of social exclusion and youth citizenship in Honduras that was released during my field research in 2010. Their comprehensive findings examined issues pertaining to education, social exclusion, employment and migration, as well as youth participation and a plan of action. The report focused on social exclusion and youth citizenship in Honduras and outlined the ways in which youths, both young women *and* young men, are victims of violence in Honduran society (PNUD , 2009). As part of the examination of social exclusion, the researchers examined the ways in which young women and young men experienced violence. The table below outlines the different, and gendered, ways in which violence is experienced by youths. Much of the violence young men experience is due to gang affiliation, membership, and presumed involvement (see Pine, 2008; Wolseth 2008a,

2008b). PNUD 's (2009) research was evidence of the ways in which structures, specifically violence, mediates the lives of both young men and women, thus preventing the actualization of their agency and empowerment (Maslak, 2008; Wolseth, 2008a).

Table 1

Youth Violence and Gender

<u>Demographic</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>Men</u>
Individuals seeking treatment for sexual assault between the ages of 15-29 in 2008	499 (86.6% of the total reported)	77 (13.4% of the total reported)
Number of cases of deaths due to homicide in youth between the ages of 15-29 in 2008	136 (6.3% of the total reported)	2,018 (93.7% of the total reported)
Request for medical evaluation by women between the ages of 15-29 for domestic violence in 2008	495	-

PNUD , 2009, pp. 216-217

A 2012 report by UNICEF found that more than 4,700 children and youths are involved in gang life in Honduras. Of that population, only twenty percent are young women and the other eighty percent are young men. Twenty-one percent of the youths affiliated with gangs live in the Tegucigalpa region, with sixty percent in the San Pedro Sula region. Most joined between the ages of 11-20 and described being “adopted” into the gang (González, 2012). Wolseth (2008a) writes: “In Honduras, the violent death of youths dovetails with structural violence, compounding the social suffering of young men who are acutely aware of the lack of economic possibilities and the ability to provide for their own families’ and their own future. Youths not only witness the physical death of their peers, but also experience their own social death...youth men express loss over both types of death, grieving in their own way” (p. 314).

Endemic violence within Honduras. Honduras continually ranks highest in the world for homicides. There are 82.1 killings per 100,000 people according to the United Nations, with homicide rates in Honduras doubling between 2005 and 2010 (United

Nations Office on Drugs and Crimes, 2011, p. 50). The endemic violence that has set root within Honduran society is described by Pine (2008) as being a byproduct of both structural and symbolic violence, as defined by Bourdieu. Pine surmises that “Hondurans imagined community is one of violence and lack” at a structural level; which in turn she characterizes to be a “symbolically violent evolutionary trope common to colonialism” (2008, p. 27). In relating Pine’s theorization of structural and symbolical violence to a Honduran youth population, domestic violence, gang violence, and homicide rates contribute to the ongoing cultural production of violence (Pine, 2008, p. 27).

Teen pregnancy and child-care within Honduras. An issue confronting many young women is early pregnancy, or *embarazo precoz* as it is termed in Honduras. Childbearing remains a cross-cutting issue related both to gender equality and young women’s ability to study, work, and fulfill the goals and plans they had for themselves. Anthropological studies on Honduran women and families speak to the automatic social and cultural linkages between childbearing and rearing to women. Girls and young women continue to be socialized to be caretakers within the home and to take on both economic and familial responsibilities on behalf of their children (Rowlands, 1997). Other researchers suggest that men having children and sexual relations with a woman, or multiple women, outside their primary relationships were considered a cultural norm within Honduras (Medea, 1987; Pine 2008).

The significance of studying gender relations among youth in Honduran communities. The reasons listed above highlight how understanding gender relations in education and other sites, including youth organizations, has the potential to secure a more inclusive understanding of gender equality in the Honduran context. Education and

youth programming is a way to de-center long-held beliefs in order to ensure access to the equal rights (Ardizzone, 2008). Through formal and non-formal education, social norms that create gender stratification⁵ can be reevaluated and discussed. As Fernández (1996) so eloquently writes: “Education is not simply a matter of imparting knowledge; rather, it is a process by which life experiences are integrated... and by which a new, rich, knowledge capable of integrating different realities is produced” (p. 218). Changing gender norms will require the production of different realities across multiple levels of Honduran society. Cultivating young women to be agentic in their lives, to encourage young men to support and back young women’s agency and to understand the social constructs that prevent young men’s agency are ways of promoting gender equality and understanding the gendering of agency.

The State, through the Law for the Integral Development of Youth in Honduras, promises support for youth through education, health care, and the cultivation of healthy communities within which youths can participate in culturally-, politically-, and recreationally-orientated programming. They additionally note that youth have the right to work without being exploited or being put in danger (Republic of Honduras, 2006, A.5). As part of the law, the National Institute of Youth was established to uphold the aforementioned rights. In many countries youth rights and protections typically fall into a nebulous category due to age. In many instances youth in their early teens up until 18 are protected by the Convention on the Rights of the Child, but between the ages of 18 and 24 youth are only protected by international human rights laws and citizen rights

⁵ As defined by J.S. Chafetz (1990) as “the extent to which males and females who are otherwise social equals (e.g., in terms of age, social class, race/ethnicity, and religion) are equal in their access to the scarce and valued resources of their society” (p. 29).

legislation within their individual country (United Nations Children's Fund, 1989). The Law for the Integral Development of Youth in Honduras secures a clear articulation of rights promised to youth by the State, and Honduras is one of very few countries to establish such a law specifically oriented to youth.

Overview of Remaining Chapters

The following chapters outline the theory and concepts that contribute to the study, the methodology used to carry out the study, the results from six-months of field research, and concluding remarks about the implications this study has for future work. A review of the literature as it relates to agency and its definition for the purpose of this study can be found in Chapter 2. Theoretical constructs supporting this study and relevant research that investigates the ways youths are agentic, and how agency is experienced in relation to gender, are additional sections within the upcoming chapter.

Chapter 3 explores the ways I called on feminist epistemology to frame the qualitative, comparative case studies. Feminist epistemology within the study calls on ways that knowledge and consciousness-raising can be used in conducting research that attends to issues and themes of importance to women in their journeys (DeVault, 1999); while attending to the ways that shifts in whose voices are heard is still attentive to men's voices as well. The comparative case-studies carried out in El Valle and El Pino, and the qualitative research methods, are likewise discussed in Chapter 3.

The results portions of this study are broken into two chapters. Chapter 4 investigates the gendering of youth agency in relation to community spaces and places. This chapter focuses on the study's first research question and the ways gender is impactful to youth agency. The second results chapter, Chapter 5, examines the ways in

which youth construct their agency vis-à-vis non-formal community education programs. Comparisons of the ways in which youth agency differs between the participants in CARE Honduras' youth program in El Valle, and youths involved in non-formal educational programming in El Pino are identified and problematized in this chapter.

The final chapter, Chapter 6, provides a summation of the ways this research contributes to current conversations on gender and agency. Furthermore, ideas on ways that organizations can enhance their outreach on issues pertaining youths' agency and gender is outlined. This body of work seeks to provide new ways of conceptualizing and framing the gendering of youth agency across community spaces and places within the peri-urban communities of El Valle and El Pino.

CHAPTER 2

THEORIZATIONS OF AGENCY, YOUTH, AND GENDER

Theorizing Agency

Structuration and agency. Theorizations of agency are found throughout social science literature, and various approaches have been widely used within the fields of development studies, education, and women's studies. Giddens (1979) and Bourdieu's (1977) seminal works formed the foundation for research in agency in so far as they framed how agency is experienced vis-à-vis structures and relationships. Structuration theory, greatly attributed to Giddens' work, confronts the interplay between structure and action, and the ways in which rules and resources contribute to the social structures that subsequently mediate agency (Ahearn, 2001). Operationally, structures are the rights/laws/rules imposed both within the public (i.e. the State) and private (i.e. the family) spheres that youth, girls, and boys are asked to follow; they are the institutions where youth study, work, and play; they are the relationships that shape how youth behave and feel; and they are the relationships that are fundamental to human agency (Pine, 2008; Honawana & De Boeck, 2005). Individual actions at micro- and macro-levels across society are viewed as reifying these structures thus influencing agency (Giddens, 1979). Giddens own writing on structures and agency evolved over time as in his later writing with Pierson, he addresses the ways that changes in actions can be influential to changes in structures (Giddens & Pierson, 1998). It is when the actions are produced *differently* that structures change; which in turn differentiates the expression of agency (Giddens & Pierson, 1998).

Bourdieu defines agency as something one negotiates vis-à-vis the social and cultural structures of society (Bourdieu, 1977). Bourdieu's (1977) writing on habitus and field posits the way individuals create and uphold schemas (i.e. structures) through perceptions, appreciations, and actions. In her work on agency and Hispanic women, Ramos (2008) describes habitus as "a product of social conditioning [that] links actual behavior to structure" (p 224). The interplay between the expression of the internal, and internalization of the external depicts the way agency is mediated by structure, and structure, at times, mediated by agency.

Nexus of agency and structure. For my purposes, agency can be seen as partnered with "structure" at the "nexus" where "social relationships are forged" (Maslak, 2008, p. xv). Maslak writes, "Human beings act within the social perimeters that circumscribe their lives. Thus, individuals, regardless of the role they play, experience agency and structure simultaneously" (Maslak, 2008, p. xxiii). In Maslak's work on girls, women and agency, it is in the examination of this nexus between agency and structure that influence the position or roles individuals take-on within public spaces such as schools and communities (Maslak, 2008). Maslak advocates the examination of both agency and structure in order to further the epistemological understanding of gender (p. xix, see also Hughes, 2002).

Agency as individual and/or collective action. The negotiation of agency and structure can be mediated collectively or individually (Messer-Davidow, 1995; Monkman, Easton, & Miles, 2008). Messer-Davidow (1995) makes the distinction based on whether agency is expressed as the "volition/ decision/action" of an individual, or through social formation and "consciousness/mobilization" of a group (p. 29).

Monkman, Eason, and Miles' (2008) evaluation of the Village Empowerment Programs in the Sudan and Mali discuss the ways that collective action of the villagers led to approaching structural inequalities within the communities. For the researchers, the collective action that led to the changing of attitudes and carrying out community activities was an expression of agency on behalf of the group (Monkman, Miles, and Easton, 2008). The CARE youth program promotes this type of collective agency by addressing community issues through particular initiatives, but the youth population carrying out these initiatives may view agency on a more individualistic level due to their age/place. Durham (2008) proposes that as youth make meaning of their individual lives, the expression of "personal agency" is a *potential* outcome of that process (pp. 167-168).

Agency as interaction and negotiation with another. Sewell (1992) calls into question whether and how agency is individual or collective in his writing on Bourdieu, Giddens, and agency. What Sewell points out, which is not acknowledged in most discussions of individual versus collective agency, is that agency is inherently based in the interaction and negotiation with another. Even if someone acts individually, that individual is going to "coordinate [his/her] actions with others and against others, to form collective projects, to persuade, to coerce, and to monitor the simultaneous effects of [his/her] own and others activities" (Sewell, 1992, p. 21). Sewell's argument asserts that there is no such thing as individual agency. Rather, personal agency, experienced by a single individual, is "laden with collectively produced differences of power and implicated in collective struggles and resistances" (p. 21). Following Sewell's conception of agency, this chapter will further investigate the ways in which relationships between individuals is constitutive of understanding agency.

This study draws on the work of development, youth studies, and feminist theorists to construct an understanding of agency that encapsulates the multiple positions youth, both young women and men, take in Honduras. As previously defined, agency can be seen as *the meaningful influence youth feel they have in the decisions they make and actions they take, individually or collectively, in their lives* (Bajaj, 2008; Gordon, 2006). The gender relational aspect set out within a GAD approach, however, has not been extensively deconstructed from a youth perspective. This study, therefore, takes up the convergence of gender and agency, as well as gender and youth, as called upon by Stromquist and Fischman (2009).

The following literature review examines empirical studies on youth agency in two areas: 1) structures and youth agency, and 2) relationships, youth, gender and agency. The empirical research reveals how agency is studied within the fields of international development and youth studies. As stated previously, agency and empowerment are often conceived of broadly and are quite under-conceptualized in the missions of international organizations, such as CARE. It is through empirical research that a deeper understanding of how agency functions in real-world contexts can be reached.

Youth

Youths are often times positioned as the potential “makers” and the potential “breakers” of a society (Honwana & De Boeck, 2005). While the Honduran government, NGOs, and other international organizations discuss the positive involvement of youth (La Cava, Clert, & Lytle, 2004), the youth and their roles in development are not always portrayed in such ingratiating terms in the literature. Maira and Soep (2005) write that

“youth, it seems, are everywhere and nowhere” (p. xv). Their transient space between childhood and adulthood positions their participation and involvement both in a positive light, as mentioned above, and as a negative shadow (Lipsitz, 2005). Youth positionality often takes on a binary construction, and youth’s role within societies can be marginalized (Bucholtz, 2002, Giroux, 2002; Lipsitz, 2005; Ardizzone, 2008). Binary constructions of youth depict them as “victims” or “perpetrators” (Bucholtz, 2002); as “makers and breakers” of their communities (Honwana & De Boeck, 2005); and as both “subversives” and “innocents” within the socio-political culture in Latin America (Reguillo, 2000). In her work on youth in Latin America, Krauskopf (1999) depicts the polarity of youth’s societal position when she documents that the life period of youth is seen as “etapa problema” (problem stage), or youth are seen as “actor estratégico del desarrollo” (strategic actor for development) (p. 122). This binary discourse of youths’ roles negates the spectrum of realities that they face, and the complexity of operating in an adult-centric world (Krauskopf, 1999; Maira & Soep, 2005).

Structures and youth agency. How agency is understood through youths’ lived experience and the influence of the structures through which youth live and transverse are central to studies on youth agency. Sewell (1992) describes structures as being either an outer “skin” or a “hard’ constraint” in enacting agency (p. 3). His description conjures images of structures as penetrable exteriors, or rigid barriers. Ardizzone, (2007, 2008) in her work on youth, actually equates all “outer context[s] of their [youth’s] realities” as structures that youth confront in some way - - either positively, negatively or neutrally (p. 274). Bajaj (2008), Durham (2008), and Ardizzone’s (2008) empirical research contributes to how structures were influential in the cultivation, maintenance, or restraint

of youth agency amongst their participants. These three studies do not have a gender focus; however, they investigate perspectives on youth, agency, and structure that demonstrate the way agency is expressed in and through various cultural and societal contexts.

Transformative youth agency. The way that structures relate to youth's expressed agency is evident in Bajaj's (2008) research on transformative youth agency in Zambia, which investigates the differences between student agency of a group attending a government sponsored secondary school and a group attending the Umutende secondary school. The Umutende school had a "non-sectarian 'human values' such as peace, truth, social justice and non-violence" approach to their pedagogy (p. 1). Several key findings regarding secondary school students and agency were uncovered by Bajaj's research. First, youth wrote about and talked about their agency differently in the two schools. Bajaj attributes this to the school, over other social factors, as the twenty-two students in her study were paired siblings. For each sibling studying in a government school there was a sibling studying at the Umutende school (p. 4).

Additionally, Bajaj's findings indicate a relationship between a human values approach, such as the one implemented at the Umutende school, and students' desires to improve their community. When both groups of siblings were asked, "Where do you see yourself in 20 years?" it was the Umutende students who noted they wanted to run for local public office or parliamentary office in order to "make changes and make Zambia a better place" (Bajaj, 2008, p. 8). Bajaj did not see students holding similar goals in the government-sponsored school. These findings can be seen as evidence for Adrizonne's (2008a, 2008b) claim that educational programs can be sites of transformation in how

youth see themselves, and the voice and influence they can have in the world around them.

Furthermore, Bajaj (2008) found that upon graduation or leaving the school Umutende students found it difficult to enact and uphold these values within the larger community environment. Umutende students are forced to “reassess their sense of agency” due to what Bajaj calls the “clash” between the values cultivated in the Umutende school and the broader social structures (i.e. rules and norms) within the community (p. 12). The influence of structures in shifting and shaping (Umutende school), or restraining (government-sponsored school), youth agency in Ndola, Zambia shows the dynamism in how agency is constructed and expressed in pockets of time and space and in relation to specific situations. In Bajaj’s summation, she questions the way(s) youth agency, cultivated within a school, can be sustained when confronted with the social realities within the community. Her conclusion raises the question of whether or not involving youth in changing social realities, such as the situation in the CARE Honduran youth program, might change their understanding and expression of agency in a sustained way.

Adults intervening in youth agency. Representations of youth agency in daily life and the way that structures are questioned and negotiated by youth are two points of interest in a recent chapter by Durham (2008) on the ethnographic research she has conducted in Botswana over the past 15 years. A vignette from Durham’s ethnographic work relays the way that political structures intended to be supportive of youth agency were, in actuality, prohibitive to the expression of agency. She documented this while examining how youth and child participants, at the Day of the African Child event on

June 16, 2000, were treated by event organizers, local dignitaries, and other adult figure. She describes the youth's assumed role at the event to be silent participants and observant receptors of what was going on rather than active agents. Durham (2008) writes:

The idea of youth as an important part of the nation was presented through the parade and dances, the speeches, and the assembly of bureaucrats engaged in various youth development and education programs. Still, the young people followed a script written by someone else, be it the march organizers or the long-standing traditions of school choirs and drama groups. If there was any sign of youth acting on their own and for their own political interests on that Youth Day, it was in the rapid abandonment of the ceremony by the young marchers (p. 159).

Durham's depiction of the lack of choice youth experienced in the execution of Youth Day shows the ways in which adult interventions can be imposed on youth and effect how agency can be expressed.

Attention is not given to the planning process that led up to Youth Day, nor did Durham include quotes of conversations she had with child or youth participants. The fullness of her ethnography would have been bolstered by including what the young people actually said in relation to how the day was organized and run. However, youth abandonment of the ceremony characterized as an expression of agency may be classified as *resistant agency* (Mirón & Lauria, 1998; Thapan, 2003), but that remains unexplored by Durham in this section. Durham's attention to how agency is expressed in day-to-day activities, in addition to specific events, posits agency in a more generative light. Despite the limitations mentioned, her ethnographic research is fundamental to the construction of youth agency due to its depiction of the multiple ways agency is experienced.

Encouraging agency through participation and voice. Ardizonne's (2008) research around peace education and non-formal education in New York City is focused on what she deemed to be structural violence experienced by youth based on age, race, and ethnicity. Ardizonne conducted her study with 25 NYC youth, between the ages of 14 and 22, who were involved in various pro-social, peace-building organizations within the city. Ardizonne suggests that non-formal, out-of-school programs are central to cultivating youth agency and empowerment. She views formal educational environments as being bound by structures that demote youth expression. It is through the structures of non-formal educational programs that spaces are created where youth can speak out, voice opinions, and investigate and question things of interest to them (Ardizonne, 2008). As the Honduran youth program is a non-formal education initiative, Ardizonne's work on how non-formal settings provide an alternative space for youth expression is valuable. In addition to the role structures play in youth agency and expression, Ardizonne (2008) emphasizes that youth are not "motivated to action" due to a singular event, but through continuous participation in what she describes as "thought-provoking experiences" (p. 282-283).

As discussed above, structures related to education and community based programs and spaces play a role in how youth think, feel and express their agency. Structures include both the physical spaces and environments in which the youths live and engage with the world around them, but also the structures related to pedagogy, rules, and programming. Youths navigate their environments based on both what they feel enabled to do within certain spaces, as is seen in Bajaj's (2008) writing, and what the

ways in which they mitigate adult-imposed structures, as was the case from Durham's (2008) research.

One Half of the Equation: Girls' Agency

Agency, as a component to empowerment, of girls' within Mexican schools.

The previous studies looked at youth agency and structure without a particular examination of gender. This section focuses on girls' experiences and expressions of agency and empowerment. Bordon's (2003) qualitative study on girls looks at the way empowerment is expressed and understood by young women in three rural schools in the Los Tuxtlas region of Veracruz, Mexico. For Bordon, girls' understanding of their feelings regarding their relationships they have with their teachers and their male classmates is central to the ability for these girls to embody a sense of empowerment. As a part of the framing to her study she states: "I analyse to what extent girls' relationships with their teachers and classmates (girls and boys) are empowering, paying particular attention to what occurs inside and outside the classroom" (p. 1). As her study progresses, she discovers that the schools are primary locations where girls' feel they have the same rights as boys. Girls report that they are able to do the same things as boys in school whereas at home they typically have to do more than boys and have different gender-based rules governing their behavior. Youth agency in Bordon's study is thus found in the way girls' are able to express their rights in school in the same or in similar ways to boys.

Bordon's (2005) research is significant for this study on youth agency in Honduras in several ways. Firstly, she finds that empowerment is experienced differently based on social sphere (i.e. within the home or school). Girls' felt more in control of

their decision-making and actions at school than at home. Secondly, her study suggests that the external interaction with youth of a similar age fostered positive peer relationships. Lastly, it is significant that she included both boys and girls in her study, although the findings she shared as part of her conference paper do not go into detail as to the ways the gender relations affected her findings. Lastly, Bordon (2005) found that beyond the socialization within the school, empowerment was cultivated through the act of “learning new things” (p. 15). Knowledge was seen as fostering girls’ self-confidence.

Critical thinking as a pathway to women’s empowerment in Honduras.

Similarly, Murphy-Graham’s (2008, 2010, 2012) research on girls/women and empowerment illustrates the way that youth are shaped by and shape their cultural communities. Her study was conducted with former female participants of a program entitled Sistema de Aprendizaje - SAT (System of Learning) in four rural Garifuna communities in northern Honduras. The SAT program is an interdisciplinary educational program with a gender focus integrated into the five learning foci which include technology, mathematics, science, language and communication, and community service. Originally designed by an NGO in Colombia, SAT was a student-centered educational program that sought to engage students in discussions about gender difference and gender inequality. Murphy-Graham’s research investigated if and how the SAT program empowered women, through interviews with eighteen women; twelve of whom had done SAT for five-plus years and six of whom had only participated for three months as the program in the one community was not sustained.

Murphy-Graham found that women who had participated in SAT as youth said that the program was empowering as it gave them “a new way of viewing the world, a

more critical way of thinking,” which Murphy-Graham aligns with Stromquist’s identification of cognitive empowerment (2008, p. 38). Thinking critically enabled women to enact their agency which she defined as “the ability to define one’s goals and act upon them” (p. 37). The SAT program thus served to shape the young women, but the SAT educated young women also shaped the community by challenging gender expectations and norms (Murphy-Graham, 2008).

As part of the study, Murphy-Graham asked all the participants to identify issues in their communities and to provide potential solutions. All twelve who had done SAT were able to list problems and solutions while only two of the six, who had not done SAT, could provide responses (pp. 38-39). While these individuals were able to recognize problems and solutions, thus embodying Murphy-Graham’s definition of empowerment, a deeper understanding of agency might have been accomplished if the women had been asked whether they felt they had the influence to *implement* change within their community. It is one thing for women to be empowered to identify these problems within their community and to propose possible solutions; it is yet another thing for the women to feel they can act within their community and with men to solve these problems. Another striking finding thing about this study was the identification of men and issues relating to men as being the communities’ main problems. Men’s alcohol abuse and men’s lack of “involvement,” “male abandonment and male domination” were two of the six identified problems (Murphy-Graham, 2008, p. 39). Understanding the male perspective on community issues would further the understanding of gender dynamics and gender relations.

The identification of self in girls' agency in the UK. A longitudinal, ethnographic study on girls, agency and citizenship was done by Gordon (2006) on how girls' personal agency is expressed. Gordon takes up how girls' conceptualize their agency through the use of "I" (see McLean, et al., 1995 for background to Gordon's study construction). Gordon (2006) refers to agency as "... the capacity to make and carry out decisions as well as a sense of being agentic" (2006, p. 2). Gordon's project examined a group of youth at the ages of 13, 18, 20, and will again interviewed them at the age of 22. She carried out her research in two schools in Helsinki and two schools in London. In her article *Girls in education: Citizenship, agency and emotions* Gordon examines the use of what she calls "the agentic I" in three young women's interviews at the ages of 14, 18, and 20 for one informant, Noora, and 14 and 18 for the other two informants Asta and Sonja.

There are three salient points from Gordon's (2006) first-person review of her participants' interviews. One is the inclusion of what she terms the "planning" process that precludes decision making in the expression of agency. In her review of Noora's interviews there was a step before making a decision which gave deeper context to the decisions she made and actions she took. Secondly, Gordon observes from Asta's interviews the way her "I" phrases express different levels of agency when describing domestic, household chores her mother wants her to do, and her interest in performing arts. The differentiation in the way Asta talks about and describes her participation in the performing arts program and her household chores is seen by Gordon as an expression of distinct levels of agency. Gordon's observation that a girl can be agentic in certain spaces or in regards to certain aspects of her life, but potentially not everywhere and to

everything, is significant, in that it provides a claim for the shifts in young women's perceived agency across different contexts. The theme of being agentic within certain spaces was likewise explored in Bajaj's (2008) work in the Umutende schools and the challenges youths' faced in enacting that agency outside the school space.

Finally, Gordon reflects on the way that agency does not always have to be expressed in decisive, vocal ways, but can be demonstrated in what she terms agency "in silent determination" (p. 11). This phrase stems from observations and analysis she made of interviews/observations with Sonja. Sonja was not as vocal as other informants in the interviews or in school (as per her teachers). However, she accomplished many things in the time Gordon worked with her including enrollment in an adult education institute, taking a gap year after secondary, and electing what Gordon refers to as a "male dominated field" at the start of her university program (p. 11). Sonja's lack of vocal "I" phrases pushed Gordon to rely on identifying other indicators for how and if Sonja is expressing some form of agency.

Throughout Gordon's discussion of her informants' responses and experiences she additionally concludes that "exercising agency" is differentiated based on gender in her longitudinal study (p. 13). Gordon (2006) writes, "When girls enter the space of learning in an overly agentic manner, there is tension between their agency and gender" (p. 6). She views official and non-official school practices as gendering the way that boys and girls are able to express agency.

This section provided an overview of research studies that explored girls' and young women's agency. The research presented shows the ways in which girls' and young women's agency and empowerment is often situated in relation to the cultural

construction of gender and femininity. The next section explores the notion of gender relations within community and social structures and how it relates to agency.

Gender Relations and Agency

Investigating structures and youth agency, and gender and youth, requires a discussion of how relationships affect youth agency based on norms and beliefs of gender roles. Social relations within public and private spheres are shaped by cultural assumptions and beliefs about gender (Kabeer, 2003). Kabeer (2003) sees the distribution of agency as being based on these gender “norms and values” (p. 51). It is in the way that gender is socially organized that looking at the role of social constructs around gender provides a deeper understanding as to how individuals feel they can or should act based on gender (Holder, 1995; Connell, 2002).

External pressures of youths on decision-making in romantic relationships.

James’s (2002) research on HIV/AIDS peer education in Durban, South Africa draws attention to how male/female sexual relationships and female/female friendships can perpetuate unsafe sex practices. James states, “Youth [male youth] of the current generation are expected by their peers to force girls into having intercourse, while girls’ friends reinforce the expectation that they yield to such attention uncomplainingly” (p. 172). The agency of the young women to choose not to have sex is thus mediated by both social norms and relationships with peers of both genders. Social relations that exist between girls and boys are subsequently actualized through patterns (i.e. structures) and have the potential to define both “possibilities and consequences” (Connell, 2002, p. 55). Age and gender become persuasive forces in how agency is expressed by youth, and how or whether they feel they have meaningful influence over individual or collective

decisions and actions. To further the understanding of how agency is mediated by gender and relationships, different types of relations that affect youths' agency examined in the following sections.

Relations with family. Thorpe (2005), in his work with HIV/AIDS education in South Africa and Mozambique, examines two peer HIV/AIDS awareness programs with a gender equality approach, one run by Dramaide in South Africa and Juventude Alerta in Mozambique. What emerges from his data is the way that relationships, within the cultural contexts of South Africa and Mozambique, influence how youth shape their agency, and how the youth trainers became *agentic* as a byproduct of their roles as trainers. Thorpe's work, therefore, reveals that individual relationships and experiences in and outside of the home are both components to how agency is enacted.

Peer & sexual relationships. Another study that looks at youth, parental relationships, sex, and agency was conducted by Averett, Benson, and Vaillancourt (2008). Averett, et al. (2008) investigated the perceived bodily and sexual agency of fourteen young women (ages 18 to 22 at the time of the study) in relation to their parents' role in discussing sex and relationships. As a part of the narrative inquiry methodology, participants were asked to write about how the attitudes, behaviors, and messages about sex and their bodies conveyed to them by their parents as youth affected them in the present (p. 333). Findings from this study speak to *how* adults, in this case parents, can directly and indirectly influence young women's sense of agency in regards to sexual relationships, how they view men (i.e. a father teaching his daughter that males are 'sexual predators'), and how they view their own sexuality (i.e. mothers advocating sexual passivity). Through the responses of parents, in what was said and unsaid, the

young women attached meaning and value to what they should and should not do, which subsequently influenced the amount of agency they expressed in sexual relationships (Averett, et al., 2008). Averett, et al.'s (2008) overarching conclusion from the study is that young women's construction of motives, the reflexivity of what they chose to do or not do, and the cognitive processes of decision making, are fundamental to cultivating their sense of agency.

Sexual relationships discussed amongst peers, and the power dynamics between girls and boys in regards to sexual practices, is another emergent issue in the examination of youth agency in Thorpe's study. Navigating female/male youth sexual relationships brings to the forefront "influence" versus "choice" in regards to power and agency (Kabeer, 2003; Rowlands, 1997). In one of the Mozambique workshops, Thorpe documents participants' comments in regards to safe sex practices and the use of condoms. Referencing why or why not youth use condoms, they remarked: "*To be a man it must be 'flesh to flesh,' he will say I am a prostitute, she will not accept them, he will not let me, we cannot talk about it*" (Thorpe, 2005, p. 202). The comments are demonstrative of the influence youth feel they have over decisions and actions related to sex and condom use. "She will not accept them" and "he will not let me" are examples of youth naming the lack of agency they have in using condoms with their partner. While not the emphasis of his study, Thorpe's data presents the ways in which agency is navigated with and through both peer relationships and also sexual relationships, and the how *influence* is an intervening factor in how agency is talked about.

Boys' Attitudes and Perceptions of Girls

Youths' gender identities in relation to school and community. Youth have been shown to both exert influence over and relent to the decisions made by others as they negotiate the agency they have in a given situation. Gender, as well as other factors such as ethnicity and race, can be seen as contributing to how these negotiations are experienced (Ardizzone, 2008b). Corsaro (2005) suggests that young people “actively contribute to societal preservation (or reproduction) as well as societal change” (p. 4). In this way, youth have the potential to be positive agents of change (i.e. towards greater gender equality or poverty reduction) within their peer communities (Bucholtz, 2002; Corsaro, 2005; & Durham, 2008). However, being an agent of social change involves the conscientization of those with power, in this case boys, to the disempowered position of their female peers (Freire, 2006). In his study on a human relationship course at two Australian high schools, Mills (2000) concluded that in order for boys and young men to understand their roles in relation to power, gender subordination, and violence, men needed to be active participants in educating male children and youth on these issues. Mills writes: “... it is men’s responsibility to address the privileged position in which they are situated in gendered relations of power” (2000, p. 222). Gordon’s (1998) study on how boys’ construction of gender identity helps or hinders the promotion of gender equality in a group of Zimbabwean secondary schools is demonstrative of how shifting culturally defined expectations of girls within this society is relationally dependent on boys. Gordon’s study spoke to the ways that within classroom spaces, views on subject areas, intelligence, and education outcomes for both sexes were highly feminized and masculinized by male participants and teachers. Gordon (1998) found that schools were

seen as perpetuating gender stereotypes as they in no way sought to disrupt the culturally normalized view of females being inferior to males.

Raynor's (2005) case study of the Female Stipend Program in Bangladesh seeks to address attitudes towards girls' education, and the perception of educated girls and women, through interviews and surveys of male and female school-age youth and of both mothers and fathers. An unexpected finding by Raynor was that all participants of the survey (girls and boys) saw the Female Stipend Program as being beneficial. One question of the survey asked, "The FSP is beneficial to me" (p. 93). Raynor found that both girls and boys agreed with this statement. To further clarify their responses, Raynor asked boys during the interviews why the female stipend program was good for them. Through interview responses, the boys said that FSP would give them an "educated wife who would have a better chance of adding to the family income, and being a better mother to their children" (p. 93). Education in this rural area outside of Dhaka was seen by boys as a way to uphold and reinforce patriarchal tradition. This finding is significant in that it demonstrates that girls' agency and empowerment cannot be cultivated without changing the attitudes held by their male peers.

Another finding from the study was that both boys/men and girls/women linked additional education for girls to better employment. The boys/men, however, associated better employment with financial gains, while girls/women associated better employment with "independence," "confidence," and "worth," (Raynor, 2005, p. 95). While there was shared meaning in the fact that education is important for girls, the meaning of "better employment" was not shared collectively. This discord in meaning-making has the potential to cause problems in gender relations between girls and boys. Girls who view

employment as greater independence will not necessarily see it as a way for greater economic gains as boys are inclined to do. What Raynor's project illustrates is that understanding a female opinion on what she is getting out of a program may not always align with the meaning subscribed to by a male.

Positioning the Research Study within Existing Literature

The intent of my study is to understand the ways in which there is a gendering to youths' agency in Honduras, and to investigate how that is enacted similarly or differently between the two populations of youths in El Valle and El Pino. The empirical studies included above portray how youth agency is visible (Bajaj, 2008), yet invisible (Durham, 2008); fluid across time and space (Gordon, 2006), but lasting if greatly impactful (Murphy-Graham, 2008); and definitively gendered (Raynor, 2005) yet negotiable due to gender (Bordon, 2003). More practically, the studies show that where, how, and to what extent agency is experienced by youth is contextual. Bajaj (2008), Murphy-Graham (2008), and Bordon's (2003) studies show the way educational spaces serve as potential sites of agency development. Meanwhile Thorpe (2005) and Ardizzone's (2008a, 2008b) research depicts the way agency is cultivated through participation in non-formal education programs and in spaces where youth are able to take up issues of importance to them. The expression of agency within the home (Gordon, 2008), in sexual relationships (Averett, Benson, & Vaillancourt, 2008) or in other ways and locations in the studies all contribute to a holistic construction of youth's overall sense of agency. This research study seeks to contribute to the body of literature pertaining to the multi-dimensional nature of gender and agency as it pertains to youth and youth culture.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

... to only focus on negative stories is to flatten my experience and to overlook the many other stories that formed me. The single story creates stereotypes and the problem with stereotypes is not that they are untrue but that they are incomplete. They make one story become the only story. I've always felt that it is impossible to engage properly with a place or a person without engaging with all of the stories of that place and that person (Adichie, 2009).

The previous two chapters have delved into the ways in which agency, vis-à-vis structures and community, is theorized and investigated in relation to youth and gender in the international education and development literature. This chapter provides an overview of my use of feminist epistemology and the qualitative, case study methodology grounding my research. The chapter will also review the population of youth with whom I collaborated with, provide an overview of how I carried out my study, and discuss my positionality as a researcher and the ways I collected and analyzed the data collected.

As noted in the review of empirical literature, most studies of youth agency create a dyad between youth's agency and a portioned-off segment of youths' lived realities such as HIV/AIDS (Thorpe, 2005), sexual relations (Averett, Benson, & Vaillancourt, 2008), or science education (Olitsky, 2006). However, it is in the holistic examination of the ways in which youth enact, create, ignore and/or fight for their agency, either individually or collectively, that this study speaks to the broader incorporation of youth voices in the cultivation, enactment, and gendering of their agency (Durham, 2008; Murphy-Graham, 2010). Young people find themselves in a time and place where they are negotiating their identity – an identity which is “flexible and ever-changing” – and rely on both the individual choices that they see for themselves, as well as the options

that people “think is possible for them” (Bucholtz, 2002, p. 532; Walker, 2006, p. 166). In relation to youth agency, Roberts (2003) postulates that the “loosening” social structures that influence youth experience, “... require[s] young people to be reflexive, to formulate goals, to take control of their own lives and futures, and navigate towards their chosen destinations” (p. 23). Prior to and after completing my fieldwork, it is my belief that youth can be active agents of social and cultural change in their lives, and the lives of others, when the structural environment is permeable to youth involvement. Adichie’s quote inspires the thought that the depth of an individual is understood by the wholeness of their experience. Examining the wholeness of how youth engage their agency as young women and men adds to the completeness of the story about their lives.

Furthermore, an underlying assertion of this study is that a gender relational approach in which *both* young men and young women see themselves as agentic supports the betterment and improvement of life choices and opportunities for both genders. By investigating how youths understand their own agency, and the gendering that differentiates and/or impedes their agency in relation to both physical and mental structures within the local context, a deeper understanding of these Honduran youths’ experiences can be understood. Unterhalter (2007) postulates:

...gender signals something about the attributes of the person while acknowledging that these are changeable and entail freedom and agency as well as the constraints of constructed social relations, for example, girls from different families, cities, or historical contexts might ‘do gender’ differently at different moments in their own lives, sometimes because of the demands of social structures, but sometimes because of negotiations and contestations (pp. 89-90).

Her framing of gender and agency makes two claims that inform this study. First, there is a reciprocal relationship in how agency affects gender, and vice versa. The interplay between one's gender and agency is dynamic and flowing based on what a person self-selects as attending to in one's own identity. Second, the "historical context" in which "doing gender" is situated speaks to the manner in which a qualitative study, such as this, adds to a contextual understanding of agency and gender in a specific region and communities Honduras. My review of the empirical literature in international education and development, along with Stromquist and Fischman's (2009) call to examine the intersectionality of gender and agency, revealed that by and large gender relations and agency are under explored. Most related studies engage with young women's agency and empowerment; however, few seek to characterize how young men think about and see their agency in relation to one another and to young women. Examining how agency was, or was not, enacted by both young men and young women in these two communities sought to unpack the ways in which there was a gendering of agency amongst this population of youths.

Epistemological Grounding

Feminist epistemology was influential in my thinking of the ways in which youths' lives were formed by class, religion, sexuality, ethnicity, and civic affiliation, and how power plays out differently in these identities (Qin, 2004; hooks, 1989). While a feminist framing of this study could be viewed as marginalizing the inclusion of young men, I see a feminist perspective as applicable to a broader and more inclusive discussion of gender. Questioning structures through which gender is navigated lends itself to this

epistemological framing while accounting for the ways in which gender norms within cultural bounds are at play (Haraway, 1988; Anderson, 1995; DeVault, 1999).

Anderson (1995) writes, “Feminist epistemology can be regarded as the branch of social epistemology that investigates the influence of *socially constructed conceptions and norms of gender and gender-specific interests and experiences* on the production of knowledge” (emphasis added by author, p. 54). Feminist epistemology speaks to the way(s) gender becomes a site for social exploration as it relates to Honduran youth agency, and the gendering of agency, in this study. “Social exploration,” based in feminist theory, investigates gender in relation to the socio-cultural, political, economic, and psychological structures within society (Chafetz, 1997, pp. 97-98). Through “social exploration” we can deconstruct the gender binary to further discussions of gender relations (Murphy-Graham, 2012; Stromquist & Fischman, 2009). With a woman’s, or the female, experience as a central focus of feminist epistemology, introducing the man’s, or male, experience must be done so in concert with that of the woman’s in order to understand the relationship between them.

Attributes of feminist epistemology. DeVault (1999) identifies four attributes of feminist epistemology that shape the conceptualization of feminist research, and the way I conceptualized my study. In her writing she states that the excavation of knowledge, shifting of the center, consciousness raising, and naming of experience(s) are components to challenging traditional knowledge production, and promoting research of value as much to women, as to men, as meaningful components to feminist epistemology (pp. 30-31). This study sought to excavate knowledge of young women and men’s constructions of agency and the role gender played in said constructions. The research sought to dig

deep into youth lives to uncover their enactments of the ways in which they feel influential and take action. In asking youths' of both genders to name their own experiences, it shifted their roles and they became knowledge conveyers rather than knowledge receivers – or in other words the research attempted to place them in the role of the “knower” (Deutsch, 2004). In doing so, the production of knowledge shifted power relations from those that typically existed between adults and youth, and young men and young women (Haraway, 1988).

The last way this study adopted DeVault's (1999) attributes of feminist epistemology was through asking the youth participants' questions that delved into their perceptions of their decision-making, influence, actions, and gender, in relation to structures and community (see Appendix A and B). The young women's and men's ideas situated them as naming their own experiences which also served to raise their own consciousness to their thoughts and meaning making of the world around them. More specifically, feminist epistemology calls on consciousness raising that acknowledges disparities between women's and men's experiences. Discussions with youths on differences in use of community space based on gender was an issue that participants commented they had not previously thought about or questioned prior to our discussions (Jessica and Lisa, personal communication, July 5, 2010; Brian, personal communication, August 3, 2010).

Feminist qualitative research within feminist epistemology. Based on feminist epistemology, feminist qualitative research seeks to question the “creation and presentation of knowledge” (Olesen, 2005, p. 238). Olesen (2005) calls on Haraway's writing on “situated knowledges” in preparing feminist researchers to ask questions such

as: “Whose knowledge? Where and how obtained, and by whom; from whom and for what purposes?” (p.238). The questions raised by Olesen in conducting feminist research aims to privilege the experience and stories of the participants over the experience and knowledge of the researcher.

Lather (2004) expands on what a feminist researcher should ask herself in a discussion of a study she conducted in 1992 on women living with HIV/AIDS. Before embarking on her research project, a few of the questions Lather asked included: “What dualisms structure my arguments? What hierarchies are at play? Do research participants become narrators of their own stories? Do I use disruptive devices in the text to unsettle conventional notions of the real?” (p. 213). Through considering these questions, the researcher is positioned to “work toward transformative action and egalitarian participation” both of which address broader structural issues that are included in studies of young women and agency (Lather, 2004, p. 209). Accessing the “situated knowledges,” knowledges that are unique to individuals’ lived experiences and interpretations of those experiences, requires attention of the researcher both to her own positionality and the positionality of her participants.

Methodology

Gender works to position groups of women and men in particular ways legally, financially, culturally, educationally and discursively. While some people might be able to effect changes in the structures that shape their lives, these changes are always partial and contingent.... In this analysis, equality is struggled over through social practices in relation to specific identities and location, which include education sites. The methodological challenge is not just counting numbers, but understanding relationships and practices. Much analysis rests on documenting inequalities in power and the gender regimes entailed in these allocations and portrayals. (Unterhalter, 2007, p. 89)

This qualitative comparative study seeks to probe the ways in which youth identified their constructions and enactments of agency as it related to gender relations. Unterhalter's (2007) quote above speaks to the methodological challenge of studying youth agency and gender relations. When it comes to doing work with youth on issues such as agency and gender relations it is not just about measuring or testing something to prove a hypothesis, but rather utilizing a qualitative methodology to document an account that speaks to the complexities of the issues identified (Stake, 2008).

Research questions framing the study. This study sought to build deeper understanding of the following research questions:

1. In what ways are constructions and enactments of agency different or similar between young women and young men?
2. How do young Honduran women and men participating in a youth community organizations construct and enact their agency?
3. Are there differences between the ways youth in a non-governmental organization sponsored group and those who are interested in being part of such a group enact and construct their agency?

From February until August 2010, I conducted research in collaboration with CARE Honduras in order to answer the aforementioned questions. The six-months of in-country fieldwork facilitated the qualitative, comparative case study methodology that is described in the remainder this chapter.

Qualitative research. The essence of qualitative research is unearthing the innumerable human experiences through capturing an individual's life and ideas over time through dialog, observation, and through reference to documentation that serves as a

clarifying depicter of his/her experience (Creswell, 2007; Merriam, 2009; Yin, 2009). Denzin and Lincoln (2005) also challenged me as a researcher to “make the world visible” through “interpretive, naturalistic” inquiry (p. 3). “Interpretive” and “naturalistic” are words of importance to this study. The former speaks to the construction, expression, and sharing of social meaning as actualized between the participants and researcher. “Naturalistic” positions the researcher within spaces of significance to her participants. Through both the “interpretive” and “naturalistic” foci of qualitative methodology, the researcher attempts to “empower individuals to share their stories” and we gain insight at an individual level and within a context and setting that is familiar to the participants (Cresswell, 2007, p. 40).

Being attentive to variations across common themes and groups of individuals enabled a more nuanced depiction of issues, policies, and practices. Lather (2005) suggests this nuance is a way to “engage strategically” for those in search of a deeper understandings of “different contexts and different communities” via social science, and more specifically qualitative, research (p. 14). In this study, engaging with youths on the meaning and enactment of their agency, and the gendering of said agency, required a methodology that supported the search for meaning through relationships and dialog.

Multiple, Comparative Case Study Design. Miles and Huberman (1994) write, “By looking at... similar and contrasting cases, we can understand a single-case finding... We can strengthen the precision, the validity and the stability of the findings” (p. 29). They go on to say that a researcher who gets to know the cases in-depth can see the properties or characteristics unique to and/or shared by the groups. Their words held true in my study of the groups of youths in El Valle and El Pino. As a case study is an

examination of a bounded group in which the issues under examination are both complex and localized (Stake, 2005), it was critical to find two populations that had similar characteristics in terms of community involvement and geography. The two sites enabled comparisons to be made across the communities of El Valle and El Pino and explored the ways that the CARE youth program cultivated agency in relation to youths involved in more general non-formal education programs (Yin, 2009).

El Valle and El Pino, Honduras: Sites of research study. As previously stated, the Education Unit of CARE Honduras embarked on a number of initiatives connected with the Patsy Collins Trust Fund Initiative (PCTFI), in collaboration with CARE USA and seven other countries. As part of this initiative, CARE Honduras had targeted programs across Honduras addressing key educational issues confronting girls' and marginalized children and youth. El Valle, Honduras, a peri-urban area outside of Tegucigalpa, was one of the communities in which the CARE Education Unit started a number of programs; including the youth program. El Pino, Honduras was a community not far from El Valle where CARE was looking to expand their youth and early-education programming at the time of the research study.

CARE Honduras' program engaged differently with these two communities. To begin their programs, CARE Honduras conducted census data collections in El Valle in 2006 and El Pino in 2010. Youths in both communities assisted with the census collections and were overseen by the Education Unit. In 2010 in El Valle they also gathered information on the number of youths between the ages of 12-30 (CARE Education Unit Data Collection, 2010). El Valle's population was approximately 1,880 in 2006 with 41% 773 of those being between the ages of 12 and 30 and a total of 352

males and 421 females. 494 households were located in El Valle; with 15% headed by single-mothers. In addition, the census revealed that 216 of children/youths between the ages of 5 and 18 did not attend school (CARE Education Unit Data Collection, 2010). El Pino was made up of approximately 2,025 people with 7% of households headed by single mothers in 2010. They had a 37% youth (aged 12 to 30) population to that of El Valle with 351 males and 404 females. 126 children/youth (aged 5 to 18) were out of school in 2010 (CARE, Republic of Honduras, 2010a).

Education was available within the El Valle community with one primary school, which cooperatively sponsored a kindergarten with CARE, and one secondary school (grades 7-9). The secondary school also offered a degree known as a “bachillerato” (bachelor’s degree equivalent to a U.S. high school diploma with a specialty) in one of three specialties; business, computer science, and metal work were the three degrees offered within El Valle. The primary school was additionally the site of the Educados program, the alternative educational program that met in the evenings and utilized self-guided textbooks with CDs and limited facilitator support. This alternative program was a key accomplishment that CARE and the youth program had implemented (CARE, Republic of Honduras, 2008). El Valle had a number of community organizations including a “patronato” [community council], junta de agua [board on drinking water issues], “sociedad de padres de la familia” [parent and family society], student organizations, and both Catholic and evangelical churches. Two soccer fields, one for formal and other informal games, were located in the center of the community in front of the primary school and Catholic Church. El Valle also had a small medical clinic staffed by a nurse a few days a week.

El Pino had similar community organizations including a “patronato” [community council], junta de agua [board on drinking water issues], “sociedad de padres de la familia” [parent and family society], student organizations, and both Catholic and evangelical churches. Additionally there was an active “mesa de seguridad” [security group] and a committee dedicated to watching over the cemetery that sat at the northwestern edge of the community. El Pino had one primary school, which taught grades 1 through 8. Students who wished to continue on with their education had to take a bus into a neighboring community, not El Valle, in order to continue with their education. El Pino also had soccer field not too far from the center of the community, along with a billiards hall. El Pino did not have health services available within the community.

While the two communities neighbored each other, the topography of the land did not allow for much interaction as the incline dividing the two communities was almost impassable. A road was necessary to go between the two, and the circuitous path that connected the two was not often used. Members of both communities were more apt to go into Tegucigalpa than to visit the neighboring community.

Criteria for selecting and introduction to study participants.⁶ The youths who participated in this study were insightful, collaborative, and giving of their time and thoughts. Having spent approximately 400 hours of time in the communities of El Valle and El Pino, and 42 hours in the CARE Tegucigalpa office with the youths from El Valle, I savored my time in getting to know them in their spaces. Purposeful sampling was used

⁶ All participants and community members have been assigned pseudonyms to protect their anonymity.

as the youth from the two different cases provided multiple perspectives on the topic of investigation – gendered agency (Creswell, 2007).

I began by selecting the youth from El Valle as I got to know them in my role in assisting the CARE Education Unit with their work. During a previous visit in May 2009 to the communities in my work with my advisor and principal investigator on the CARE project, Dr. Joan DeJaeghere, I was able to meet with several of the youth in the El Valle Program. Two of the young people I met in 2009, Ashley and Tomas, were focal participants in the study. I returned in 2010 to collect my dissertation data, I began working collaboratively with 24 El Valle youth - six males and 18 females. Nine of these youth, five young women and four young men, became willing participants and served as key informants. I was unable to find a fifth young man to participate in the study as 6 of the 8 young men in study were working full-time. While the overall selection of participants in El Valle and El Pino was a purposeful sample (Cresswell, 2007), the focal participants in El Valle were chosen based on their willingness to talk with me and be interviewed, and their friend/family group affiliation. There were four friend/family sub-groups within the larger youth group. Out of the 18 young women, many were sisters or cousins. The five young women participants selected were purposely selected to ensure that they were not all from one family or friend group. There were fewer young men than women in the group thus making the selection of young men more limited. The young men were selected based on the age criteria of the study. Ranging in age from 17 to 22, the nine young women and men from El Valle made up the first bounded case. Table 2 includes the youths' names and some information about their home and educational status.

Table 2

El Valle: Focal Participants' Age, Family Demographics, and Education

<u>Name</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Parent(s) within home</u>	<u>Siblings within home</u>	<u>Relationship Status</u>	<u>Children</u>	<u>Educational status at time of interview</u>
Angela	22	Mother/Father	4 sisters	Single	N/A	Enrolled in secondary school
Ashley	18	Mother/Father	2 brothers	Relationship	N/A	Enrolled in university, studying law; beautician certification
Jessica	21	Mother/Father	2 brothers, 2 sisters	Single	N/A	Dropped out in ninth grade; out of school
Lisa	22	Mother/Father	4 brothers	Married	Son, 5	Enrolled in alternative primary education program; studying to be a beautician
Mariela	18	Mother	2 brothers	Single	N/A	Graduated secondary school, business
David	18	Mother/Father	2 brothers (brother to Jordi)	Single	N/A	Enrolled in secondary school, business
Jordi*	17	Mother/Father	2 brothers (brother to David)	Single	N/A	Enrolled in secondary school, business
Milton	20	Mother/Step-Father; lived with in-laws at time of interview	2 brothers (brother to Tomas)	Married	Son, newborn	Graduated secondary school, business
Tomas	18	Mother/Step-Father	2 brothers (broth to Milton)	Single	Son, infant	Dropped out in eighth grade; out of school

* Parental permission requested and granted

The second group for this study consisted of youth in the community of El Pino, and was likewise a purposeful sample. In order to speak to youth agency across two populations of young people, the El Pino participants were selected from youths' who were participating in some type of non-formal education program, and interested in the improvement of their communities. An overview of their participation in non-formal educational programming is discussed more in-depth in Chapter 5. The original intent of the study was to select youths in El Pino who were interested in collaborating with CARE to begin a youth program similar to the one in El Valle. Using these criteria, I was able to recruit four young women and one young man to take part in the study who had

assisted in an initial census collection of El Valle with CARE in November and December 2009 and January 2010. The fifth young woman became involved in the planning of a CARE youth program and agreed to join the study. There were very few young men in El Pino who sought to join the youth program in 2010. Working with Doña Betty, a community leader in El Pino and organizer of the youth soccer program, I was able to recruit four additional young men who were from the community and leaders within the soccer program. My interaction with these four young men was more limited than with the rest of the youths due to their involvement with the soccer program over other community activities in which I observed. Table 3 includes the youths' names and some information about their home and educational status.

Table 3

El Pino: Focal Participants' Age, Family Demographics, and Education

<u>Name</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Parent(s) within home</u>	<u>Siblings within home</u>	<u>Relationship Status</u>	<u>Children</u>	<u>Educational status at time of interview</u>
Arianna	19	Mother	2 brothers, 1 sister (sister to Juan)	Single	N/A	Enrolled in university, journalism
Elena	19	Mother	2 sisters, 1 brother	Single	N/A	Accepted at university; engineering
Marta	26	Mother/Father	4 sisters	Single	N/A	Graduated university; law degree July 2010
Samantha	16*	Mother	1 sister	Single	N/A	Enrolled in secondary school, business
Vanessa	16*	Mother/Father	1 sister	Single	N/A	Enrolled in final year of basic education (8 th grade)
Bryan	25	Mother/Father; lived with girlfriend and son	2 brothers, 3 sisters	Committed relationship	Son; toddler	Graduated secondary, business
Carlos	19	Mother	3 brothers, 1 deceased	Single	N/A	Dropped out of secondary
Juan	21	Mother	2 sisters, 1 brother (brother to Arianna)	Single	N/A	Enrolled in university; sociology
Mark	20	Mother	1 brother (4 out of home)	Relationship	N/A	Graduated secondary, business
Samuel	20	Mother/Father	3 sisters, 2 brothers	Relationship	N/A	Graduated secondary, business

* Parental permission for interviews requested and granted

Data Collection and Analysis

Case studies, like other qualitative methodology, rely on multiple data sources. Observations, interviews, textual analyses, and focus groups are ways of conducting what Merriam (2009) calls an “inductive investigative strategy” required in case study research (p. 39). I used multiple sources of data in this study to allow for a thorough analysis of how youth enact their agency, and the ways in which gender played a role in their agency. As case studies are “generalizable to theoretical propositions and not to populations or universes” (Yin, 2009, p. 15), this comparative case study sought to contribute to thinking within the field of international development and education on the gendering of youth agency vis-à-vis community spaces.

The six-month research study required me to participate in semi-formal interviews with the focal participants, interact within the communities, conduct participant observations, and provide consultation to the CARE Education Unit as requested. The first three months I relied on the CARE Education Unit when going into the El Valle and El Pino communities. I conducted participant observations at meetings of the local schools, the patronatos [municipal councils], and during the meetings with the youths from El Valle and El Pino. The CARE Education Unit personnel facilitated my introduction to families of the youths in both communities, key community leaders, and their colleagues at other organizations.

The last three months in Honduras I still accompanied my CARE colleagues on their visits to El Valle and El Pino, but I also traveled independently and hired a *taxista de confianza* [trusted taxi driver] who dropped me off and picked me up from my various visits to the two communities. There was a second taxi driver I traveled with to meet the

youths at the mall between the two communities and Tegucigalpa where I conducted a number of second interviews with the youths from El Pino. A typical week involved spending three days in the CARE Office in Tegucigalpa meeting with a few youths there and assisting with projects, and spending three days attending functions or visiting within the El Valle and El Pino communities.

Interviews and informal conversations. Formal interviews, informal conversations, and text communication with the nineteen youth participants were the primary sources of data. An interpretive constructionist approach was employed in conducting at least two semi-structured interviews with the nineteen youth informants (Rubin & Rubin 2005). The six-month study began with relationship building and informal conversations with the youth. After the first month, youth were asked to participate in semi-structured interviews which examined the influence youth felt they had around issues involving decision-making, and, to a lesser extent, questions that probed how that their own and others' gender influenced different topics. An initial interview was conducted, additional time was spent with the youths in group and community activities, and a second interview was conducted. A limitation in the interviews was not being able to have consistency across the time that elapsed between my initial and second interview with the participants.

The semi-structured interview questions also centered on different spaces and places within which youths engaged and participated in discussions and structured and unstructured activities. School, peer-interaction, home life, safety and security, romantic relationships, and community were the topical areas

discussed during the interviews. The questions were designed to structure our discussions in order to make comparisons across participant responses in both communities, and between young women and men (Rubin & Rubin, 2005). Appendices A and B provide samples from my initial and second interview protocols in both English and Spanish. In this way agency, vis-à-vis community, gender and relationships, was explored.

Knowledge generation occurs through verbal and non-verbal communication during interviews. A few criteria identified by Rubin and Rubin (2005) in conducting productive interviews are: (1) an interview when there is engagement and trust between the researcher and interviewee; (2) in the spaces of silence, pauses, and “ums” that are permitted in order for participants to fully express themselves; and (3) in the reflexivity of the researcher to be conversant and listen at the same in order to ask follow-up questions and probe deeper into her interviewee’s answers (Rubin & Rubin, 2005). Qualitative researchers who work with youth populations emphasize that knowledge is not only garnered from the words participants use, but also in their facial expressions and references to “material culture (Sirin, Diemer, Jackson, Gonsalves, & Howell, 2004, p. 442).

The yield of useful data through interviews was not solely based on the interview questions. The interview process was contingent on the rapport that was cultivated between the participants and researcher. In my work with the Honduran youth, I sought to create spaces where participants’ were respected, encouraged to talk and share, allowed to ask questions of me, and know that their anonymity was protected. The idea of *reciprocity* in collaborating with these groups was useful in helping them to see that

they are not simply subjects in a study but rather actors in the generation of ideas about their lives (Watts, 2006). However, it should be noted that as a researcher, adult, and outsider, the level of my self-disclosure was mediated in order to avoid interactions in which my sharing was viewed as “excessive, gratuitous, or self-serving” (Abell, Locke, Condor, Gibson, & Stevenson, 2006, p. 223).

Informal conversations with, and observations of, participants offered greater dimension to the data collection process. Ginwright and Cammarota (2007) claim their study of youth in California was distinctly shaped by informal conversations. It was through informal conversations that they were able to see the entirety of what life was like for youth and community residents in the area of Oakland, CA where they conducted their research. Wolcott (2005), in his work on conducting fieldwork, notes the difference between interviews and informal conversations as being served a “hosted meal” versus ordering “à la carte” (pp. 95-96). The latter gives you what you ask for, but the former gives you the chance to take what is offered. Informal conversations create a space for local knowledge to be at the forefront, and for the researcher to be guided by participants’ thoughts.

Participant observations. *Observations* are a time when the researcher can document phenomena at the individual and community levels related to the research, and *participant observation* is when a researcher observes, documents, and participates all while being mindful of her level of participation in the field and in her interaction with participants (Pelto, 1970; Wolcott, 2005). Participant observation in this study sought to do three things: (1) observe how participants acted and behaved across different spaces (home, school, in the youth program, and with peers), and be cognizant of the structures

at play within the spaces they did or did not engage, (2) observe the gender relations of youth in the community in relation to each other, and (3) examine ways in which what participants' said in semi-structured and/or informal interviews aligned or did not align with what they do outside of our discussions. From these observations I was able to see and document where youths were able to influence and make decisions, where they could *act* and *did* engage, and how gender relations played a role in those actions. Being a participant observer gave me the chance to become aware of what I knew in relation to what I still needed to understand. This role gave me the space to question and seek clarification within the field, relationships, and the structures I observed (Pelto, 1970). Spradley (1980) differentiates the levels of participation to: nonparticipation, passive participation, moderate participation, active participation, and complete participation (pp. 60-61). In my study, I sought a balance between moderate participation, which allowed for outsider/insider categorization, and active participation. Active participation enabled me to "learn more fully the cultural rules for behavior" (Spradley, 1980, p. 60). An example of the differences between moderate and active participation were the different approaches I adopted during the CARE youth group meetings. About every third meeting I sat and observed the youth group meeting from the back of the room. I mapped the room and location of the different participants and took notes on what the participants did and said. During the other meetings, I joined in small group discussions, I posed questions and probed the participants' ideas. There was give and take between the participants and me. My notebook was with me during these conversations and key discussion themes and poignant comments were documented.

I conducted participant observations across a wide range of community spaces. In El Valle I participated in 27 youth group meetings, three visits to the public schools, seven visits to the *Educadores* program (the alternative night school program), three visits to the patronato [municipal council] meetings, one soccer tournament, five visits to the Evangelical Church in the center of the community, and seven visits to the participants' homes. In El Pino I participated in nine youth group meetings, three visits to the public schools, five visits to the patronato [municipal council] meetings, three soccer games, and six home visits. Additionally I observed classroom spaces in three rural schools, attended meetings of the Tegucigalpa NGO consortium focused on issues pertaining to children and education, and met with officials at the Honduran National Youth Institute and the main office of the *Educadores* program. The knowledge gathered through participant observation supplemented the knowledge collected through interviews to provide data for analysis and writing.

Fieldnotes as a part of participant observation. In an article on writing fieldnotes, Clifford (1990) states, "The *institution* of fieldnotes does exist, of course, widely understood to be a discrete textual corpus in some way produced by fieldwork and constituting a raw, or partly cooked, descriptive database for later generalization, synthesis, and theoretical elaboration" (p. 52). Clifford's analogy of fieldwork as being raw or partly cooked ingredients to a larger recipe is a reminder to the critical role fieldnotes play in the totality of the scope of research. The intent of my work in the field, mainly through participant observation, was getting to see and understand how youths enacted their agency in different spaces and in relation to different structures within those spaces. That was accomplished through spending time at youth meetings in El Valle, El

Pino, and the CARE Office in Tegucigalpa; attending church services at the Evangelical Church in El Valle; being a spectator at community soccer games in El Pino; visiting local schools; and being welcomed into participants' homes and meeting their families. In addition to my fieldnotes, identified as "Public Fieldnotes" in this manuscript, which were made accessible to CARE Honduras and USA, I compiled notes that I identify in my work as "Personal Narratives." These were personal reflections that I maintained over the course of the six-months of fieldwork which more directly spoke to my own personal thinking and understanding of things that occurred in the field.

Data analysis and memoing. The data analysis of this research study took ten months to complete due to the amount of data and the need to spend extra time with the interview data in a second language (Spanish). In order to ensure transcript accuracy, the first three months were spent listening to the transcripts, correcting transcription errors, and memoing thoughts and ideas on each interview. Memoing was essential in this analysis as I adopted an inductive approach (Miles & Huberman, 1994). In reviewing the transcripts and memoing, I first started with the young women from El Valle, then the interviews of the young men from El Valle, followed by the young women in El Pino, and finally the young men from El Pino. Through re-listening to transcripts, memoing, reviewing fieldnotes, and reading CARE Honduras Education Unit reports and newspaper clippings I was prepared to undertake the coding of the data using the NVIVO software system. A benefit of the qualitative coding software was that I was visually able to depict the relationships amongst clusters and themes. A drawback of the software was that the ease of use made the emergent themes endless. To counter that, I maintained

accurate documentation on when codes (and nodes) are created, and returned to already coded transcripts when necessary to update the coding.

Conceptual clustering, and the examination of with-in case and comparative-case reflections, was integral to my data analysis process. Miles and Huberman (1994) describe clustering as “a tactic that can be applied at many levels to qualitative data: at the level of events or acts, of individual actors, of processes, of settings/locales, of sites or cases as a wholes” (p. 249). Through the data analysis and coding process, clustering around central themes and poignant research questions emerged as the most productive way to think about and analyze the data. A brief example of this was in the coding around “gender relations” that got shortened to “gender.” The interview protocol created a space and entry point to speak rather explicitly about the role gender relations had in what they felt able to do and did, as well as their view points on the opposite gender. Through the data analysis phase, the coding around “gender,” as the parent node, produced a series of child-nodes that unpacked the negotiation of how the participants’ gender interplayed with their own construction of self and that understanding of themselves as part of the larger community. From the parent node “gender,” the child nodes are outlined below:

1. Gender, differences in spaces
2. Gender, what a ym (young man) can do but yw (young woman) no and vice versa
3. Gendered messages
4. Gender, changing gender norms and practices
 - a. Gender norms, behavior AGAINST the norm
 - b. Gender, Parental or familial influence around gender practices
5. Gender, not conscious of the issue

“Differences in spaces,” “what a ym can do but yw no and vice versa,” and “gendered messages” were nodes that encapsulated the youths’ discussions on the ways their gender

identities intersected with their perceived roles within community spaces, within their school spaces, and within their home spaces. The five emergent child-nodes were precursors to ideas generated in Chapter 4 regarding the gendering of identities and the gendering of agency. It was when there was a move towards “changing gender norms and practices” and “behavior AGAINST the norm” that ideas around the gendering of agency emerged.

Participant Feedback

In March 2011 I returned to Honduras for a week in order to meet with participants, the CARE youth group, and the CARE Honduras Education Unit to discuss my findings. The trip was made to ensure that key themes from my findings were representative of the thoughts and experiences of the youths as shared during interviews and observed. As Johnson and Christensen (2010) write, “Participant feedback (or member checking) is perhaps the most important strategy. By sharing your interpretations of participants’ viewpoints with the participants and other members of the group, you may clear up areas of miscommunication” (pp. 266-267).

In preparation for my return to Honduras, I compiled two documents that provided overviews of central themes and poignant quotes. The first document was used during a meeting with the youths on March 19, 2010 in El Valle; with eight focal participants from El Valle and two focal participants from El Pino in attendance. After reviewing the summary of my findings, I allowed them time to read through the document. From there they provided feedback on the findings. While they agreed with what I had written, Milton (El Valle) shared that not enough was included regarding the economic situation for him and his peers, and their need for reliable, stable job

opportunities. Lisa (El Valle) remarked that she appreciated the issue of the soccer field not being available to young women in El Valle (Personal Narrative, March 19, 2011). Outside of the group meeting I was also able to meet with three focal participants individually who were unable to attend the group session. They too confirmed that my findings captured key themes and issues of important that came out during our time together. In addition to seeking to ensure the credibility and reliability of my findings (Patton, 2002), the return to Honduras re-connected me with the participants and allowed me to discuss and observe how they were doing and what had changed.

Language, Translation and Transcription in the Research Design & Analysis

Having studied Spanish since middle school, majored in it during college, and lived in Spanish-speaking countries for a total of two and a half years, being able to communicate with the participants independently, and not through a translator, was important to me. The research project was conducted in Spanish, and I translated the participants' quotes within this manuscript. Bilingual colleagues at the University of Minnesota and Washington College were consulted on a number of the translated quotes throughout the study. Previous research projects I conducted internationally with the Fulbright Commission in Spain and Save the Children in Nicaragua, and domestically with Dr. Joan DeJaeghere on her work around the construction of citizenship for Mexican youths, established my competency for carrying out this level of research in Spanish (DeJaeghere & McCleary, 2010).

Translation of research tools. The study was carried out in Spanish which was the first language of the youth participants and my second language. Operating at a level of non-native fluency in Spanish and conducting the research study in a second language

allowed for more direct communication with the participants and communities. The youths often looked to clarify their comments without prompting as they sought to make sure that I understood what they were saying. When a situation did warrant clarification, they readily answered questions and found ways of re-explaining an idea. Key terminology within this study pertaining to gender relations such as “machismo” was explained at a different level due to the youths’ identification of me as coming from outside their cultural context.

The study release forms (Appendix D), explanation of my research (Appendix E), and research questions (Appendices A and B) were all written in both Spanish and English, and colleagues from CARE reviewed the translation and assisted me with writing the questions appropriately for the youths and in the communities of El Pino and El Valle. The review of my original translation was two-fold. First, we sought to ensure grammatical accuracy in Spanish. Once the forms and questions were edited for grammar, the second round was to address the accessibility of the questions to the youth demographic with which I collaborated.

“Decentering” as a translation method between English and Spanish. The type of translation utilized in working with Doña Pilar, pseudonym for CARE employee, and another colleague is known as “decentering” (Sperber, Devellis, & Boehlecke, 1994). “Decentering” in translation is defined as “an ongoing process of revisions in both languages as often as needed until a similar but culturally relevant instrument is validated” (Sperber Devellis & Boehlecke, 1994, p. 502). There was negotiation involved in what I had written and what it meant, and how the questions needed to be translated into the Honduran cultural context. In collaboration with the CARE Education

Unit, I was able to ensure that the information presented to families and youths within the communities was both grammatically correct and socially understandable within their cultural environment as it related to youths and parental education levels (Rubin & Rubin, 2005, p. 159).

Language, colloquialisms, and shared meanings in collaborations with youths. Youth slang in Spanish became a learning moment during the interview process. While an initial challenge to understanding the youths fully, my learning and adoption of Honduran slang used by youths opened the door to asking them to explain both the words they used and their intended meaning. “Wording changes in response to the interviewee” is something that Rubin and Rubin (2005) discuss in their recommendations on conducting interviews (p. 163). They advise allowing for changes in wording as long as it does not take away the intended meaning of the question, as it did not in the word adaptation used in working with youths in El Pino and El Valle.

Once meaning and context were established, youth slang allowed me to use culturally appropriate vernacular during my participant observations and semi-structured interviews. For example, the term “fresa” was used throughout my time in Honduras in 2010. Directly translated “fresa” means “strawberry” but the youths used the term to mean “cool” or “special.” During an interview with two participants from El Pino, I wanted to ask Juan and Arianna about whether or not it was acceptable for young men to do well in school, or if they got teased for appearing smart in class. The original word I sought to use was “acceptable” [acceptable] (Arianna & Juan, personal communication, July 9, 2010). However, as the question was directed to classroom behavior and peer-to-peer relationships, I asked, “Cómo muchacho es acceptable, o como fresa, para ser buen

estudiante en el colegio?” [As a young man is it acceptable, or like cool, to be a good student in school?] Arianna responded, “Porque, por ejemplo siempre hay un alumno que es el más inteligente en el aula y hay veces los más fresas le tienen envidia por los conocimientos que él tiene.” [Because, for example, there is always one guy who is the most intelligent in the class and there are times when the coolest kids are envious of all the knowledge he has]. (Arianna, personal communication, July 10, 2010).

Speaking the language of the youths’ in regards to both Spanish and Honduran colloquialisms added to my ability to connect and develop relationships with the participants. Being able to have a side conversation during a CARE youth group meeting or listening in to conversations amongst the youths watching soccer games added to my contextual understanding of El Valle and El Pino, Honduras. As Paige (1993) writes, “Language is the major mechanism by which culture-group members communicate and share meaning” (p. 7). Being privy to that “shared meaning” independent of a translator enabled me to employ one of Wolcott’s (2005) recommendations for conducting fieldwork which was to “recognize listening as an active and creative role” (p. 104).

Ensuring accuracy in the transcription of interviews. The semi-structured interviews were all transcribed by a Honduran woman and native Spanish speaker who was a former colleague of my landlord who worked for a major NGO in Tegucigalpa, Honduras. During her time at the NGO, she assisted in running focus groups and taking notes during interviews. I gave her digital audio files and she provided a transcription of the interviews. While we reviewed that I needed the exact words and phrasing of the youths in the interviews, she “cleaned and corrected” wording and phrasing of the youths. As such, I reviewed and edited all thirty-seven transcripts to ensure authenticity of voice

and phrasing in what the youths' said, and did not say, during the interviews. The review of the transcripts adhered to advice provided by Rubins and Rubins (2005) when they wrote, "You have to go over transcripts done by others carefully to make sure that they have not introduced major mistakes" (p. 205). While redoing the transcripts was time-consuming it allowed me to begin memoing and tracking key ideas from the interviews which served as preliminary analysis when I began coding.

The use of original and translated text to ensure linguistic integrity. The focus on language and translation within qualitative research often calls linguistic relativity. Linguistic relativity asserts that there are cognitive differences between languages that impact the interpretation in the meaning and intent by those working across cultural and linguistic differences (Kay & Kempton, 1984). For this reason, direct quotes from participants are included throughout this manuscript with a suggested translation in English following their statements in Spanish. By including the original text with a suggested English translation, I sought to provide what Rubel and Rosman (2003) "translation in the first instance" (p. 4). They see the use of "original words and ideas of the culture being studied" as a means to preserve the linguistic intent of those participating in the research (Rubel & Rosman, 2003, p. 4). The translation into English was done as part of the writing process. It benefited my writing process as it assisted me in confirming the youths' discourse on critical themes through the act of line-by-line translation.

Positionality of the Researcher

Transnational feminist conversations... cannot be productive unless feminist academics based in Western/Northern institutions produce research agendas and knowledges that do not merely address what is theoretically exciting or trendy here, but also what is considered politically imperative by communities we work with or are committed to over there (Nagar, 2002, p. 184).

As a white, female, native-English speaker, Western researcher, conducting a study with Honduran, native-Spanish speaking, male and female youth living in an area affected by poverty, there are inherent power differentials that makes accessing the knowledge of the youth in a non-obtrusive, non-authoritarian way challenging. Mohanty (2003) and Nagar (2002) problematize the way in which feminist research and analysis is done across the global North and global South. Mohanty (2003) observes that feminist analysis can “homogenize[s] and systematize[s] the experiences of different groups of women...” (p. 40). She and others assert that studies of girls, women, and other socially marginalized populations need to incorporate the diversity of their experiences that includes race, ethnicity, socio-economic status, religion, country, and the divides between Western and “Third World” countries (Mohanty, 2003; Olesen, 2005).

In order to practice inclusive feminist analysis Mohanty urges researchers, especially white, Western researchers working in developing country contexts, to engage in ethical identification and labeling of the issues from an ethnorelative view point. Mohanty recognizes research conducted by Maria Mies on women workers in the lace factories of Nepal in the early 1980s as ethical, feminist research by a white, Western woman. Mies’ “careful, politically focused, local analyses” of women’s experiences, and the “interrelationships contributing to the latent resistances” taken up between women, community, and work are the elements that led Mohanty to identify Mies’ research as responsible feminist analysis (Mohanty, 2003, p. 32). Past participation in a longitudinal, qualitative study of youth (DeJaeghere & McCleary, 2010) has pushed and challenged me to be continuously reflexive of my positionality and the impact my nationality, ethnicity, socio-economic status (perceived and actual), and gender has in engaging with

youth participants, and in my interpretation and reading of what participants say and do (Deutsch, 2004 ; Watts, 2006).

I was reminded of my status in little ways throughout my time working with the youth participants. During our first meeting, David (El Valle) and I spent fifteen minutes talking about Hollywood celebrities and their performances in different movies. Jessica and Lisa (El Valle) often asked if I missed the food from the U.S. and would then proceed to see if I would order them buffalo wings from Pizza Hut as it was their favorite. Rebecca (El Valle), Angela's sister and Mariela's friend, often asked me for money to sponsor her, her sister, and friends on church trips (Rebecca, personal communication, June 16, 2010). These young women expressed disappointment in me at the following youth group meeting for not giving them money. These moments reminded me of my positionality in relation to my participants. I sought to find ways to ask David about Honduran films and other television programs and movies he liked from Mexico and other neighboring countries. Jessica, Lisa, and I discussed the nutritional value of wings and the expense of foods from restaurants like Pizza Hut in relation to community food stands. And I spoke with the CARE Education Unit about doing a retreat with the youth program and asked Rebecca and her friends for ideas. I sought ways to engage the youths in discussions about things from my host country and culture, but to diminish the privileging of what I had in the U.S. over what they had and/or had access to in their lives and communities.

Limitations & Strengths of the Study

Limitations. There were limitations that emerged during the fieldwork portion of my study. As was discussed in the section on the selection of my participants, I was unable

to find young men in El Pino who were interested in joining the newly forming CARE youth program, and of age to participate in the study. The young men who did participate were involved in the youth soccer program. The original criteria for the participant selection had to be altered after the study began. As Mark, Samuel, Carlos, and Brian were not seeking to join the youth program, I did not have as much interaction and time to talk with them, and observe them in their community setting; other than soccer games.

A second limitation was accessing formal school settings and observing participants when they worked. The original framework for my observations included school and work settings. However, due to challenges in accessing transportation, teacher strikes, and the removal of the headmistress at the secondary school in El Valle, my ability to have an ongoing relationship with a school was not feasible. The participants did not feel comfortable asking their superiors to have be observe them in their work settings, which I respected and understood their honesty.

Ongoing safety issues in Honduras were limiting to the type of research I anticipated conducting prior to the field research. With the highest per capita homicide rate in the world, security within Honduras is an issue for everyone (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2011). The combination of gang violence, the running of drugs between South and North Americas, corruption, and ongoing political instability has left Honduras, and especially the urban centers of Tegucigalpa and San Pedro Sula, especially vulnerable (Pine, 2008; United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2011). Spending time within the communities without a Honduran escort limited observation time and my ability to independently traverse the communities. Instead, I visited youths' homes, met

at the community centers, schools, and/or churches. A mall between Tegucigalpa and El Valle and El Pino also became a meeting spot so that we all could feel safe.

Strengths. Providing young people with spaces and opportunities to reflect and critically think about themselves and their own lives in relation to each other, their communities, and their countries were strengths of this study and of the qualitative methodology employed. Participants, such as Samuel (El Pino), shared that they both enjoyed talking about issues of importance to them, and appreciated having an adult interested in their perspectives, ideas, and hopes for the future (Samuel, personal communication, July 7, 2010). Jessica (El Valle) sent me a text message that read:

En la vida los tesoros (sp) no están a simple vista, hay que buscarlos, y yo, buscando tesoros, la encontré a usted.. Gracias por ser especias mui (sp) buenas noches usted tiene corazón de oro

[In life treasures are not in plain sight, you have to look for them, and I, looking for treasures, found you. Thank you for being special a very good night you have a heart of gold] (Jessica, personal communication, May 19, 2010).

The relationships forged with the youth participants provided access to an adult confidant who cared. Cieslik (2003) notes that there is merit in opening spaces to youth voices. A strength of the study was providing that space for a group of youth participants to have their voices heard, their ideas validated, and their hopes affirmed.

Another strength of this research is that it contributes to conceptualizations of agency and gender from within the context of the global South. Vavrus (2000) calls attention to the need for local constructions of terminology used frequently by non-governmental organizations, rather than those proposed through “Western developmentalism” (p. 237).

The examination of agency and notions around gender from within the Honduran context adds to a growing conversation of how these terms can be attentive to ethnorelative meanings (Murphy-Graham, 2010, 2012; Bucheli & Ditren Perdomo, 2001).

Lastly, the study supplied the Education Unit of CARE Honduras with documentation on what the El Valle youth felt they have gotten out of their three years participating in the program and gathered some baseline on the youth in El Pino who were interested in participating in a youth program.

Ethical considerations in working with youth

This study required the acknowledgement of ethical and practical considerations in conducting research on and with youth. Researchers of youth hold a privileged space in that they work with a vulnerable and incredibly impressionable population (Cieslik, 2003 & Roberts, 2003). Youth have, as Deutsch (2004) writes, the ability to exert “energy, intensity, cruelty and charm all at the same time” (Deutsch, 2004, p. 889). As youth are in a transitional life stage, the study of this demographic is conducive to looking at how lives are ever changing, and interpretations of life are in constant motion.

Studying youth is similar to studying gender in that essentializing, trivializing, and/or homogenizing youth activity takes away from the fullness and complexity of youth experience. Cieslik (2003) calls for disrupting the typical youth research that looks at youth as “troubled” and examine the totality and transitions of their lived experiences. Youth practices offer a space to see developing associations and understandings of both agency and gender relations.

CHAPTER 4

THE GENDERING OF YOUTH AGENCY: TRANSCENDING MACHISMO IN THE ENACTMENT OF YOUTH AGENCY

Introduction

The following two chapters address the general research questions that frame this study:

1. In what ways are constructions and enactments of agency different or similar between young men and young women?
2. How do young Honduran women and men participating in a youth community organizations construct and enact their agency?
3. Are there differences between the ways youth in a non-governmental organization sponsored group and those who are interested in being part of such a group enact and construct their agency?

Data were gathered on all three research questions. However, findings related to the first question became prominent through the coding, memoing, and analysis of the data. My examination of youth agency, and particularly the gendering of youth agency, occurred through interacting with nineteen focal youth participants over six months from February to August 2010, and returning to Honduras in March 2011 to conduct participant feedback sessions.

This chapter examines the first question and the ways in which there was a gendering of agency in the youths' constructions of what they envisioned they were able to do and the ways in which they transgressed gender norms in enacting agency. Chapter 5 unpacks questions two and three and addresses the ways in which youths constructed

their agency, and the role non-formal youth organizations had in the shaping of youths' agency.

The gendering of agency. The phrase “gendering of agency” or “gendering of youth agency” is used throughout the following three chapters, and is useful insofar as it reflects the ways in which youths continually negotiated their agency based on sense of self and cultural constructions of their status as young women and men. The participants' gender and age played a role in how they spoke about their influence in various situations across different places and spaces. Anthropologists Montoya, Frazier, and Hurtig (2002) speak to the influence of “place” when considering the ways in which social relations mediate how we come to associate and assign roles according to gender. In their work in various locales within Latin America, the three researchers noted that “place” is a site of both “create[ing] and constrain[ing]” gender inequalities (p. 8). Maira and Soep (2005) speak to literal and imagined “spaces” youths traverse in their lives. They identify the “interactions between popular cultural practices, national ideologies, and global markets” to comprise the “spaces” influential in shaping the landscape, or “youthscape” as they term it, of youths' lives (Maira & Soep, 2005, p. xv). This study adopts the notion of place as a site where gender relations are negotiated within the Honduran context, and space as the different physical, culturally, and socially constructed locales traversed by youths. Agency was not something that the youths just had; rather, it was something they enacted based on where they were, who they were with, and how they felt. In this way, the figurative and literal places and spaces traversed by youths emerged as influential in their constructions of self as young women or young men and their agency.

“Doing gender,” defined by West and Zimmerman (1987) as “a complex of socially guided perceptual, interactional, and micropolitical activities that cast particular pursuits as expressions of masculine and feminine ‘natures’” (p. 126), is the conceptual parallel to the ways in which I describe gendering of agency. Gender, according to West and Zimmerman (1987), “is the activity of managing situated conduct in light of normative conceptions of attitudes and activities appropriate for one’s sex category” (p. 127). West and Zimmerman (1987) assert that we express gender based on shared knowledge and appropriation of what is deemed by others as “normative gender behavior” (p. 134). Use of the gerund, “gendering⁷,” however, signifies that gender is incorporated into one’s identity and negotiated and enacted within and across the different places and spaces of their lives. While “doing gender” can be viewed as the *embodiment* (a state-of-being) of one’s gender from within a given cultural context, “gendering” is the *process* of negotiation individuals undertake vis-à-vis one’s cultural context.

The ways in which Honduran young women and men approached decision-making and action taking was mediated by the “gender order” in which they lived (Connell, 2005). Decision-making was a precursor to taking actions on behalf of themselves or others. Within the Honduran context, their perceived and material economic status, along with other influential social structures, held sway over the ways in which the young women and men exercised and enacted their agency. Within this study, the participants’ gender, age and socio-economic status were influential in how they positioned themselves and their peers in relation to the voice and agency they enacted and expressed.

⁷ M. Curreli, R. Hegeman-Davis, and C. Kwauk (December 12, 2012) offered insights and ideas as to my use of gendering agency.

The gendering of agency thus speaks to the ways youths' gender identities were re-produced and/or transgressed in how they confronted and negotiated their assertion of influence, choice, and action. Youths were positioned within different spaces and place to re-produce and/or transgress gender norms and their gender identities in making decisions and taking actions regardless of the culturally assigned notions of what it meant to be a young woman and a young man within the cultural context of Honduras. The gendering of agency comes into play at the intersection of the youths' understandings of the ways external influences and structures combine in whether they opt to reproduce or transgress the gender norms. This term is inclusive of anticipated cultural norms for *both* the young women and young men within and across the various places and spaces within their communities.

Overview of chapter themes. This chapter is divided into three sections. The first portion of the chapter examines the ways in which gender norms, and specifically the cultural construct of "machismo" within the Honduran context, affected the gender identities of youths across and within various places and spaces of El Valle and El Pino. An understanding of the youths' definitions of machismo is a precursor to how gender norms shaped their own gender identities, and contributed to the gendering of their identities. The second section explores the reproductions of cultural norms and identities within public and private places. Examples from the Evangelical Church in El Valle, educational settings, and messaging of pop culture as played out in public places will be explored. After this, the transgression of cultural norms through the gendering of agency within private and public places will be unpacked. Relationships and responsibilities

within the home, soccer fields, and religious life are the focal examples within this section.

Cultural constructs of “macho,” “machismo,” and “machista”

Discussions of issues pertaining to gender issues in Honduras are oft predicated with an explanation of the cultural construct of “machismo” as it is used within Honduras (Rowlands, 1997; Pine, 2008; Murphy-Graham, 2008; Murphy-Graham, 2010). “Macho” the adjective, “machismo” the noun, and “machista” the adjective/noun were three ways in which actions, characteristics, and decisions were described by the youth participants. A working definition of machismo in this study was based on eight participants’ explanations of machismo. The youths described machismo as the availability of opportunity for and the assumption of power and control by boys and men across various spaces and places within local, community and state spaces. Machismo was typically referred to in reference to what men did, rather than what women could not do. However, the maintenance of women’s subordinate roles within Honduran society and the division of labor within the household was attributed to machismo.

According to David, a young man living in El Valle, the origin of ‘machismo’ was from “prehistoria” [pre-history] due to man’s greater physical strength that determined that he was the one in charge (David, personal communication, May 27, 2010). For David, the biological difference in physical strength of men and women served as a determinant to who could decide and be in charge. However, he stated that his generation was changing this perception. David said: “...ahora ha cambiado la generación. ... mi mamá nos dice que nosotros no tenemos que ser así.” [... now this generation is changing it... my mom tells us that we don’t have to be that way] (David,

personal communication, May 27, 2010). David's recognition that machismo impacted relationships between men and women spoke to the prevalence of the gender inequality he observed. These observations were locally based in how he saw his neighbors, uncles, and even his own father act in "machista" ways. Due to David's physical reactions to talking about his father being macho and the sensitive nature of the topic, David was not pushed to further define the types of actions he identified as machista. He was quick to add, however, that it was his mother's influence and the messages from other women in his neighborhood that were encouraging young men of his generation to act differently.

For Lisa, Jessica, and Mariela, from El Valle, and Mark, from El Pino, "machismo," and being "machista," was broadly seen as control and command relationship between a man and a woman. For these youths, the man gave an order and the woman was expected to respond. By giving the order, Jessica explained, the man ensured that "... una haga lo que él quiere, siempre. Todo lo que él diga." [... a woman always does what he wants. Everything he says] (Jessica, personal communication, June 14, 2010). Mariela's, El Valle, stated a typical directive from a man to a woman was to say, " "Vos tienes que hacer esto," " ['You have to do this. '] (personal communication, July 2, 2010). While neither Mariela nor Jessica agreed with machista behavior or thinking, both understood "machismo" to be an order or a command from a man to a woman.

Mark, El Pino, viewed a man giving orders to a woman as an act of machismo and an obstruction to a good relationship. For Mark, a man giving the orders meant that he was not seeking ways to be a partner in what needed to be done. During a discussion about what constituted a good relationship between a man and a woman, Mark explained

that often responsibilities within a home space are not shared. Instead of “buena comunicación” [good communication] and shared responsibilities, Mark stated that the man will be “machista” and just give orders. He said:

Se comparten en el oficio y en el cuidado del niño también. Porque hay veces uno de hombre, que le digo que es machista, de que, ‘Dale el pepe vos. Cámbiale el pañal al niño yo no.’ Entonces yo he visto que él no, lo cambia, lo baña, le da de comer.

{[In a relationship] they share in the work and also in the care of a child. Because there are times when a man, who is machista, [says], ‘You [to the woman] give him the bottle. I will not change the baby’s diaper.’ So I’ve seen that he does not change the baby, bath the baby, or feed the baby} (Mark, personal communication, July 1, 2010).

Mark’s description of machista behavior suggests the defiance on the part of a man to engage in behaviors he deemed the responsibility of the woman. In doing so, the directive of child-care and child-rearing became the sole responsibility of the mother. From Mark’s own experience living with his mother and brothers, he knew the toll that being the sole provider and caretaker of a family can have on a woman (Mark, personal communication, July 1, 2010). “Machista” behavior for Mark distracted from the forging of a positive relationship between a young couple – especially one looking to build a family together.

Like Mark, Arianna (personal communication, July 29, 2010) linked “machismo” to the home. She discussed the role that women had to assume within the household, in addition to working outside the home. She described “machismo” as “Que hay más

espacio para el hombre que para la mujer y más oportunidades.” [That there are more spaces and opportunities for men than for women]. According to Arianna, a woman had to work, take care of the home, and watch the children. In contrast, a man only had to “vela por su interés propio. Es raro que un hombre se preocupe por su esposa, si hay pero casi siempre ellos velan por sus propios intereses.” [pay attention to his own interests. It is rare that a man is concerned about his wife – there are men who do, but they almost always pay attention to their own interests] (Arianna, personal communication, July 29, 2010). To her, machismo was not solely about what men did or how they acted, but rather about opportunity, autonomy, and responsibility.

What Arianna described as being “machismo” or “machista” paralleled her lived reality within her family context. The oldest female of four children with a single-mother who worked outside the home, Arianna was bothered by the responsibilities placed on her rather than her older brother, Juan. Although he was the eldest, she was the one responsible for all cooking, cleaning, and care of siblings. Juan, who was also part of the study, only assumed household responsibilities when Arianna traveled, which she did quite often to stay with aunts in different cities around the country. Juan, her brother, was studying at the university. Arianna was planning to pursue her studies at Universidad Nacional Autónoma de Honduras in journalism and communications, but did not begin during my time in Honduras due to her travels to visit relatives, which took her outside the home space (Arianna, personal communication, April 23, 2010, July 29, 2010).

Vanessa from El Pino made a distinction between verbal comments or behaviors that could be deemed as “machista,” and men who were “macho.” Vanessa explained

this difference by offering up two scenarios. She explained that sometimes a young man will verbally tease or follow a girl simply because his group of friends is watching. To Vanessa, that is “machista” behavior. The second scenario Vanessa described was a situation where a group of “chavos” [young men] took a video of a girl using a latrine and then walked around El Pino showing it to other young men across the community. Those young men were deemed to be “macho” and embodied “machismo” at a different level. Part of the problem that Vanessa identified was that young men lost face by not demonstrating certain behaviors. She said that young men were seen as less manly if they opted out of certain behaviors. She explained:

Viene el chavo solo para que los amigos miren que él si es machito. Lo hace pero no se mira correcto. Porque hay veces que los amigos influncian en bueno y hay veces en malo. Pero lo que aquí los que tienen amigos varones solo influencia malas, solo cosas malas les enseñan.

{Here comes the guy only for his friends to see that yes, he is a little machista. He does it [teases the girl] but he doesn't think it's right. Because there are times when friends are good influences and sometimes they are bad [influences]. But here, those that have only male friends are bad, they only teach bad things }
(Vanessa, personal communication, July 28, 2010).

Vanessa's comments show the ways in which the “machismo” culture was gendering young men's behaviors and identities amongst their peer group and within their community. Her observation links the social or peer pressures to conform to the impact that has on young men's behavior and treatment of young women.

These cultural constructions and definitions of “machismo” spoke to the privileged role of men as decision makers. Their commentary on “machismo” show how some women, such as Mariela, found ways to speak out; and for some men, as advocated by Mark, to examine the way “machista” behavior impacted their relationships; and for both young women and young men to push the boundaries of expected behaviors from family and friends, as was described by Arianna and Vanessa. For Mariela, the woman must act; while for Mark and Vanessa it was the responsibility of men to change behavior. This cultural norm illustrates how the gendering of agency begins with a conversation of their identity as a young woman or young man.

The Gendering of Youths’ Identities

The discussion around the term machismo provided context to the way gender norms were ever-present in the youths’ construction of themselves, others, and their identities. The participants’ discussions around themes pertaining to the *gendering of identities*, discussed in this section, served as a precursor to findings related to the gendering of agency, and transgressions of the perceived societal gender norms. Gender identity is used prominently in gender and development (GAD) literature to describe the ways in which one’s self construction of femininity and masculinity play out in exchanges at a societal level (Gutmann, 1996). Gutmann (1996) sees gender identity as central to the ways in which “we must account for both change and persistence in what it means to be women and men” (p. 17). Within this study, the gendering of identities includes the cultural norms attributed to one’s gender (see above). In addition, external structures and influences that contributed to the cultivation of youths’ gender identities are explored.

Three narratives from my observations and interviews will serve to provide insight on the gendering of youths' identities within the contexts of El Valle and El Pino; as well broader cultural influences on youths' gender identities. The first narrative is from the Evangelical Church in El Valle, the second narrative reveals the ways in which participants' assign academic success based on gender, and the final narrative is from a Father's Day celebration in El Pino. The narratives serve to illustrate the messages the youths received within different spaces of each community, and their responses or connections to those messages. Their constructions of gender roles and responsibilities draw particular attention to the ways the gendering of participants' identities were co-constructed through self-identification and external messaging.

Reproductions of Cultural Norms and Identities within Public Places

Differences in voice and visibility within church spaces. The Evangelical Church in El Valle was both a religious and community space, which opened their doors to congregants and visitors alike. Evangelical faiths, as a component of Protestantism, have grown in membership in Honduras and across Latin America (Arsenault, 2012). A formerly Catholic country, a recent study of over three hundred different religious groups showed that 47% of Hondurans identified as Catholic, and 36% identified as evangelical Protestant (United States Department of State, Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor, 2011).

The increase in the youth population in Honduras is strongly contributing to the growth of the evangelical faith. Wolseth (2008b, 2011) has written extensively about ways evangelical churches provide refuge to individuals confronting challenges; young people are particularly cited as seeking to disassociate themselves from gangs. Churches

thus not only served as a place of spiritual worship and religious involvement but also as a physical refuge for those looking to escape ever-present violence (Pine, 2008; Wolseth, 2008b, 2011). Within El Valle and El Pino, church membership was especially high amongst the young women (seven out of nine) while only one young man from El Pino reported as being active in a church group.

Pastor Barbara was the leader of the church and a founding member of the Evangelical Church of El Valle. Started by a group of five community members in 2006, by 2010 the church had close to 450 congregants, over half of which were children and youths (Pastor Barbara, personal communication, June 24, 2010). The church sponsored a before and after school program for local children depending on which “turno” [cycle] of classes they attended. The Evangelical Church in El Valle allowed children to come in before or after school and take part in games, activities, and to have a small snack. The church’s inclusion of young people in their programming expanded beyond the before and after school programs. The youths of the church played an active role in running managing a number of the ministries, which included evangelism, dance and music, service planning, and religious education (Public Field Notes, June 19, 2010; Pastor Barbara, personal communication, June 24, 2010).

Eight of the members of the CARE youth program were congregants at the church, including Mariela and Angela, who were focal participants of the study. While many girls and young women were in attendance at the services and active in church activities, it was the young men in the congregation who ran the services by giving the readings, leading prayers, and directing musical and dance presentations. Other than when there were visiting pastors from outside the community, Pastor Barbara turned the

leadership of the church services over to the youths; specifically a group of four young men. During one Saturday evening worship service on June 19, 2010, the breakdown of responsibilities amongst the youths between young women and young men was particularly notable.

When the service began the congregants of the church sat quietly in their chairs – hands folded and eyes either up to the ceiling or downcast to the floor. The church service was broken into two parts with the first focusing on songs, prayers, a call to faith, and collection. The call to faith got everyone to their feet, and as Karla, a member of the CARE youth group, loudly whispered in my ear, this was the time to give your body and mind over to Jesus (Public Field Notes, June 19, 2010). The second part of the service focused on biblical teachings using a participatory model of congregant engagement. Taken from a simply worded bible with pictures most likely intended for children, the congregants were given photocopies of short bible readings and divided into five groups. They were asked to read the verse together, and then to devise a plan to act out and share the reading with the congregants in other groups. The four young men who had been leaders throughout the first part of the service and one young woman were assigned to each lead a group in acting out the bible verses.

Below is an excerpt from my Public Field Notes from June 19, 2010 on what occurred in our small group work around the bible reading and decisions on how to present it to the rest of the congregation:

After the readings and collection... the young, male leader called on three young men and one young woman to join him at the front. He sectioned off the church, and asked each individual to take a section and with that section to figure out a

physical interpretation of the reading... I joined the group with Mariela, Daniela, Karla, and Angela which was led by Harold... Harold is one of the young men called upon frequently to speak and lead at events (in El Valle). He gathered us together and told us we had the story of Daniel and the Lions. He quickly read through the photocopied pages he had been given (without asking for others to read) and began to assign roles. There was the king, David, the angel, the guards, the lions, and the nobles... Within our group there were approximately eight females and six males. The six males were quickly assigned the roles of Daniel, the angel, the king, and the guards. The women were assigned to mainly be nobles and lions.

Mariela, a lion, quickly began asking what they (the lions) should do. Harold said they should get on the ground and roar. While not a difficult task for him or Mariela, two other middle-aged women in the group looked at one another when he told the lions they had to get on their hands and knees... Harold, and two other young men, were going through the props and giving group members individual instructions as to what they should do and when. Mariela kept making suggestions about what could be done. Harold did not use her suggestions. Karla and Angela stood and took everything in. Neither made suggestions or looked to get involved with the organization of the performance... (Public Field Notes, June 19, 2010).

As a follow-up to the descriptive narrative in the field notes, I noted that during the service, many young women and young men seemed to be encouraged to participate in different ways. The young men were encouraged by Pastor Barbara to take focal roles,

while young women served in more supporting roles. In depicting the Bible texts, there seemed to be the desire to stay true to sex roles and have males play the central characters, while only giving the women the roles of guards and lions; as was the case from the June 19, 2010 service. The traditional Honduran gender norms, as discussed in the section on machismo, were maintained and re-enforced within the place and space of the Evangelical Church. While Pastor Barbara herself was a woman, privileging the altar space to a group of primarily young men did not provide role models for young women aspiring to be a youth leader in church services.

To better understand the division of responsibilities within the church space, based on what I deduced to be the congregant's sex, I asked Mariela (El Valle) why there were so many young women in the congregation but very few leading the church services in the same way as the young men. Mariela's response provided confirmation and a brief analysis of gender identities and why she thought the young men were leaders during the services:

Mariela: No sé. Porque ellos no tienen pena. Porque a ellos les vale. Las mujeres somos como más apenadas como más aparte. Y aunque lo podemos hacer, pero a veces no queremos. Nos aferramos a que la pena nos mata, eso es lo general, y los hombres no. A ellos les vale todo... Hay ministerios y dentro de los ministerios hay mujeres y varones y líderes mujeres.

[I do not know. Because guys have no shame. Because leading matters to them. Women are more embarrassed, more hesitant. We can do it, but sometimes we do not want to. We generally get scared and it really embarrasses us, and that doesn't happen to the men. To them it is all worth it... There are ministries and

within the ministries there are women and men and women leaders] (Mariela, personal communication, July 2, 2010).

The nervousness of young women and the fearlessness of young men to being center stage and the primary focus of attention were what Mariela attributed to the prominence of young men leaders during the worship services. Mariela's explanation speaks to those ascribed attributes she associated with young women's gender identity such as not having the courage to take on a public role or getting too flustered in front of a group. While for the young men, the identity construction she noted was they showed no fear and wanted to be leaders (Mariela, personal communication, July 2, 2010).

Angela, who was also there during the interview and a congregant of the church in El Valle, took issue with my focus on what the young men did for the church by leading the services. Angela made sure to emphasize that they, as young women, were very involved behind the scenes in the ministries and outreach work for the church. Both Angela and Mariela were dedicated participants in the evangelism ministry responsible for spreading the word of God and Jesus Christ, and recruiting new congregants to the church. Angela, Mariela and others went in small groups to invite community members to join the church – most of which were women, youths, and children as they went door-to-door during the daytime (Mariela, personal communication, March 10, 2010). Angela said, “Dios nos lleva a cosas grandes... Y como dice la Pastora... uno no debe decir que ‘yo quiero ser como tal persona’, pedirle a Dios aun ser mejor. [God leads us to great things ... And as Pastor says ... one should not say that ‘I want to be like that person,’ they should ask God to be an even better version] (Angela, personal communication, July 2, 2010). Angela's perspective illustrates how she negotiated her gender identities to focus

on her contribution to the overall mission of the church rather than compare her contribution in the evangelism ministry to that of the young men in their work as service leaders. Angela was able to reframe our discussion to focus on the contribution made by the youths and congregants rather than the gender of those contributing. In doing so, she negotiated the status of the ministry in which the young women were involved rather than naming and privileging the work done by the young men in their leadership during worship services (Angela, personal communication, July 2, 2010).

The gendering of identities around educational success and academic motivation. Statistics on the formal education sector within Honduras show that there are no large gender disparities at the basic level of education (grades one through eight), but there are issues in overall enrollment based on social class and geography (urban versus rural), educational quality, and persistence for both girls and boys past the primary level (UNESCO Institute for Statistics, 2010; Pavon, 2008; World Bank, 2004; World Bank 2005; World Bank 2006). UNESCO statistics from 2010, the year this research study was conducted, reported that 98% of females and 96% of males of primary age were enrolled in primary education which constituted grades one through six.

At the lower secondary levels (grades seven through nine) the overall number of females and males, in relation to the school-aged population in Honduras, dropped considerably. Whereas primary enrollment was in the upper-90s, lower secondary was 80% for females and 70.1% for males (UNESCO Institute for Statistics, 2010). The actual numbers and rates decreased even more when looking at tertiary enrollment of college-aged females and males in comparison to overall enrollment. Twenty-two percent of females and 19.2% of males, of tertiary aged-youths, were enrolled in higher

education (UNESCO Institute for Statistics, 2010). Of note, data on overall enrollment numbers (both public and private) were not available for upper-secondary or secondary overall.

However, school life expectancy (in years) from primary to secondary was 11.02 for females and 10.27 for males, and primary to tertiary was 12.12 for females and 11.23 for males (UNESCO Institute for Statistics, 2010). Males were a year behind in school life expectancy to their female counterparts. The Programa de Naciones Unidas para el Desarrollo (PNUD) [United Nations Program for Development] (2009) reported that gender indicators for youths around education showed strong participation of young women, but it was within the workforce that young women's salary for comparable work done and positions of leadership remained low in comparison to their male counterparts (p. 290-294).

The youths' perceptions of gender roles in secondary education gave insight on the aforementioned national statistics and the ways young women were furthering their education at the secondary level; whereas young men were leaving at greater rates of frequency. The youth participants' reported that young women were more dedicated, invested, and remaining in school longer than the young men at similar levels. Young women's continued participation in school was socially accepted; whereas young men's participation was impacted by peer relationships in which young men were socialized to view school success as unpopular. The vignettes below offer insights on how cultural norms around education contributed to the reproduction of gendered behaviors within schools.

Tomas (personal communication, June 29, 2010) and Ashley (personal communication, June 9, 2010) attributed girls' success to their intelligence. When Tomas was asked what constituted girls being more intelligent, he said that young women are more “dedicadas” [dedicated/engaged] with their studies; while young men do “todas las loqueras” [all the craziness] (Tomas, personal communication, June 29, 2010). Girls' and young women's high academic achievements were also attributed to their ability to pay more attention (Jordi, personal communication, May 27, 2010), and that their interest in the classes and course material was greater than for boys and young men because what they learned in their courses would help them provide for their families after their coursework was completed (Milton, personal communication, July 26, 2010).

Women were the ones seen as having to manage the household, devise budgets, fill out paperwork when children fell ill, figure out how to make ends meet, work multiple jobs – and completing primary and secondary education was viewed as beneficial to obtaining a job and having the skills necessary to successfully run a household (Jessica & Lisa, personal communication, June 16, 2010, July 5, 2010; Arianna & Juan, personal communication, July 29, 2010). For this reason young women were described by David, Angela, Jessica, and Lisa (all from El Valle) as “más motivados” [more motivated] (David, personal communication, May 27, 2010; Angela, personal communication, April 21, 2010; Jessica & Lisa, personal communication, July 5, 2010). Lisa explained that the motivation stemmed from their need to provide not only for themselves but also their families. She stated:

Lisa: Un ejemplo, yo tengo mi esposo si yo no estudio y no he estudiado y no he hecho nada de mi vida y este hombre me deja a mí ¿qué va a hacer de mí?

Entonces uno de mujer eso se pone a pensar, asegurar el futuro de nuestros hijos y de uno mismo.

[An example, I have a husband and if I don't study, and he hasn't studied, and I don't do anything with my life and this man leaves me, what will happen to me? So, a woman has to secure the future for our children for oneself] (Lisa, personal communication, July 5, 2010).

Lisa had a little boy, Felix, who was five at the time of the research study. Lisa, as well as Jessica, saw her education as an investment in her future and securing the future for her son. Education as a need, rather than a right, opportunity, or a privilege, changed the dynamic which spurred Lisa and Jessica in their motivation to succeed academically.

Milton (El Valle) saw young women as doing better than young men first hand. His graduating class from secondary school provided evidence for him that young women were doing better in school. Milton explained:

Éramos como quince varones y solo ocho se graduaron en ese tiempo me acuerdo. De las chicas casi todas, eran 30 y se graduaron 27. Imagínese solo 3 se quedaron. Allí sobresalen las chicas, porque la mujer le ponen más interés digo yo

[I remember there were fifteen guys and only eight graduated at the time. Of the girls, almost all graduated. There were 30 and 27 graduated. Imagine that only three stayed behind. There the girls achieved more, I say this because women are more interested] (Milton, personal communication, July 26, 2010).

While the adjectives used to describe why girls and young women were positive, the words used to describe the young men and their engagement with school and their

educations were less positive. The participants described young men as “rebeldes” [rebels] (Jordi, personal communication, May 27, 2010), “descuidados” [neglectful] with their studies (Angela, personal communication, April 21, 2010), and more interested in “diversiones” [diversions] such as soccer, hanging out with their friends, and girls, rather than in school (David, personal communication, May 27, 2010; Tomas, personal communication, June 29, 2010; Ashley, personal communication, July 9, 2010). Ashley saw young men as having more free time outside of school which she attributed to them not paying as much attention in school, whereas she, as a young woman, helped with the *Educadores* program, taught beauty classes, and helped around the house; she did not see the young men in her community having to take on those responsibilities (Ashley, personal communication, July 9, 2010).

Jordi (personal communication, May 27, 2010) explained that where he attended school, it was not beneficial for young men to be seen as intelligent or to be identified as smart as they were often picked-on. When it was pointed out that he was an intelligent young man who worked really hard, he said that he did the work at home and joked around at school so he would not be picked on (Jordi, personal communication, May 27, 2010). Jordi knew that there were characteristics associated with identifying as a smart student based on his sex. Whereas the young women’s identity as high achieving, motivated, and intelligent, young men faced certain consequences in El Valle for exhibiting those characteristics. Gang involvement of young men in El Valle was deemed of greater social importance than doing well in school to a number of young men in the El Valle community (Jordi, personal communication, May 27, 2010; Tomas, personal communication, June 29, 2010).

Cultural norms and the messaging of pop culture within public spaces. The last vignette around the ways cultural norms affected the gendering of identities came from the song “Celos” [Jealousy], popular in Honduras in 2010, by Fanny Lú and JKing and the ways the messaging and narrative of the song played out in the lives of the youth participants. While I previously heard the song being played on television and on the radio, it was not until I attended a Father’s Day celebration on March 19, 2010 in El Pino that the popular messaging of the song became apparent. At the Father’s Day celebration, select students from each grade were tasked with arranging a special tribute for the approximately fifty fathers who were in attendance; seated in folding chairs gathered around an open-air cement stage. The men sat with their arms crossed against their chests watching politely as the students sang songs, read poems, and presented short skits (Public Field Notes, March 19, 2010).

The subdued mood of the celebration took a turn when the upper-level students presented a skit to the remix of the song “Celos” [Jealousy] by Fanny Lú and JKing Maximam (Lu, 2009). To introduce what happened next, I turn to my public field notes from that day:

The group that caught my attention was the all male group from the ninth grade. These young men put together a dance, using masks, to Fanny Lú and JKing’s remix of the song “Celos” (<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ix1fbxQBYxI>). [The two lead performers were] dressed in masks of an old man and an old woman [with clothing to match their portrayed gender and age. The old woman wore a dress typical of grandmothers in that region with a scarf tied around her head and a cane]. The youths created theater-style choreography to the song (see

lyrics in Spanish and English in Appendix H). They had back-up masked musicians pretending to play the guitar and a portable keyboard.

With arms crossed, stern faces, and questioning eyes, the fathers began to take in this performance. As the performance went on, the fathers faces melted into smiles, they lit up, and they began laughing at the antics of the young men on stage. As I sat watching and listening, I wondered what part about the performance brought such amusement. Was it the young men's performance with one youngster in drag as an old woman? Was it Fanny Lú's song that talks about jealous women? Was it seeing their sons attempt this performance in a school assembly space? Was it watching young men perform in a way that challenged the gender norm of what is typical for boys to do? What was it? (See Appendix H for the lyrics and a translation of the lyrics). (Public Fieldnotes, March, 19, 2010).

The young men's performance and fathers' reactions unveiled the role that popular music and popular culture had in the reproduction of gender norms. The popularity and prevalence of the song "Celos" was an ongoing reminder of the gendering of young women's and men's identities to patriarchal norms through music. "Celos" was played over and over on the radio, the Tegucigalpa based television station that broadcast music videos in the evening, and on youths' phones as they sat on the steps of the local "pulperia" [corner store] in El Valle and El Pino. Songs such as "Celos" were downloaded once and passed from friend to friend as music was part of the cultural scape of the broader Tegucigalpa region and youths' lives.

The messaging within the song spoke to the familial experiences of Laura, a group member in El Valle, and David, a focal participant from El Valle. The lyrics of the song “Celos” [Jealousy] spoke to issues of infidelity and trust which were themes that arose in conversations with Laura and David and the behaviors of their fathers. The song also was a medium through which to think about the experience of Lisa (El Valle) who was married at age sixteen and dealt with infidelity and feelings of uncertainty within her own marriage. The cultivation of youths’ identities in regards to the relationships they saw within their own home life, their own romantic relationships, and gender were both enforced through popular culture as with the song “Celos,” but the youths disrupted those messages through their own negotiation of what they deemed appropriate behaviors within romantic relationships.

Laura and David (El Valle) spoke of their fathers’ unfaithfulness to their mothers and the ways it affected them. Laura, the group member, shared the pain she endured when she found out that her father had another family in a neighboring community (Laura, personal communication, May 18, 2010). She said she initially felt abandoned by someone she loved, but that it was her mother’s reaction to her father’s abandonment of his family that most impacted her. Laura attributed her mother’s moods and anger to her father taking up with another woman and starting another family. Laura took on the role of caretaker to her sister and cousin as she said her mother was easy to anger and her grandmother was not able to do as much for them anymore (Laura, personal communication, May 18, 2010).

In comparison, David, whose brothers were Jordi and Daniel, did not name his father’s infidelity, but rather shared how much he wanted to know his half-brothers and

half-sister. His father had children with three women; David's mother being the second and the one he was legally married to. David had a half-sister and half-brother from his father's first relationship. He also spoke about his two younger half-brothers which were to the third woman his father was with. He knew they were in Mexico but did not know why they moved there or if his father was still in contact with his sons or their mother. David said he always wanted to know his older sister and only had a few memories of going to visit her in the southern part of the country when he was little.

Unlike Laura, David did not speak directly to how his father's unfaithfulness affected him or his mother. Rather, it was during our second interview when he stated that he wanted to treat his future wife better than his father treated his mother, and better than his sense of how his uncles treated his aunts, that he gave voice to the change he wanted in terms gender roles and his own identity as a young man (David, personal communication, May 27, 2010). He said his mother was the one who helped him to understand that he had the choice to treat women differently. His openness about half-siblings, both older and younger than he, and the way he loved his mother and wanted to her to be happy, speaks to the way he mediated his gender identity in relation to what he witnessed within home and public space (David, personal communication, March 13, 2010, May 27, 2010).

Lisa (El Valle) had a husband who was unfaithful to her. Her husband had a child with another woman where he was stationed with the police force in southern Honduras. Lisa spoke about the way she saw him as not assuming any responsibility for the issues in their marriage. While her husband often attempted to turn issues and problems around on Lisa, like JKing did to Fanny Lú in the song, she learned to not take on those problems

and to stand up for herself and her son (Lisa, personal communication, July 5, 2010). She came to view her relationships with her husband very differently and described it as one out of necessity in regards to his financial contribution which supported her and their son.

Lisa explained:

Entre querer y amar es muy diferente. O sea que ya no lo amo, solo lo quiero pero eso es porque todo lo que ha hecho. Él hizo que se cambiará eso.

{There is a difference between to want and to love [someone]. Or what I mean is I don't love him, I only want to have a relationship with him but this is because of everything he's done. He's the one who has changed all of this [in our relationship]} (Lisa, personal communication, July 5, 2010).

In this instance, Lisa transgressed the cultural norms held for her in her position as a woman, a wife, and a mother. While the song "Celos" conveys a message of women being the victims, Lisa did not allow anyone to attribute culpability on her part. The act of transgressing, rather than producing, traditional cultural norms is explored in greater detail in the next section.

The actions of the people close to Laura, David, and Lisa ran counter to JKing's assertion that Fanny Lú's jealousy was unfounded and drove him away (Lú, 2008).

While the song spoke to gender norms that were broadly accepted within El Valle and El Pipo, Honduras, Laura and David did not accept those actions by their fathers, and Lisa did not accept those actions by her husband. The group of young men in El Pino performed "Celos" at the Father's Day celebration to entertain the men closest to them. However, other young men of this generation sought to break from the machista behaviors re-enforced by the song (David, personal communication, May 27, 2010;

Milton, July 26, 2010; Mark, personal communication, July 1, 2010). Returning to Guttman's (1996), it is within both the "change and persistence in what it means to be women and men" that gender identity is assumed and adapted. (p. 17). David's expression of wanting to have a different relationship than his father and uncles had with his mother and aunts, respectively, and Lisa's refusal to accept her husband's affair, were steps within their generation to change what it meant to be a young man and young women in partnered relationships.

Transgressing Cultural Norms and the Gendering of Agency within Public and Private Places

In this section I explore how the gendering of these youths' agency was expressed and exhibited within the private spaces of the family home and in conversation with family, and the ways that the youths transgressed some of the norms that shaped the gendering of their identities as discussed above. Two-parent households, single mothers, all female siblings, all male siblings, and mixed sibling groups contributed to the diverse perspectives and lived experiences of the participants in terms of family and home space. The interviews revealed ways in which there was a gendering of their agency in relation to deciding to return to school (Angela), emotional and physical abuse (Vanessa), and a young man's assumption of responsibilities within the home space (Milton).

Angela (El Valle) was the first participant to discuss the ways in which her parents, and specifically her father's words, supported her agentic decisions to continue her studies and education. After completing primary school, first through eighth grades, Angela dropped out after the first semester of secondary school. She decided to look for a job as she wanted to earn money and was not interested in furthering her education. She found work in a clothing shop in one of the shopping areas off the main highway.

After a year of working she realized that her level of education limited her access to employment opportunities (Angela, personal communication, April 21, 2010).

At the time Angela was living at home and contributing to the family income; which was helpful to her family as she is one of five daughters within the family home. Her father, a school bus driver for a private school, and her mother, who sold small candies, financially cared for their daughters, and contributed to the care of their two grandchildren and a nephew (Angela, personal communication, April 21, 2010).

Angela was agentic in being able to choose to return to school, and then taking action to re-enroll at the secondary school in El Valle. While she did this on her own, the support of her parents made it easier for her. Angela explained:

Yo estuve primero en primer curso y ahí no me puse las pilas no le puse interés. Y ahí me salí. Entonces ahí decidí me fui a trabajar... Entonces ahí le dice a mi papi si me apoyaba a seguir estudiando. Y me dijo que si y si yo estaba dispuesta a seguir adelante, me dijo que si, para que estudiara. Gracias a mis padres que me han apoyado para seguir estudiando. Y también por mi esfuerzo de estudiar de ponerme las pilas a estudiar.

[At first I was in the first course and there I didn't study, I didn't have a lot of interest. And from there I left. And then I decided I would go to work... Then I asked my Dad if he would support me to continue studying. And he said to me if I was ready to be successful, then yes, he would support me to study. Thanks to my parents' support I am able to continue studying. And also for my own inner-strength in studying, and working so hard to study] (Angela, personal communication, April 21, 2010).

Angela's parents supported her decisions in regards to both her return to secondary schooling and decision to leave her job. Her statement above demonstrates the ways in which Angela values the support of her parents, while at the same time recognizes that her choice to return to school and dedication to her studies came from within her. While national statistics suggest greater enrollment of girls in school, this is not necessarily the case in El Valle, and thus, Angela's agency in relation to her education is significant in this community (CARE, Republic of Honduras, 2008). Young women were often seen by family members as able to take on responsibilities within the home or take up unskilled labor after primary school in El Valle. She was agentic in that she pursued a secondary degree, and expression of interest in going to university.

Vanessa (El Pino) dealt privately with limited emotional support from her parents within the home, and the physical abuse she experienced within her community. Independent of my questioning, Vanessa expressed strong views on the ways that she saw fathers as teaching their sons to be machista and devaluing their daughters, particularly within the family and home space. Vanessa's comments regarding the role of fathers in teaching/modeling machismo stemmed from a broader conversation regarding ways to reach out and work with youth to improve the community. She thought that improving relationships between parents and children/youths would help parents understand the worth of their children and youths to feel more valued by their parents. Vanessa said, "... los papas solo andan en la calle les dicen a los hijos, 'Usted tiene que ser el macho y la mujer es un trapo.'" [... fathers walk down the street telling their sons, 'You have to be macho and the woman is a rag] (Vanessa, personal communication, July 28, 2010).

Outside of her home, Vanessa saw fathers wielding power in the influence they had over the formation of gender identities for both their sons and daughters. She said she saw fathers in El Pino abusing their wives and girlfriends, and then saw the sons within those families mistreat their girlfriends in the same ways. Just as the women and mothers in the families did not speak out, the girlfriends did not speak out against the abuse either. Vanessa explained: “Las chicas se sienten con temor a contarle a alguien porque dice que la pueden criticar y cosas así” [The girls are scared to tell anyone because people can criticize them and things like that] (Vanessa, personal communication, July 28, 2010). According to Vanessa, speaking out against the abuse of men only brought attention to the victim rather than the aggressor (Vanessa, personal communication, July 25, 2010, July 28, 2010).

Vanessa dealt with abuse on a very personal level. During our work together she shared with me that she was accosted by “el cuñado de mi mamá” [my mom’s brother-in-law]. The excerpt below provides a synopsis of what happened to her:

[I] just called a young woman, Vanessa, in El Pipo to set-up an interview. I asked how she was and she said, “Mal” [Bad]. I told her I was sorry to hear that. She said she was going to get better. I asked if she had been sick. She said no. I said I hoped everything would be OK. She said “algunos muchachos me acostaron” [some guys accosted me]. I asked what they had done, had they robbed her? I wanted to be misunderstanding the meaning of “acostar” [to accost] even though I knew what she was saying. Her neighbors had touched her. “Neighbors?” I asked, “What did they do?” She said the one guy was the “cuñado de su mamá” [brother-in-law of her mother] and they had, “Me tocaron el pecho” [Touched my

chest]. “Ay, lo siento mucho” [I am so sorry], I stammered. “Qué quiere hacer? Quiere ir a la policia?” [What do you want to do? Do you want to go to the police?] I naively asked knowing full well that going to the police in El Pino brings more problems than help. “No, Katy, no quiero denunciar” [No, Kate, I don’t want to report it], she said.... “Ud. no hice nada mal” [You did not do anything wrong], I told her. She was silent. “Me escucha? No hizo nada mal – no es su *culpa!*” [Do you hear me? You did not doing anything wrong – it’s not your fault]. “I know, I know it’s not my fault,” she finally replied... I asked, “As I’m not from here, I don’t know what to do in this situation.” She said, “No hay nada de hacer, Katy. Me escucha – eso lo ayudo” [There is nothing to do, Kate. You listened to me – this helps] (Personal Narratives, July 25, 2010).

Vanessa was physically assaulted and she did not feel she could go to anyone for help. Even though Honduras has comprehensive laws regarding violence against women, Vanessa expressed that she and many other young women never saw the enactment of those laws in practice (Personal Narrative, July 25, 2010). A week after the incident I spoke to Vanessa and she shared with me that neighbors who had witnessed the incident had reported the assault to one of her uncles. The uncle threatened to “denunciar” [report/denounce] the man who touched her if he did again (Vanessa, personal communication, July 28, 2010). While Vanessa sought to deal with the incident privately, it was from within the public space of the broader community that Vanessa found support in her neighbors and uncle. The gendering of her agency within the home space was negative in that Vanessa’s agency was impeded. It was in the ways gender

norms were re-produced within the home space that her actions and behaviors were inhibited.

However, Vanessa was agentic in other ways. She sought out groups and people that positively supported her as a young adult. She participated in the group CARE was trying to start in El Pino, she attended an Evangelical church in the community, and she continued to go to school even when her mother felt she should remain at home to help watch her younger sister. Vanessa's willingness to open up and speak with me about what happened shows agency insofar as she was willing to share her story and found a voice to speak out against what had happened to her. All of these things she did in relation to being a young woman, being a young woman from a family who adhered to patriarchal, machista gender norms, and being a young woman who sought to change the way she viewed herself and her future in relation to what others expected of her. In this way, she exhibited agency. Vanessa's experience was one that showed that while she was not able to agentic within the home space, she was able to express herself and act in other public spaces within the community.

Milton and Tomas (El Valle) were both participants in the CARE youth program and brothers. Milton, the eldest, and Tomas, the middle son continuously brought up their mother, her support, and the life lessons she had instilled in them during our semi-formal interviews. Much of what they said about their mother revolved around her support of them, as well as her influence in shaping them as men, and specifically as young men who take responsibility, provide for their families, and treat everyone with respect (Tomas, personal communication, March 13, 2010, June 29, 2010; Milton, personal communication, March 25, 2010, July 26, 2010).

Tomas and Milton's mother also shaped how her children viewed the man's role within the home and with his family. Milton and Tomas were both fathers. Milton, the eldest, was in a committed relationship and lived with a woman he referred to as his wife, although they were not legally married. Milton and his wife, Ines, lived with her family, and had their first baby, a little boy, in May of 2010. Tomas, the middle brother of three, also had a son. His little boy was five months old when I arrived in Honduras, and about to celebrate his first birthday in September 2010 towards the end of my time there.

Tomas had a son with a young woman in the community whom he had known from school (Tomas, personal communication, March 13, 2010, June 29, 2010). The different roles that Milton and Tomas played within the family sphere – brother, son, father, husband, ex-boyfriend – were noticeably shaped during childhood, within their family home space, and by a mother who continued to influence the decisions her sons made in regards to their roles as fathers and as partners. The following section focuses on Milton and the ways in which there was a gendering to his agency that allowed him to transgress gender norms within the household. Milton sought to clean, do dishes, care for his wife, and be an active father – all of which transgressed the norms held for men in El Valle.

As the eldest of three boys, Milton helped out with chores at home from a very early age. Milton explained, “Mi mami me ha enseñado de todo en la casa, porque yo era el único. Y yo los cuidaba a los dos. También hacía oficio en la casa” [My mom taught me to do everything around the house because I was the only one (and the oldest). I took care of the other two (his brothers). I also did all the chores at home] (Milton, personal communication, March 25, 2010). Milton understood that with both his parents working, he had to contribute to the maintenance of the household for the benefit of everyone.

When Milton moved in with Ines and her family, his desire to help around the house continued, even though it was seen as atypical by his in-laws and others within his social circle. Ines' friends even commented on his help around the house, as Milton explained:

Milton: A veces llegan mujeres allí a visitar a mi esposa y me dicen, 'Está bueno que le ayude. Mire! Como quisiera que mi esposo me ayudaría.' Y es cierto. No es todos los que ayudan. Entonces yo he escuchado mucho eso que no les ayudan solamente acostarse, ver tele. Por una parte creo que depende del trabajo que tenga uno. Porque hay trabajos que son cansados y otros no. En mi trabajo, algunos días son cansados y hay días que no.

[Sometimes women come over to visit my wife and they say, 'It is great that you help. Look! I wish my husband would help me.' And it is true. It's not all men that help. So I've heard many times that men don't help they only come home and sleep, watch television. On the one side I think that it depends on the job a guy has. Because there are some jobs that are tiring and others not so much. At my job, some days I come home tired and other days no] (Milton, personal communication, July 26, 2010).

Milton's help within the home was seen as a positive thing by his wife's friends.

Milton's behaviors and actions broke the gender norms and provided another perspective of what a man can do within the home space for Ines and her friends. Women who were accustomed to their partners taking a peripheral role at home saw that Milton actively sought to help his wife within the home space.

However, as a younger teen, Milton was teased by his male friends for helping out at home. He shared:

Milton: Yo tenía amigos que me miraban lavando los platos en la casa mía, barriéndome y me decían, ‘Deja eso vos! Eso es cosa de mujer.’ (Yo dije), ‘Y entonces? Tengo que hacer. Aquí no hay mujer.’ Porque mi madre me enseñó eso a mí. Más bien mi mama siempre que llega al cuarto le pregunta a mi esposa si yo le ayudo (risas).

{I had friends who would come and see me washing plates at home, sweeping, and they would say to me, ‘Don’t do that! That’s women’s work.’ [And I said], ‘And then what? I have to. There is no woman here.’ Because my mom taught me to do that. Even better, my mom now comes over to our room and asks my wife if I help (laughter)} (Milton, personal communication, July 26, 2010).

Milton’s agency was apparent in this example, as he had to stand up to his friends, and disrupt their gender stereotypes of the role men had within a household. He was agentic in owning the domestic help he provided to his family when faced with criticism and critique for such behavior. The relationship and respect he had for his mother and her encouragement of his help within the home space held legitimacy for him in defending his stance.

During my time conducting field research I had the opportunity to meet both Milton’s mother and his wife, Ines. Ines was seven months pregnant and on bed rest at the time of my first interview, which was conducted in the home they shared with Milton’s in-laws. Ines affirmed the amount of help and support that Milton provided as her partner. She said that the only way Milton was typical of other men was that he loved to play soccer with his friends (Milton, personal communication, March 25, 2010).

Milton’s upbringing as the eldest in a family of three boys, with a mother who

encouraged and required him to be involved within the home space, shaped his identity as a young man. Milton's behavior and responses challenged both the women and men around him to rethink the gender norms that they exhibited, accepted and embraced in their lives individually and within a relationship. Milton transgressed the gender norms held for him within his home, and the gendering of his agency occurred in his assertion of choice and action to be an active caretaker for his wife and his home.

The examples of the gendering agency within private spaces speak to the ways agency is negotiated vis-à-vis gender. For Angela and Milton, the gendering of agency within private spaces was positive. Angela shared the ways her parents were a part of her achievements, while recognizing that there was a part that came from within that allowed her to be agentic and act in changing the direction of her life in pursuit of further education. For Milton, his mother was influential in getting him to see a different narrative of what it meant to be men. Milton was agentic in holding his own when teased for acting outside the traditional gender role for young men. The gendering of Vanessa's agency, on the other hand, within the home space was not supportive of her overall agency. The ways she acted agentially were due to the relationships she forged and involvement outside the home in more public spaces. Youth agency and the gendering of that agency were not solely emergent from observations and narratives from within the home space, but from the community spaces as well. The next section explores the gendering of youth agency within the community which included on the soccer fields and within the church space.

The Gendering of Agency in Communal Spaces: Soccer Fields & Churches

La cancha de fútbol [the soccer field] as a site of independence. Soccer

became the focal point of the division of space by gender within the communities of El Valle and El Pino. In discussions with fifteen of the nineteen participants about what spaces were used by girls and/or boys, the soccer field was consistently the starting point of conversation. The young women saw it as a place where they were unable to go, and the young men saw it as the place they were most excited to be.

For the five young women from El Valle and four of the five young women from El Pino, the physical space of the soccer field as being a site for young men was only part of the issue. When discussing community spaces with participants, young men were seen to have the free time to partake in extra-curricular activities, such as soccer. Moreover, the young women described the soccer fields as sites of freedom where young men could congregate outside the watchful eye of families. Jessica (El Valle) and Arianna (El Pino) were from two different communities but had parallel comments to share in regards to community space, soccer fields, and spaces for young women versus young men. Below is what Jessica and Arianna stated about soccer fields:

Jessica: Bueno en la comunidad más (espacio) para los hombres, es más para los hombres... uno de mujer tiene que estar su casa, y los jóvenes no. Si hay un campo ellos están jugando entre ellos. Sientan fuera del campo - - todo el tiempo están unidos. Pasan la tarde del día, noche, siempre ellos allí, pero solo hombres. A veces una puede ir porque se lleva bien con ellos pero la gente lo mira mal.

[Well in the community there's more (space) for men, it's more for the men... a woman has to be at home, and the guys don't. If there is a soccer field, they are

out there playing together. They sit by the field - - they are together all the time. They spend the late afternoon and night always up there, but only the men. Sometimes a girl can go because she gets along well with them, but other people then look at her badly] (Jessica, personal communication, June 14, 2010).

Arianna: Yo diría que más (espacio) para hombres porque la mujer casi siempre para la casa. Mientras que el hombre hacen reuniones con los amigos, que partidos de futbol

[I would say there is more (space) for men because the woman is always in the house while the man can get together with his friends for soccer games] (Arianna, personal communication, July 29).

Jessica and Arianna's statements illustrate how young men traversed the community spaces of El Valle and El Pino playing soccer or meeting up with friends while young women remained at home or, as was observed, at church functions. The young men were seen as given more independence by parents, and were not held to the same level of responsibility within the home as their female peers (Ashley, personal communication, July 9, 2010; Jessica, personal communication, June 14, 2010; Arianna, personal communication, July 29, 2010; Elena, personal communication, July 10, 2010).

Jessica was one of two female participants who played soccer and felt the impact of the gendering of soccer and the soccer field as a space for boys and men. She loved soccer, and called her athletic ability a "gift [virtue] from God" (Jessica, personal communication, June 14, 2010). While soccer was an activity that transported her to another world (Jessica, personal communication, June 14, 2010), her parents disapproved

of her participation in the sport due her gender. Jessica shared that her father, in particular, did not speak or interact with her after she joined a soccer program in El Pino and then a young women's soccer league in Tegucigalpa. Jessica stated, "... él dijo que [cuando] yo empecé a jugar futbol dijo que se alejaba de mi vida. Y que yo podía hacer lo que yo quisiera y que no se iba a meter en mi vida. Entonces él ya puede estar en la casa y le digo mami, 'Voy a salir,' y él no me dice nada" [...when I started to play soccer he said he would leave my life. And that I could do what I wanted and he would not be involved in my life. So now he can be in the house and I will say to my mom, 'I am going to leave,' and he won't say anything] (Jessica, personal communication, July 5, 2010).

Jessica viewed the retraction of her father's support and affection as directly related to her decision to participate in an activity he identified as a male sport. Jessica had previously shared that what girls could do and what boys could do was "complicado" [complicated] to explain. Jessica said:

... pero es bien complicado porque siempre están así, como chocando. 'Que vos tenes que hacer lo que hacen las mujeres,' y 'Vos, lo que hacen los hombres.' No se puede enfocar en lo que nosotros, o lo que uno quiere.

{...but what [girls can do and what boys can do] is really complicated and it's always been this way, like crashing. [People say,] 'Hey, you have to do what the women do,' and 'You, you do what the men do.' We can't do what we want, or one can't do what he/she wants} (Jessica, personal communication, June 14, 2010).

Jessica did not let her father's sense of what was appropriate behavior for young women dictate what she did. She had to exert herself in relation to an activity that would not even be a point of conversation if she were young man rather than a young woman. She pursued soccer despite her father's disapproval and emotional abandonment.

Being able to play on the field in El Valle was not typically allowed for young women. Jessica and Lisa both shared that it took two buses to get to the youth women's league field, thus providing women with additional obstacles to participating in the sport (time and physical distance). Jessica and Lisa had to be agentic in pursuing their involvement with the soccer program and finding places to practice (Lisa & Jessica, personal communication, June 14, 2010). There was a gendering of Jessica's agency, and of any young woman who sought to disrupt and challenge who could make use of the soccer field, such as what happened at the CARE sponsored soccer tournament in May 2010.

In May 2010, the Culture and Sport Committee of the CARE youth program organized a soccer tournament. Looking to uphold the goals of the Patsy Collins Trust Fund Initiative, the four young men on the committee were told that there would be teams of both girls and boys competing in the tournament. When David, the committee leader, went to the school directors to discuss the inclusion of girls and boys in the tournament, the directors nearly thwarted the inclusion of girls' teams. Below are field notes and reflections from the event:

About a week prior to the tournament David called me to tell me that the school directors in El Corazon I and II were not going to send teams of girls. The director in El Corazon II told David that they did not have a soccer team for girls,

girls do not know how to play, and she did not know how parents would respond. The other director told David that there was no girls' team and she wasn't going to organize one. The reaction of the school directors was not surprising to David. He tried to explain to me that girls do not play here like boys do. He asked if we should cancel the event. I said no and told him we could talk to Israel to see what could be done about the situation.

Sergio spoke to the school director in El Corazon II. She told him that she wants girls to participate, she just didn't know how to get them organized in such a short amount of time. It was determined that the Parent Association could help get the group organized, and the Vice President of the Parent Association decided to help organize a group of girls (Public Fieldnotes, May 8, 2010).

During the soccer tournament, the Vice President of the Parent Association shared the difficulties she faced in organizing the girls. She said they had only been able to practice as a group once because there was nowhere for them to practice. After listing off the fields and spaces where I had seen boys and men playing soccer, the Vice President of the Parent Association shook her head and laughed. Those spaces, she said, were only for the men and they were not willing to let her use the field to train a team of girls. In addition, no one was willing to lend her a soccer ball with which to practice. Each of the men's and boys' teams had a soccer ball that was kept by one person, typically a team captain or coach, and no one wanted to lend one out to the girls (Public Fieldnotes, May 8, 2010).

The views held by young men with regard gender and community spaces differed from the young women, especially in regards to soccer. Of the seven young men (El

Valle: David, Jordi, Milton, Tomas, and El Pino: Juan, Mark, Bryan) who responded to questions concerned with gender and community spaces, only Tomas from El Valle and Juan from El Pino suggested that there were no differences in community spaces. Tomas and Juan both said everything was equal. The others saw the soccer fields as being reserved for young men, and church spaces as being more for young women. The young men did not speak with awareness regarding any disparity in access for young women or the acceptance of young women occupying certain spaces.

David, Jordi, and Tomas (El Valle) attributed soccer fields as being spaces for young men and boys because women did not play (David, personal communication, May 27, 2010; Jordi, personal communication, May 27, 2010; Tomas, personal communication, June 29, 2010). Since girls and young women were not seen on the soccer fields, they deduced that girls and women did not like soccer. Tomas explained:

Tomas: Bueno es que no juegan las muchachas [Well it's just that girls don't play].

Kate: Pero es por qué no quieren o... [But is it that they don't want to or...].

Tomas: Porque dice que es algo tonto ver correr a un hombre detrás de una pelota. Eso es lo que piensan las mujeres allí en El Valle. Que parecemos tontos detrás de una pelota [Because they say it is stupid to see a man run behind a ball. That's what women think in El Valle. That we appear stupid behind a ball].

Kate: Pero piensan que es ¿porque no quieren o porque no permiten? [But do they think that, or is it that they don't want to or they aren't permitted?].

Tomas: Porque no quieren. Porque allí si quieren jugar que jueguen [Because they don't want to. Because if they wanted to play then they play] (Tomas, personal communication, June 29, 2010).

For these three young men physical barriers did not preclude girls' and young women's participation. The social constraints around gender norms were not visible to them and they were not conscious of the restraints imposed on young women in regards to soccer. Instead, they saw the young women as decision makers who chose to not play soccer.

Brian (El Pino) and Milton (El Valle) were the two young men out of the group of nine who expressed concern that there were unequal community spaces available to young women and men. Both young men identified the soccer field as being for men, and the home space as being the only area that was acceptable for young women to occupy (Brian, personal communication, August 3, 2010; Milton, personal communication, July 26, 2010). While they recognized that shared community space was a problem for young women, and in particular their wives, neither questioned nor addressed this difficulty by looking for ways to facilitate greater participation of women within the community spaces (Brian, personal communication, August 3, 2010; Milton, personal communication, July 26, 2010).

Agency amidst religious and patriarchal norms. Churches in the two communities were sites of youth participation, engagement and learning. The section on the gendering of identities examined the ways that the Evangelical Church in El Valle affected gender identity through the roles and responsibilities assigned and taken on by the young women and men in the various youth ministries (Public Fieldnotes, June 19, 2010; Angela, personal communication, July 2, 2010; Mariela, personal communication,

July 2, 2010). This section focuses on a conversation with Mariela (El Valle) regarding who should be the decision maker within a family, initiated by an interview question related to decision-making in the household. Mariela's thoughts and insights throughout this discussion demonstrated the way she navigated her role as a young, Christian woman, and provided her own interpretations to church teachings which, according to Mariela, identified the man as the head of a household. The gendering of Mariela's agency was evident in the ways in which she interpreted Christian values; her interpretations of these teachings showed that she expressed the power to redefine rather than remain "rule-governed" (Ahearn, 2001).

In talking with Mariela, she privileged her status as a confidant and advisor to her future husband, and she saw her role as critical to ensuring that the "correct" choices were made within the household (Mariela, personal communication, July 2, 2010). She emphasized that "mujeres somos importantes" [women are important] but that the woman's role was a supportive one to her husband. The caveat that Mariela provided was that women should support their husbands as long as they are doing "the right thing" (McCleary, 2009). Mariela explained:

Yo creo que los dos, tanto el hombre como la mujer tenemos derechos. Somos personas muy importantes... Hay hombres que son machistas y dicen, 'Yo voy a tomar las decisiones porque soy el hombre.' Claro ellos tienen que tener una iniciativa como cabeza de todo hogar, pero nosotros también tenemos que apoyarlos y si algo es correcto ayudarles y si no es correcto decirles. ...somos la costilla, somos una costilla de los hombres, no somos los pies. Ellos no tienen que tenernos bajo los pies porque hay muchos hombres machistas que, 'Vos, tus

opiniones no cuentan.’ Y somos la costilla tenemos que andar al lado de ellos no debajo de ellos.

{I believe that both, as much the man as the woman, we have rights. We are very important people... There are men that are machistas and they say, ‘I am going to make the decisions because I am the man.’ Sure they [the men] have to have initiative as the heads of the households, but we [women] also have to support them. And if something is right help them, and if it’s not right we must tell them... we are the rib, we are the ribs of the man, we are not the feet, they [the men] do not need to keep us under their feet because there are a lot of machista men that [say], ‘You, your opinions don’t count.’ And we are the ribs we need to walk beside them, not under them} (Mariela, personal communication, July 2, 2010).

Mariela’s remarks demonstrate her interpretation of who should be the decision maker within a relationship, within the religious doctrine that she holds. While she initially identified men as the decisions-makers, Mariela added exceptions as to when women did not have listen to them, such as when they pursued bad decisions or if they were acting in machista ways (Mariela, personal communication, July 2, 2010). The imagery she used in describing a woman as the rib of the man, rather than the feet, physically positioned the woman alongside a man’s heart. This vignette from the conversation with Mariela demonstrates the ways in which she navigated her agency by reinterpreting Biblical gender constructions, and thus negotiated the gender roles and responsibilities she assumed for a future-self within a marriage.

Conclusions on the Gendering of Youths' Agency

As was discussed in this chapter, the local gender norms had a gendering affect on youths' agency and were influenced by different people, interactions, and places. The gendering of youth agency was exhibited not as a static state but cultivated and enacted in different moments and spaces in their lives. There were conditions where the youths felt they could intervene and other moments where they clearly felt they could not. The next chapter examines what it meant to be agentic for the youths participating in non-formal youth programs; with a specific emphasis on what differentiated the CARE youth program from other programs.

CHAPTER 5

CULTIVATING YOUTH AGENCY THROUGH COMMUNITY PROGRAMS

What I've learned from you: Honduran youthhood

Your eyes have seen the violence of a soldier - - the battle fields your community's dirt roads that have soaked in the blood of friends, brothers, cousins.

The schools and churches beckon to those of you who have elected the "good" path - - who study through a pedagogy of memorization and repetition, and pray for pencils and papers to ensure your own educational salvation.

Churches provide an alternate reality for you where stories of God's love and rock gospel songs transport the mind and heart to a place on high. Where imaginative ways to recruit more followers to Jesus is as celebrated as acceptance into university or a salaried job.

Family is friends, and friends are family. Gangs serve as surrogate parents for those alienated due to abuse, neglect, and poverty. When both family and gangs want you, how do you choose? A roof over your head, fried egg and tortilla does not hold the promise of power and control as does a chimba [pipe gun].

Your government promises jobs and a better life than your parents. But your stint at the maquila [factory] proves that if you continue behind the machine your eyesight will be clouded and shoulders hunched just like your mother's - - the costurera who sews pantalones and camisas, from the machine under the barred window, for your neighbors who run small businesses along the highway.

The warmth of the sun and clouds suspended in the sky brighten the day, as you remember the kiss you got from your love on the soccer field last night. And the inherent hope, born anew in each generation, allows you to daydream that someday the 20 lempira in your pocket will be 2,000.

As you step off the bus from the center of town and head down the lane you see the green mangos ripening on the tree. Whether green with salt or sweet with a pulpy, fibrous, orange, flesh, you find a way to savor the fruit - - no matter the circumstance.

Developing Youth Agency Through Non-formal Education Programs

Youths involved with non-formal education programs in El Valle and El Pino expressed ways that the programs supported the development of their agency (i.e. the meaningful influence youth feel they have in the decisions they make and actions they take, individually or collectively, in their lives, p. 13). The ways in which non-formal

education programs influenced youth agency were central to two of the study's original research questions:

1. How do young Honduran women and men participating in a youth community organizations construct and enact their agency?
2. Are there differences between the ways youth in a non-governmental organization sponsored group and those who are interested in being part of such a group enact and construct their agency?

The previous chapter and this chapter speak to ways youths enacted their agency vis-à-vis the non-formal education programs. This chapter seeks to share the ways the youths were seen within Honduran society, and in turn how the youths' chose "el camino bueno" [the good path] and "el camino malo" [the bad path] amidst these societal influences. The association with non-formal youth programs as influential in keeping them on "el camino bueno" [the good path] will also be discussed. Following that section the shared characteristics of non-formal education programs in cultivating youth agency will be explored, and the ways that the CARE Education Unit worked with youths; which was distinct to other non-formal education programs within the communities of El Valle and El Pino. The last section explains the differentiation between the CARE youth program and other non-formal youth programs in creating agents of change amongst youth participants. The participatory action research facilitated by CARE situated the youths as agents of change in their work conducting the community census and the youth participants' ongoing commitment and participation in the various educational opportunities offered within El Valle (i.e. the Educatodos alternative education program, vocational training, and workshops and community events).

Societal Discourses Affecting Youths in Honduras

On January 16, 2006 the Ley Marco para el Desarrollo Integral de la Juventud [Law for the Integral Development of Youth] was published in the *La Gaceta*, a national publication of laws and decrees, by the Honduran government. The law marked the first inclusive set of laws, standards, and expectations of rights for all youths aged 15-24 years of age, regardless of gender, sexuality, race, and religion (Gobierno de Unidad Nacional Honduras, 2006). Based in United Nations decrees including the *Declaration of Universal Rights*, the *Convention on the Eradication of Violence Against Women*, and the *Convention on the Rights of the Child*, Honduras passed a law to protect youths against violence as well as ensure a number of rights. Furthermore, it spoke to the responsibility, participation, humanism, and individuality to which Honduran youths were entitled (Gobierno de Unidad Nacional Honduras, 2006). Despite these laws, Vanessa's experience in the previous chapter illustrates a reluctance to pursue action in the wake of an assault due to the chasm between policy and practice. The broader narrative of education reform and youth renewal at a policy level attempted to counter the realities of teacher strikes, outbreaks of dengue fever, and assaults and murders of and by youths in gangs.

The desire to have a deeper understanding of Honduras' law on youth rights and development led to a conversation with Doña Olga Alvarado, Vice Minister of the National Institute of Youth. Ms. Alvarado agreed to let me use her real name and be recorded during our interview. A 28-year old newly appointed official at the time of our interview, Ms. Alvarado praised President Porfirio Lobo Sosa's investment in addressing issues confronting youths, while at the same time she recognized the many challenges

youths faced within her country. “Han perdidos su esperanza,” {They’ve [youth] lost their hope}, Ms. Alvarado stated. She listed the extensive problems faced by youths. The two most pressing issues identified by Alvarado were gangs and teen pregnancy, and various programs have been designed to counter these youth “problems.”

The aims of the National Institute of Youth, along with other NGO and government based community programs such Deporte para la Vida [Sport for Life] initially sponsored by UNICEF or Con Vida [With Life] funded by a municipality within Tegucigalpa, was to involve youths in activities and programs that were deemed to be productive and positive forms of engagement and recreation. According to Ms. Alvarado, it was through educational and community involvement that youths were able to be active citizens and take up the challenges that they confronted (Alvarado, personal communication, June 30, 2010). Alvarado’s asserted that education and community involvement led to youths’ active participation and confrontation of challenges they faced such as gangs. Community programs operated under an assumption that youth involvement, participation, and learning to confront challenges were touchstones to being agents of change in their own lives and lives of others.

Líderes o delinquentes? [Leaders or delinquents?]: Both youth and others around them often identified two paths their lives could take. Olga Alvarado discussed these as “being a delinquent youth” or “being involved or a leader”. During the meeting she picked up a newspaper and said:

Yo leo eso periódico todos los días en la mañana y [el resumen del título dice algo como] ‘Tantos jóvenes adscribíamos [a una mara]’ o ‘Jóven delincuente hace tan

cosa.' Ya queremos cambiar esa imagen. No queremos más violencia juvenil. No queremos más muertes entre los jóvenes.

{I read this newspaper every day in the morning and [the headline says something like] 'This many youth have become members [of a gang]' or 'A delinquent youth did such and such a thing.' We want to change this image. We don't want more youth violence. We don't want more deaths amongst youths} (Alvarado, personal communication, June 30, 2010).

This statement was representative of the way Alvarado went back and forth between depicting youths as “delinquentes” [delinquents] and “líderes del futuro” [future leaders]. This dichotomous depiction of youths as both the salvation and demise of Honduran society was a contradictory and perplexing narrative from multiple constituents in Honduras. From interviews with my focal participants, to conversations with teachers and community members, to the *El Heraldo* newspaper, youths, their actions, and societal involvement was portrayed as either good and positive, or bad and negative. Stories and photos of youths involved with gangs and drugs posted in the “Sucesos” The [Crimes/Incidents] section of the newspaper showed photographs of mainly young men handcuffed and being escorted by masked police officers or dead bodies strewn in a field (i.e. “El Heraldo,” 2010, p. 66). A few pages away in the metro section was “Es Noticias Positivas” [It's Positive News] of *El Heraldo*. “Es Noticias Positivas” would show photos and articles applauding the youth soccer clubs, community reforestation projects led by youths, and leadership workshops where youths joined together to hone skill sets that would enable them to be part of a brighter tomorrow (Gomez, 2010, p.32).

Youths Naming and Claiming Their Life Paths

The dichotomy of Honduran youths as being “líderes” or “delinquentes” also emerged in my conversations with the youth participants, and the ways their agency was often linked to the “caminos” [paths] they had selected. The youths’ depicted life having two paths - “el camino bueno y el camino malo” [the good path and the bad path]. They envisioned their accomplishments and what they were able to do based on having selected the “good path” during their transition from being a “niño” [child] to a “jóven” [youth]. Being a “jóven” [youth] occurred around age 14 according to a few of the participants (Jordi, personal communication, March 13, 2010; Milton, personal communication, July 26, 2010). Jordi, El Valle, shared a personal story about the time he transitioned from hanging out with kids, to spending time with “los chavos” [teenage guys]. It was in the shift from spending time with other kids to hanging with the teenagers that he confronted a pivotal life moment. He had to choose whether to take “el camino bueno” [the good path] or “el camino malo” [the bad path]. Jordi stated:

Jordi: Cuando empecé a ser chavalo, me llevaba con chavalos de otro lado...

Pero cuando miraba malos aspectos, así que se agarraban (que) no. Entonces no, no va conmigo.

[When I became a teenager, I hung out with guys from the other side... But when I saw signs of bad stuff, that’s when I clung to the decision to not get involved.

So no, not me].

Kate: Y decidió, decidió quitar de ahí? [And you decided, you decided to quit from there?]

Jordi: Sí, salir. [Yes, to leave].

Kate: Y ellos permitieron que tú sales? [And they let you leave?]

Jordi: Sí, primero solo le dicen, ‘Quieres sí o no?’ Y uno le dice, uno decide que no. Pero si uno dice primero que sí y después que no, ahí si vienen los problemas. Yo le dije no.

[Yes, at first they only say, ‘Do you want to join or no?’ And you say, you decide no. But if a person says yes and then says no, that where the problems come from. I told them no] (Jordi, personal communication, March 13, 2010).

In this exchange Jordi explained that at one point he hung out with peers who were in a gang, he was approached to join the gang, and he said “no,” that it was not for him. In that moment he chose “el camino bueno” and positioned himself to not go down the “bad path” involving gang life.

Wolseth (2009) wrote of “paths” in his work on Honduran youth, churches, and gangs. However, his translation, which does not include the original quotation in Spanish, of the two paths were the “wrong path” and the “path of God” or “God’s path” (Wolseth, 2009, p. 97, p. 103). In working with youths in El Valle and El Pino, the paths they described were not strictly categorized as religious and non-religious. Rather, “el camino bueno” [the good path] was described by many youths as including “...estudiar, metas, y seguir adelante” [to study, goals, and (wanting) to get ahead] (Elena, personal communication, July 10, 2010). “Seguir adelante” [to get ahead] was linked by youths to community involvement and being active in organizations such as church youth groups, sports teams, and other organizations that promoted positive behaviors such as staying in school, saying no to drugs, and staying out of gangs.

The second path, “el camino malo” [the bad path] was one that involved “vicios negativos” [bad vices] (Samuel, personal communication, July 1, 2010). “Los vicios negativos” entailed “fumar, beber, drogarse” [smoking, drinking, and taking drugs] and affiliation with a gang - Revol and Ultra Fiel being the two local gangs (Milton, personal communication, March 25, 2010). Gangs were not a primary focus of this study due to the population of youth participants who were invested in their academic achievements and community change and improvement. However, the impact of gangs within El Valle and El Pino, Honduras was an issue raised by numerous participants as they saw the impact gangs and gang membership had on their communities, friends, and in some instances family members [David, Jordi, Milton, Tomas, Angela, Jessica, Lisa, and Mariela (El Valle); Arianna, Elena, Samantha, Vanessa, Carlos, Juan, Mark, and Samuel, (El Pino)].

In addition the youths identified the inability to change “caminos” [paths] once in a young person joined a gang. This was discussed by ten of the nineteen participants and their remarks are similar to the findings posed by Wolseth (2008) in his research with youths in Honduras. Lisa (El Valle) said that her friends within gangs had warned her that once a gang member there were only two ways out - to be killed or to join a church. She said, “ ‘Después no te vas a poder salir. Vas a sufrir tu familia. Vas a sufrir vos’ ” {After [you join] they won’t let you leave. Your family will suffer. You will suffer} (Lisa, personal communication, July 5, 2010). Lisa explained her understanding of how a young person left a gang to join a church:

Antes de salirse, lo golpean todito. Y de allí tiene que entrar a una iglesia evangélica. Y después los mismos mareros lo andan supervisando. Sí llevan las

cosas muy en serio - - las cosas de Dios. Porque... no les gustan que jueguen con las cosas de Dios.

{Before you leave, they beat you up and everything. From there you have to join an evangelical church. And after that the same gang members walk around supervising you. Yes, they [gang members] take things really seriously -- things with God. Because... they don't like when others play around about God and things}(Lisa, personal communication, July 5, 2010).

She went on to say that if someone left a gang, but did not take their religious life seriously (i.e. they walked around drinking and smoking) the gang would kill the ex-member, as they were not truly committed to God (Lisa, personal communication, July 5, 2010).

The option to be agentic in getting out of a gang or changing the path one selected was limited due to the physical and emotional consequences youths faced when leaving a gang. Young people were physically harmed and ostracized by a community of peers if they opted to choose a different path that did not involve gang membership (Jessica & Lisa, personal communication, June 14, 2010; Mariela, personal communication; July 2, 2010; Carlos, Mark & Samuel, personal communication, July 1, 2010). While the youths' spoke to a sense of choice between the two paths, the issue of the anticipated violence or perceived violence experienced if selecting "el camino malo" [the bad path] did not allow for much choice.

The naming of the two paths as "good" and "bad" mirrored the binary descriptors of youths presented in Alvarado's commentary at the beginning of this chapter. The claiming of their life's path intersected with how they talked about the ways they were

able to be decision makers in their lives. For many of the participants, exercising agency began with choosing the “good path,” making that choice, and feeling like their decision had an impact that would last throughout their lives. The ways in which non-formal education programs in the two communities engaged youths within their programs is outlined in the following section.

Community-based, Non-formal Youth Programming and Agency

Select community-based, non-formal youth programming found in both El Valle and El Pino fostered opportunities that enabled the development of youth agency and the taking of the good path. As per the design of the study, all nineteen participants were involved in some type of non-formal youth program. Non-formal education is viewed within this study as focusing on the “improvement of social and personal situations... Non-formal education is practical and functional, and most important, person-centered and need-centered, with the content being determined by the learners’ interests or desires” (Ardizzone, 2007, p. 14).

The cultivation of agency within non-formal education programs. This section explores examples of the ways the youths were involved in the non-formal education programs, along with the characteristics of the non-formal education programs that cultivated and encouraged the youths’ agency. The youths enacted their agency through the various community-based programs that they initiated and carried out in collaboration with the non-formal education programs. As the youths exhibited agency, the ways in which the programs fostered and developed that agency revealed the level of influence the programs had in the youth’s lives.

Table 4

Youths Involvement in Community-based, Non-formal Education Programs

El Valle	
<u>Name</u>	<u>Non-formal education program</u>
Angela	CARE, Evangelical Church – evangelism ministry
Ashley	CARE, Educator, beauty school, beauty workshops
Jessica	CARE, female youth soccer league, Con Vida
Lisa	CARE, female youth soccer league, Con Vida
Mariela	CARE, Evangelical Church – evangelism ministry
David	CARE, Con Vida, recreacional soccer
Jordi	CARE, Con Vida, recreacional soccer
Milton	CARE, recreational soccer
Tomas	CARE
El Pino	
Arianna*	Evangelical Church
Elena*	Catholic Church, after-school program
Marta*	Catholic Church, university law student group
Samantha*	Evangelical Church – youth group leader
Vanessa*	Evangelical Church
Brian	Male youth soccer league
Carlos	Male youth soccer league, Evangelical Church on occasion
Juan*	University student group
Mark	Male youth soccer league, Evangelical Church on occasion
Samuel	Male youth soccer league, Evangelical Church on occasion

* Participants who wanted to start a CARE youth program in El Pino

The non-formal youth programs shared four characteristics that promoted youth agency for themselves and within their own communities. The programs (1) built a level of *trust* between the youths and program personnel and among the youths themselves, (2) had staff and personnel who *listened* to the youths and their ideas, (3) gave youths individual or collective *responsibilities* youth deemed important, and (4) provided the *resources and support* for youths to accomplish their goals within the programs or groups. The non-formal education programs exhibiting these features were run by CARE, the churches, and the youth soccer program in El Pino. In this section, I provide examples the youths described that illustrate the influence of these non-formal education

programs in supporting and developing their agency. After a discussion of the overall influence of non-formal education programs on youth agency, the last section highlights the differences in how the youths in the CARE Youth Program talked about and expressed their agency in comparison to youths from El Valle.

Trust. The establishment of a trusting relationship between the youths and staff members of the non-formal education programs was the first characteristic for building youth agency. The trust between staff members of the various non-formal education programs and the youths secured the youths' willingness to engage with the programs and cultivated a relationship between the youths and adults. This trust was exemplified by the ways the youth talked about their relationships with these individuals, and the way the youth sought them out for support and advice outside of the scope of the non-formal education programs. Tomas (from El Valle) shared a story early on about the role trust played in developing positive relationship with Doña Pilar, Sandra, and the other CARE personnel who oversaw and worked with the youth program. Tomas said:

[Mis, amigos] a mí me avisaron, como le digo, que [CARE] estaban reclutando gente. Pero era para una capacitación que iban a dar para sacar el censo de la comunidad. Ahí empezamos a conocer. Me agrado la gente, bueno formamos parte de unos montos de cosas. Nos reímos, nos enojamos, bueno es bien bonito. Y entonces comencé a tener confianza con Doña Pilar, Sandra, Doña Raquel, un señor que se llama Pablo con Javier, Nestor.

{[My friends] advised me, how do I say it, that [CARE] was recruiting people. But it was for a training they were giving on carrying out the community census. From there we got to know each other. I like the people, and we form a group

that has done a good amount of things. We laugh, we get angry, and, well, it's all really nice. So from there I started to trust Mrs. Pilar, Sandra, Mrs. Raquel, a man named Pablo with Javier [and] Nestor } (Tomas, personal communication, March 13, 2010).

This communication was where he specifically named that trust, but it was noticeable throughout the research study in the way he confided in Doña Pilar about issues regarding his son and ongoing search for a job (Public Fieldnotes, July 12, 2010) and the way he interacted with Sandra, Pablo, and Javier at groups meetings and events. Trust was foundational for Tomas' willingness to collaborate with CARE. That level of trust enabled him to become a part of something where he was influential in the change he brought to his community (Tomas, personal communication, March 13, 2010; Tomas, personal communication, June 29, 2010).

Trust was also enacted among peers in coming together to accomplish and/or achieve something. Within this study there was a range of ways the youths were involved with peers. The example below from an interview with Brian, Mark and Samuel is from the youth soccer program in El Pino and reveals the ways that trust within a sports team added to their agency on the field. The quotation below highlights the ways they collectively sought to improve through identifying and changing behaviors on the field:

Kate: ¿Qué hacen cuando tienen reuniones de equipo?

[Kate: What do you do at soccer practices?]

Samuel: Hablamos sobre los partidos que nos tocan, con quien nos toca, sobre todo eso hablamos.

[Samuel: We talk about the games we play, who we play, we talk about all of that].

Mark: Hablamos de los errores del partido que jugamos anteriormente. En que parte hay que fortalecernos más. Hay veces se cometen como errores infantiles, pues de decir, y entonces buscamos como tapar esos errores.

[Mark: We talk about the mistakes from the previous games we played. In what ways we need to strengthen what are doing more. Sometimes we make, as they say, childish mistakes and then we look for ways to like put a lid on those mistakes].

Brian: Tratar de enmendar los errores que se cometen para los próximos partidos, no cometer los mismos errores. Para que tal vez en el próximo partido tratar de enmendar otro tipo de error.

[Brian: To try and improve the mistakes that they committed for the upcoming games, to not commit the same mistakes. So that at the next game you can try to improve another type of mistake] (Brian, Mark, & Samuel, personal communication, June 26, 2010).

These comments demonstrate the ways in which trust and communication cultivated within this team added to the collective influence they were able to have on and off the field. For these young men, regardless of what was going on in their lives, the soccer field was a space where they collectively problem-solved and took action. They made the calls on what to do and, as demonstrated above, how to improve their performance. The trust within the team promoted them to be agentic on the field in their pursuit of the league championship.

Being listened to. Once trust was established between the youth and staff, and among youths within their peer groups, the act of being listened to was another characteristic in how the programs fostered and promoted the participants' agency. Being listened to and asked questions was not intrinsic to daily interactions among youth and adults in El Valle and El Pino (Arianna and Juan, personal communication, July 29, 2010; David, personal communication, March 10, 2010; Samantha, personal communication, April 23, 2010). Youths reported that their interaction with adults within broader community spaces typically served to quiet youth voices. Samantha (El Pino) shared why she thought adults did not always listen to youths:

Samantha: Bueno a veces, bueno casi no le gustan porque algunos llegan con sus papas a veces algunos se tiran un chiste y dice, 'No. Ya cállate,' o a veces algunos los regañan... En el grupo de jóvenes... estamos con jóvenes no les incomoda y cuando ya están con adultos la cosa es más seria. Y ya cuando están con personas de su propia edad, todo cambia.

[Well sometimes, well the teens don't like it because parents come and sometimes the teens tell a joke and the parent says, 'No. Be quiet,' or sometimes the parents scold them... In the youth group... when we are with other teens it's not uncomfortable, and then when we are with adults things are more serious. And then when you are with someone your own age everything changes]

(Samantha, El Pino, Interview 1).

The formality of adult interactions, according to Samantha, was not welcoming to the energy and joviality present in peer-to-peer interactions. Within the non-formal education programs, the adult/youth interaction was very different. The staff's

willingness to listen to the youths, their ideas, and their problems and/or dreams was validating for the participants (Jessica & Lisa, personal communication, June 16, 2010; Tomas, personal communication, June 29, 2010). That validation confirmed for the participants that what they felt, thought, or said was valuable for their own personal development and for their contribution to the community.

Samantha's (El Pino) experience with her church pastor was an example of the way being listened to promoted her agency. Moreover, this example illustrates the next two characteristics, assignment of responsibilities and the role of staff support and resources from such programs that fostered youth agency. Samantha took part in a Bible study program at her church in which she was the only youth participant among a group of "adultos" [adults] (Samantha, personal communication, April 23, 2010). As the only young person in the program, the pastor sought Samantha's opinion on how to encourage more youths to participate in Bible study. Samantha suggested integrating *dinámicas* [icebreakers] into the Bible study so that there was something fun that went along with fostering their religious and spiritual beliefs. In response to Samantha's advice, the pastor asked her to run and host a Bible study for other young people within her congregation. With her mother's permission, Samantha took on the role and was supported by the pastor and the church in providing supplies and materials for the meetings (Samantha, personal communication, April 23, 2010). This example reveals how the pastor's willingness to listen to and support her ideas enabled her to be more agentic within the church space. She identified herself as a leader and actively spoke of the role and responsibilities she held within her church (Samantha, personal communication, April 23, 2010).

Responsibilities of youths in non-formal programs. The offering of responsibilities by non-formal programs and youths' interest in taking on responsibilities were additional characteristics of the ways non-formal programs fostered youths to be decisions makers and engaged in programs. Having responsibilities in the program in turn positioned the youths to see themselves as active agents of positive change. In addition to Samantha, Mariela's and Angela's memberships in the Evangelical Church in El Valle and participation in the Evangelism Ministry were explored. This example speaks to the ways in which the young women were given responsibilities of perceived importance that was influential in cultivating their agency.

During a conversation with Mariela about her participation with the youth group at her church, she explained that what she did went beyond participation. Mariela said, "Hacemos actividades y salimos a evangelizar la gente, la invitamos a la iglesia. Y ese es nuestro papel, nuestro trabajo." [We do activities and we go out and evangelize to the people, we invite them to the church. And this is our role, our job]. (Mariela, personal communication, March 10, 2010) Mariela's clarification from "role" to "job" spoke to the level of perceived influence and responsibility she attributed to her work within the ministry. By changing the descriptor of her participation, Mariela repositioned the value of her responsibilities from a "role" within the ministry to a "job." The importance she attributed to her responsibilities spoke to the meaningful influence she identified contributing to the mission and outreach of the ministry (McCleary, 2011).

Support and resources. Providing emotional support and/or the physical resources to assist the youths was the final characteristic of these non-formal education programs. Within the contexts of El Valle and El Pino, most youths confronted economic

hardships (CARE, 2010) and some dealt with difficult family situations (Jessica and Lisa, personal communication, June 16, 2010; Jessica and Lisa, personal communication, July 5; Mariela, personal communication, July 2, 2010; Carlos, personal communication, July 1, 2010; Vanessa, personal communication, July 28, 2010). Feeling like they had influence and could be decision makers and actions takers was challenging at times of hardship.

An example of the Sport and Culture Committee of the CARE youth program that sponsored a “relampago de fútbol” [soccer tournament] illustrates how resources helped foster the youths’ agency. May 8, 2010 was a special day for the members of the CARE youth group in El Valle. The CARE youth group saw approximately 200 children and parents converge on a field above the elementary school in El Valle to participate in a girls’ and boys’ soccer tournament. The Sport Committee mobilized their peers in the program to assist with the invitations, tournament sign-up, working with the owner of the field, and with the overall execution. The CARE Education Unit assisted by talking with the school principals to confirm the invitation extended by the youths and by ensuring there were teams of both girls and boys competing from each school. In addition, they brought in a tent and sound system, provided refreshments, and purchased trophies for the winning teams. The youths’ collaboration with CARE enabled them to implement their vision and goal for the community soccer tournament (Public Field Notes, April 22, 2010, May 8, 2010).

Non-formal education spaces were sites for youths to take on new roles and responsibilities, which cultivated their agency. The building of trust, being listened to, taking on responsibilities, and having the support and resources were the four

characteristics of the non-formal education programs in these communities. Trust enabled the program staff to build rapport with the youths and they established a mutual level of collaboration through listening and validating youths' ideas. Through these trusting and collaborative relationships, the youths took on responsibilities within the groups. The resources and support provided by the non-formal education programs enabled the youths to follow through with their ideas and plans within their communities. The resources and support allowed the youths to see that their contributions were valued. The churches, soccer programs, and the CARE youth program all contributed to the development of agency in the El Valle and El Pino youths who participated.

The CARE youth program in the development of youth agency. The third question posed in this study was, *were there differences between the ways youth in a non-governmental organization sponsored group and those who are interested in being part of such a group enacted and constructed their agency?* There were differences in the ways the youths in the CARE group enacted and constructed their agency due in part to the pedagogical framing of the work carried out by the CARE Honduras Education Unit. The Participatory Action Research (PAR) that the CARE Education Unit carried out with the youths to conduct a community census and their ongoing facilitation of self-reflective activities to encourage individual and collective contributions to social change fostered transformative agency (Bajaj, 2008) amongst the youths within the CARE program. Bajaj's (2008) research on transformative agency within Umutende schools in Zambia has similarities with the pedagogical approach of the CARE Honduras Education Unit in their facilitation of community-based social change. The scope of the CARE Education Unit's framing of agency went beyond the overarching definition this study set-out to

explore and included the promotion of transformative agency (Bajaj, 2008). The remainder of this chapter explores the ways that the Participatory Action Research carried out by CARE with the youths in El Valle and the integration of self-reflection in CARE's pedagogy was influential in fostering transformative agency.

Participatory Action Research and transformative agency. Participatory Action Research (PAR) is a methodology employed around community interventions and grassroots change (Brown & Tandon, 2008). PAR calls upon participants within the communities to be active collaborators in the planning of research and collection of data within their communities. The PAR methodology typically integrates a social justice perspective into the work being carried out to raise awareness about specific inequities within the community. When this methodology is used with youth, Torre and Fine (2006) suggest it “repositions youth as researchers rather than as the researched” (pg. 458). The CARE Education Unit's use of PAR techniques positioned the youths as a method to gain knowledge and gather information about their community, which in turn was used to encourage them to get involved and change the educational circumstances of their peers and younger children within the community (CARE, 2006; Ashley, personal communication, March 13, 2010; Angela, personal communication, March 10, 2010; David, personal communication, March 13, 2010; Milton, personal communication, March 25, 2010).

All the youths from El Valle discussed how their involvement in one or both of the two census projects, conducted in 2006 and 2008, altered their understanding of the broader community needs, and particularly the needs of children and other youths. The first census was completed in 2006 to investigate the overarching needs of their

community, as well as gather data to discern the extent of poverty in the community (CARE, 2006). The findings from that census, which were compiled and analyzed by the CARE Education Unit and youths, showed that education was a broad-based concern to children, youths, and adults within the community of El Valle. Ashley (El Valle) outlined the findings from the first census:

Ashley: Porque al momento de hacer el censo, fue lo (educación) que notamos - - que habían bastante niños y jóvenes que asistían a la escuela que no tenían acceso a la educación. Entonces si decimos preocuparnos por esa parte que todos tienen que educarse.

[Because from the moment of the census, it {education} was what we noticed - - that there were so many children and youth who dropped out of school and that didn't have access to education. So from there, we said we would focus on ensuring that everyone has an education] (Ashley, personal communication, March 13, 2010).

The PAR approach instilled a sense of commitment on the part of the youths from the onset. Those that participated in the first data collection returned for the second and invited friends and family to join (Angela, personal communication, March 10, 2010; David, personal communication; March 13, 2010). Having an awareness of the needs of others through a PAR approach engaged the youths to be agentic in their outreach and continued work toward community improvements.

The second census, completed in 2008, identified what was impeding children and youths from attending school in El Valle. The youth went house to house administering a survey. David (El Valle) explained the survey administration process:

David: Nos íbamos a las casas a preguntarles porque motivo, circunstancias no iban a clases o la escuela o colegio y que nosotros íbamos a hacer algo para que no perdieran. Y entonces nosotros andábamos haciendo eso de casa en casa...

Todos trabajamos en equipo y nos fue bien. Casi la mayoría de casas la encontramos, la gente si no había la gente en ese día volvíamos otro día.

{We went to the houses asking what motivated [the children and youths], the circumstances why they did not go to primary or secondary school, and [told them] that we were going to do something so they didn't miss out. And so we walked from house to house doing this... We worked as a team and we did well. We found the majority of the houses. If people weren't at home, we returned another day} (David, personal communication, March 13, 2010).

The CARE Education Unit used this information to implement a number of new programs in El Valle. They sponsored a kindergarten program; implemented the Educadores program, an alternative education program sponsored by USAID in Honduras for completion of grades one through eight; and create the youth program in which the youth data collectors were the initial participants.

All nine study participants in El Valle spoke at length about what they accomplished in the two data collection processes as part of the PAR method employed by the CARE Honduras Education Unit. Mariela's remarks embody the excitement and pride they expressed in seeing their peers be able to return to school, and, in Lisa's case, getting to return to school herself to complete her primary education. Mariela stated:

Mariela: Yo dije sí es un bien para comunidad. Y bastante ha servido porque ahora las personas que no estudian ahora están estudiando y eso es un avance. Es

algo como una victoria. No estudiaban a veces eran personas que no estudiaban nada... Ahora ya tienen algo que hacer. Y algún día que quieran emprender una carrera y ya pueden hacerlo perfectamente porque después de ciclo.

{I said yes, it is a good thing for the community. And it's really going to serve the community because now the people [youths] who were not studying, now they are studying and this is a breakthrough. It's something like a victory. The people [youths] who didn't study sometimes are the ones who have not studied at all.

And now they have something to do. And one day if they want to pursue a career, and now they can most certainly do it after the class cycle}.

Kate: ¿Y ud. esta hablando de EDUCATODOS que ustedes empezaron?

[And are you talking about the EDUCATODOS program you all started?]

Mariela: Sí, del colegio de la noche.

[Yes, the night school] (Mariela, personal communication, March 10, 2010).

The CARE Education Unit's use of the PAR approach deepened the young people's understanding of the issues and their commitments within the community.

“Ayudar” [to help], “cumplir” [to complete], “orgulloso” [proud/pride], and “motivacion” [motivation] were keywords from Lisa's discussion about the impact her work had on the census and education programs in El Valle, and the impact helping had on her (Lisa, personal communication, June 16, 2010). “Ayuda” [help], or some variation of “ayudar” [to help], was stated 79 times by the El Valle participants in the first round of interviews in regards to what they did and/or accomplished as part of the youth program. The PAR approach through CARE enabled them to take initiative and see the influence they had in the betterment of El Valle. The nine youths who worked

with CARE expressed how their ongoing work had changed the lives of their peers and participants in the new educational initiatives as well as their own lives.

Self-reflection, student-centered pedagogy, and transformative agency. In addition to involving the youth in participatory action research, CARE engaged them in reflective activities related to evaluating what they had done and accomplished within their community of El Valle. The CARE Education Unit walked students through reflective, student-centered activities that fostered the youths' naming and claiming of what they had accomplished, what they had learned, and how their actions and participation in the program changed them as individuals and within the larger "youthscape" of their community (Maira & Soep, 2005).

The CARE Education Unit engaged participants in activities that got them to think about themselves and their lives, goals, and obstacles in relation to their community. Self-reflection augmented, or intensified, the participants' interests and ability to change themselves and their community. Below is a synopsis of a group meeting held on March 24, 2010 which illustrates the ways in which CARE facilitated the youths' self-reflection through a guided debrief activity.

On March 24, 2010 the youths from El Valle gathered in the conference rooms on the third floor of the CARE Honduras Office in central Tegucigalpa for a meeting. The Director of the Education Unit, Pilar, planned a session with the youths in El Valle as a debrief on what the youths had learned and taken from the youth program over the previous two years. The group was embarking on new projects within El Valle after having met only intermittently during the second half of 2009 due to the political coup in June 2009. It was not until January 2010 that the youths in El Valle and the CARE

Education Unit again met with any regularity. For this reason the meeting also served to regain the vision and direction of the group moving forward.

As most of the CARE youth group participants were enrolled in “primer turno” [first shift] of classes held in the mornings, the meeting was scheduled for the early afternoon at 2:00. The Director of the Education Unit, Doña Pilar, and the head of the Governance Unit, Don Gerardo, designed an activity that would foster self-reflection and group reflection on what the youths viewed as the “aprendizajes” [learnings] they took away from being a part of the group, the “requisitos” [requirements] they viewed as necessary for others to join the group, and the “trabajos más grandes” [biggest jobs (success)] they had accomplished in being part of the group (see Appendix I for the lists compiled by the youths during the meeting).

Don Gerardo started the meeting with a synopsis of his own life experience; as did many community leaders in Honduras. In working with youths in El Valle and El Pino, many community leaders shared with the youths that they came from similar backgrounds, had big dreams, and were able to succeed by staying in school and working hard (see Public Field Notes from March 19 and March 24, 2010). The activities the youths engaged in required individual, small-group, and large-group reflection and conversation. To start, the youths were asked to write the most important moment they had experienced as part of the CARE youth program. Of the focal participants at the meeting, Lisa shared that starting the alternative night school for the children and youths in the community was her greatest moment in the group; Mariela mentioned the group meetings and being united and happy together; Angela said incentivizing youths to continue studying; Ashley spoke about volunteering with the alternative night program;

Jordi stated participating in the census and David said he could not pick just one moment - that there were many moments that were important to him. As the discussion unfolded, Don Gerardo did not rush the participants. Rather, he gave each of them the space to think and share the most relevant moment they had had in being part of the CARE youth program.

Don Gerardo summarized the respondents' comments by sharing with them the three central themes he identified as stemming from their answers. The overarching themes were (1) learning about the problems their peers in El Valle confronted in accessing education and the needs of their community through the census, (2) learning to work together as a group, and (3) being part of the opening of the alternative night program as a volunteer teacher and/or assistant. The synopsis of the three central themes provided a larger framework through which the participants were able to think about and articulate their accomplishments and what they had learned from taking part in the program.

This summary of the March 24, 2010 meeting demonstrates the pedagogical approach used in engaging the youths in self-reflective activities. The conversation guided by Don Gerardo prompted the self-reflection of the youths in thinking through what they had done individually and collectively in being a part of the CARE youth programs, which included the census projects. Asking youths to reflect on their roles, responsibilities and accomplishments within a community improvement project fostered an environment in which they were not passive recipients of information but rather the bearers of knowledge and information. Using these pedagogies, the CARE Honduras

Education Unit cultivated transformative agency within the youths that was distinct in comparison to the other non-formal education programs.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

This study of youths in two peri-urban communities of Honduras investigated themes of gender, agency, and youth to contribute to a growing body of literature focused on both young women and young men's experiences in the construction and expression of agency. The study was conducted from February to August 2010, with a trip in March 2011 to do participant feedback sessions in Honduras and in collaboration with the CARE Honduras Education Unit. The study focused on three research questions that intersected with the work being done around the Patsy Collins Trust Fund Initiative. The questions framing the study focused on how young women and young men constructed and enacted their agency, if there were differences between how their agency was expressed due to gender, and if there were differences in the agency of youths in different non-formal youth programs – including the CARE youth program in El Valle. The three questions undertaken in this study were:

1. In what ways are constructions and enactments of agency different or similar between young men and young women?
2. How do young Honduran women and men participating in a youth community organizations construct and enact their agency?
3. Are there differences between the ways youth in a non-governmental organization sponsored group and those who are interested in being part of such a group enact and construct their agency?

How youths constructed their agency and how that construction differed for young men and young women were influenced by: 1) the cultural construct of machismo,

and, 2) gender identities. From this study, I sought to unpack the ways youths continually negotiated their agency within different public and private places and spaces based on the issues they confronted and their identities as young women and men. Cultural constructs surrounding gender identities are present within any study investigating agency or empowerment; however, the focus is typically on what limits girls and women's agency. The term "gendering agency" within this study included both women and men and anticipated gender norms within and across various spaces within their communities. The gendering of youths' agency was enacted when the youths diverted from gender norms and prescribed gender identities in making decisions and taking actions regardless of the culturally assigned roles of what it meant to be a young woman and a young man in these communities. This study illustrates both the limitations on youth's agency and how agency can be used toward more equitable gender relations.

The second takeaway from this study is how youth agency is gendered and enacted through non-formal education and community programming. These were productive spaces for youths to cultivate a sense of self in relation to their communities, and, in some spaces, to their own faith and values. I assert that non-formal education programs are one site within which youths' foster the development of agency, which they then enact collectively, and then cultivate within themselves on an individual level. The self-reflection activities conducted by CARE in their youth program enabled participants in El Valle to move from implicit knowledge of gender issues to act agentially in comparison to their peers in El Pino. The collective agency of the CARE youth program encouraged that the participants would enact individual agency outside of the program.

Like in any research, additional questions emerged from this study. The importance of family, and parents specifically, in the cultivation of agency was a central finding from interacting with the youths in this research. A future study could focus solely on the impact and role of parents in the cultivation of agency among children and youth. Symbolic violence was another theme that emerged in the study. Additional research needs to be carried out in order to understand the connections between youths' agency and the symbolic violence that exists in communities such as El Pino and El Valle where symbolic violence is endemic within the society. Finally, how and whether agency changes over time is an important issue that surfaced during this study. Longitudinal studies of agency may better speak to the ways in which the participants' understanding and enactment of agency might change over time, and to how it might be affected by other changes in life circumstances.

This chapter will discuss the contributions of the study to the scholarship and practice on gender and agency, and the shaping of youths' agency in relation to non-formal organizations. The overall contributions of the study will be followed by implications for those doing work on gender as well as youth agency and outreach. Recommendations will be outlined after the implications and overarching concluding thoughts will be presented at the end.

Contributions of the Study to Conceptualizations of Agency

The findings from this study contribute to an evolving conversation about gender, agency and youth within the field of gender and development. This study included examinations of both young women and young men who were experiencing what Murphy-Graham (2009) calls the “reorganization of gender relations in everyday lives”

through “increased consciousness of gender equality” (p. 516). A brief summation of recent manuscripts on this topic will position the contribution of this study in relation to other research. Murphy-Graham’s research (2009; 2011) in Honduras with the Sistema de Aprendizaje Tutorial (SAT) program spoke to the way the program’s texts, tutors, group discussions, and community involvement led to “increased gender consciousness” and “improved relational resources” within which there became an “intersection for the possibility for change” (2009, p. 517). The notion of an “intersection for change” was a theme that Stromquist and Fischman (2009) summoned in their introduction featured in the special edition of the *International Review of Education* focused on gender and agency. Stromquist and Fischman (2009) called on investigation of agency both as an act of “resistance” and “transgression” in relation to gender norms. Like Murphy-Graham, they identified “the intersectionality of gender dynamics” as point of “the creation of new social attitudes and practices” (Stromquist & Fischman, 2009, p. 468). Bajaj and Pathmarajah (2011) have taken up Stromquist and Fischman’s (2009) identification of agency as acts of “resistance” and “transgression” in their analysis of data on girls and boys in schools in both India and Zambia. Utilizing Deutsch’s (2007) framework for *undoing gender*, Bajaj and Pathmarajah investigated the ways in which boys experienced what they termed a sense of “privileged agency” in seeking to change gender norms (p. 59).

This study extends the concepts of gender and agency in two key ways. First, when conducting research on gender and agency, the social norms surrounding gender identities within a community should be probed and investigated to understand the nuance in the social construction within that given space and place. Within the

communities of El Valle and El Pino, “machismo” was an overarching norm that served as a default by participants to explaining gender inequalities. Additionally, the CARE Education Unit focused on the gender norms for young women when outlining issues concerning gender inequality in the communities (CARE Republic of Honduras, 2008). However, it was through discussions with young men and young women focused on different spaces a more nuanced narrative on gender norms emerged. While household responsibilities of young women within the home negatively impacted their attendance at school (CARE, 2007a), pressures to join gangs and the social stigma of achieving for young men within the school space contributed to the drop-out of young men in lower secondary and secondary schools. Thus, the youths constructed and enacted their agency in ways that were influenced by gender norms outside the mainstream narrative of gender issues within Honduras.

Based on the emergent themes described in the previous paragraph, the second contribution of this study is the concept of gendering of youth agency. As previously defined in Chapter 2, agency is the meaningful influence youth feel they have in the decisions they make and actions they take, individually or collectively, in their lives. The gendering of agency was a term offered in Chapter 4 with regard to the ways youths constructed and enacted their agency across various places and spaces and in relation to their gender. In my observations of the group of nineteen engaged youths, agency was not something that participants had or did not have; agency was something that they enacted based on the conditions of their location and their surroundings. For example, as cited in Chapter 4, Mariela (El Valle) was unable to act agentially during a church activity, but was in relation to how she interpreted Bible scripture regarding the role of

the woman in relation to a man when it came to decision making. The gendering of their agency spoke to the “transgressions” and “resistances” identified by Stromquist and Fischman (2009) in how they navigated what they did and felt able to do across different spaces and places.

Vanessa’s experience as both victim of gender oppression within her family and agent for community in her work with the newly forming youth program spoke to the ways she resisted her father’s expectations of her as a young woman, and transgressed being excluded from the student government--as the only young women involved were dating young men on the council--and instead got involved with the CARE program (Vanessa, personal communication, July 28, 2010). The concept of gendering agency requires a close examination of the ways youths seek to transcend the gender norms held for them within their community and country contexts. While the social structures can provide constraints, Gutman’s (1996) assertion above, that “gender identity is constructed anew” (p. 18), speaks to the ways gender and agency are negotiated in how both are constructed and enacted at the “interactional level” (Deutsch, 2007, p. 114). This study provides insights at the community level on the ways the youths negotiated agency across genders and enacted a gendering of their agency.

Implications for NGOs Addressing Gender Inequalities

CARE Honduras, as part of the consortium of CARE offices across Central America, Bolivia and Peru, has integrated an approach toward addressing gender inequities across all departments and projects. CARE Honduras held a two-day workshop March 11 and 12, 2010 with managers from the field and central offices to discuss how to include girls and women in all community-based work, and what is

needed for a long-term investment in working with the communities. Within CARE Honduras' Strategic Plan, they introduced a theory of change that looked to address issues pertaining to gender, identified as "mujeres y niñas" [women and girls] and look for ways to integrate a measurable gender focus into their programs (Public Fieldnotes, March 11-12, 2010). CARE's commitment to making concerns related to gender central to the work they are doing across programmatic areas speaks to the commitment it has for improving the lives of girls and women, and adds to the work of community-based groups in Honduras addressing gender inequities and related issues.

While gender is central to the work being carried out, the organization has not implemented ongoing professional training for staff to educate them on theoretical constructions of gender and practical implications addressing gender inequities within the country and across the region. The promotion of equitable gender relations amongst and within communities, as called on by Murphy-Graham (2009), requires staff who are able to carry out programming and formulate messaging that is inclusive of women and men and supportive of changes that will ensure gender equity for all. Changes that alter men and women's attitudes and behaviors require ongoing conversations and support. Those leading discussions that call on attitude and behavior change should not only know the gender policy enacted within CARE, but understand how to foster discussions around and on gender equity issues.

Implications for Government Entities Working with Youths

The Honduran government has made efforts to engage children and youths through their changes to public education and the creation of the National Youth Institute. With approximately 2,896,000 youths between the ages of 12-30 (*La Prensa*, August 1,

2009), making up 38% of the overall population, ensuring an educated, trained, and civically engaged population is important for the country's future. This study focused on young people who sought to make a difference and were often achieving it. Community-based groups such as churches, non-profits within Honduras, and non-governmental organizations such as CARE Honduras do make a difference in fostering positive youth development and engaging youths in community change which is impactful in developing their sense of agency.

That said, youths from both communities had very little faith in government entities and their ability to provide assistance to youths with regard to education, job training, and individual safety in terms of police protection and protection against gender discrimination (Carlos, Mark, & Samuel, personal communication, July 7, 2010; Milton, personal communication, July 26, 2010; Vanessa, personal communication, July 28, 2010; Jessica & Lisa, personal communication, June 14, 2010). Youths need to see and feel the impact of policies made at the state level in their own lives, and within their own communities.

Recommendations for CARE Honduras and NGOs working on issues pertaining to gender and youth within Central America

Integrating gender in a human rights approach. The CARE Education Unit's approach pertaining to gender inequalities were described as being grounded in a human rights-based approach rather than a gender equity approach. Their knowledge of the communities, and own expertise as a team, positioned them to speak to the rights of everyone rather than the rights of one group in relation to another (Pilar, personal communication, March 11, 2010). The rights-based approach impacted the youths in El Valle when they collaborated with CARE on the community census. Their sensitization

of issues pertaining to poverty and children's inability to access education had a lasting impact on them.

However, if a human rights approach is to be implemented, participants need to understand what rights are not being met, by which populations, who needs to be involved, and how they can be involved in changing the implementation of those rights. Monkman, Miles, & Easton (2008) showed that a human rights-based education and outreach program in Mali and the Sudan changed villages' understanding of girls' rights. They saw the human rights approach working through raising critical awareness, reshaping attitudes, engaging in personal transformation, and promoting collective action (Monkman, Miles, & Easton, 2008). Within El Valle and El Pino, Honduras, the conversation around girls' education needs to move beyond issues of access (which are limited due to chores and girls' vulnerability to sexual harassment) and examine the issues confronting girls and boys in relation to one another, their families, and the community. Issues identified in this study include promotion of girls' and young women's participation in soccer programs, normalizing boys and young men's assistance within the household, equal division of leadership roles within non-formal and formal educational settings, clearly identified and available resources for youths' experiencing gender-based violence, ways to make school-success desirable and socially acceptable for both genders, and ideas on ways to talk about gender equality that do not alienate boys and men from engaging in the conversations.

Inclusive understandings of gender and community leadership. This study provides data on the ways that young women and men within both communities expressed a gendering in their agency that for many led to a negotiation of how they

understood assumed or normalized gender roles and the ways they disrupted and “transgressed” those roles (Stromquist & Fischman, 2009). Peer-to-peer outreach was an effective way to reach youths in El Valle, as through the implementation of the Educados alternative night school program. Youths who adopted perspectives that speak to greater gender equity within the home and community spaces should be mentored to do outreach and programming with their peers. Programming and dialog that encourages and disrupts homogenous (and essentialized) understandings of masculinity and femininity would be impactful in promoting greater rights and integration for young women in community spaces and activities, and could provide alternate constructions of what it means to be a young man outside of the gang and drug culture and within the home and a relationship.

Work with parents of youth participants who exhibit gender equal perspectives. Parents were generally the most influential in encouraging their children to be agentic within the community and in collaboration with a community organization such as CARE, the churches, or COMVIDA. There were obviously exceptions to this, including Jessica’s father, Vanessa’s parents, and Arianna’s mother; across the board, however, family support was a theme that returned again and again. As such, mothers and fathers who are supportive of gender rights and equality should be brought to the table in support of the work being done by community and NGOs around gender equality. The different levels of support in changing gender norms should be strategically used to put together programming relevant to different families within the community. As an example, Angela’s mother and father could talk about why they continue to support their daughters’ education and return to school. Her parents could

also speak to the benefits of encouraging young women to be involved within the community such as the CARE program and the Evangelical Church. Milton and Tomas' mother and father could also share how they involved their sons in household tasks and what that has meant for them as young men and husbands. They might also share what they did to help their sons avoid gang involvement. Working with parents would take additional personnel support, or using a curriculum designed for both parents and youths.

Recommendations for NGO and Government Organizations Addressing Youth Agency

Youth participants expressed various ways in which they enacted their agency in relation to their own education, sports, church involvement, their peers, and their families in terms of the decisions they made and actions they took toward fulfilling hopes and goals. While there are a number of youth education initiatives and non-formal programs across Honduras, the programming is not consistently reaching the youths with regard to employment, safety, and education to help youths facing addiction problems and the temptation of (or inability to leave) gang life. A possible next step would be to create a consortium for non-governmental and government agencies working with Honduran youth on issues related to agency and empowerment. There is such a consortium within Honduras for organizations working on issues concerning children. The consortium could cull resources and best practices in working with youth on the aforementioned issues Honduran youths confront. They could strategically seek to review the regions and areas within major cities where there is outreach and there are initiatives to engage the youths, and fill in the gaps where work is not being done, or where more work is needed. A consortium of youth programs could connect youths to the support systems available to them – especially in relation to situations wherein youths do not feel like they have

agency. The UNDP report on youths in Honduras (PNUD, 2009) is a comprehensive report that, along with this study, would provide a roadmap to key issues of importance to young people in Honduras.

Conclusion

The gendering of youth agency was investigated through this research study. The study established that traditional gender roles for young women and men were understood and enacted by most youths, but remained malleable. The malleability of their gender identity in relation to the youths' homes, community spaces, churches, sports programs, and youth programs was evidence that the shifting of gender norms and cultivation of agency is possible with a population of older youths. The construction of gender roles and assumption of a gender identity is often seen as occurring early in life. However, the youths' engagement in discussing and questioning the ways in which gender is assigned and constructed demonstrates that avenues do exist for cultivating environments wherein youths are able to "resist" and "transgress" by enacting their agency (Stromquist & Fischman, 2009). The forty-four youths, and specifically the nineteen participants, were active agents in making positive, productive choices in their lives. They had elected, as they described, "el camino bueno" [the good path] which served as a beacon in their lives with regard to education, jobs, and economic security.

REFERENCES

- Ad hoc working group for youth and the MDGs. (2005). Youth and the Millennium Development Goals: Challenges and opportunities for implementation. Retrieved on July 14, 2009 from <http://tig.phpwebhosting.com/themes/mdg/YouthMDG.pdf>.
- Adichie, C. (2009). The danger of a single story. TED Talk: Ideas worth spreading. Retrieved on October 13, 2009 from http://www.ted.com/talks/chimamanda_adichie_the_danger_of_a_single_story.html
- Agnes, M. (Ed.). (2004). *Webster's new world college dictionary* (fourth edition). Cleveland, OH: Wiley Publishing, Inc.
- Ahearn, L. (2001). Language and agency. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 30, 109-137.
- Aikman, S. & Unterhalter, E. (Eds.). (2005). *Beyond access: Transforming policy and practice for gender equality in education*. Herndon, VA: Stylus Publishing.
- Anderson, E. (1995). Feminist epistemology: An interpretation and a defense. *Hypatia*, 10(3), 50-84.
- Ardizzone, L. (2007). *Getting' my word out*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.
- Ardizzone, L. (2008). Motivating and supporting activist youth: A view from nonformal settings. In M. Flynn & D.C. Brotherton (Eds.), *Globalizing the streets: Cross-cultural perspectives on youth, social control, and empowerment* (pp. 273-286). New York, NY: Columbia University Press.
- Arroyo Vargas, R. & Jiménez Sandoval, R. (2010). Análisis de información sobre violencia doméstica. Tegucigalpa, Honduras: Instituto Nacional de la Mujer.

[Analysis of information on domestic violence. Tegucigalpa, Honduras: National Institute of the Woman]. Retrieved on March 24, 2013 from the UN Secretary-General's database on violence against women:
<http://sgdatabase.unwomen.org/searchDetail.action?measureId=38597&baseHREF=country&baseHREFId=612>.

Averett, P., Benson, M., & Vaillancourt, K. (2008). Young women's struggle for sexual agency: The role of parental messages. *Journal of Gender Studies*, 17(4), 331-344.

Bajaj, M. & M. Pathmarajah. (2011). Engendering agency: The differentiated impact of educational initiatives in Zambia and India. *Feminist Formations*, 23(3), 48-67.

Bajaj, M. (2008). 'I have the big things planned for my future': The limits and possibilities of transformative agency in Zambian schools. *Compare*, 39(4), 551-568 .

Barker, G. (2006a). Engaging boys and men to empower girls: Reflections from practice and evidence of impact. Presented at the United Nations Division for the Advancement of Women (DAW) Expert Group Meeting, Florence, Italy, September 25-28, 2006.

Barker, G. (2006b). Men's participation as fathers in Latin America and the Caribbean: Critical literature review and policy options. In I. Bannon & M. Correia (Eds.), *The other half of gender: Men's issues in development* (pp. 43-72). Washington D.C.: World Bank.

- Bartky, S. L. (1995). Agency: What's the problem? In J. Gardiner (Ed.), *Provoking agents: Gender and agency in theory and practice* (pp. 178-193). Urbana & Chicago, IL: University of Illinois Press.
- Bennett, A., Cieslik, M., & S. Miles (Eds.) (2003). *Researching youth*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Bordon, A. (2003). School experience and girls' empowerment: The cases of three secondary schools in poor rural Mexico. Paper presented at the Latin American Studies Association conference in Pittsburgh, PA April 2003.
- Bourdieu, P. (1977). *Outline of a theory of practice*. London: Cambridge University Press.
- Brown, D. & R. Tandon. (2008). Action research partnerships and social impacts: The institutional collaboration of PRIA and IDR. In P. Reason & H. Bradbury (Eds.), *The Sage handbook of action research: Participative inquiry and practice* (2nd edition) (pp. 227-235). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications Ltd.
- Bucheli, B. & Ditren Perdomo, M. (2001). Latin American regional workshop: Managua, Nicaragua. In P. Oakley (Ed.), *Evaluating empowerment: Reviewing the concept and practice* (pp. 105-108). Oxford, UK: INTRAC Publication.
- Bucholtz, M. (2002). Youth and cultural practice. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 31, 525-552.
- Butler, J. (2004). *Undoing Gender*. New York & London: Routledge.
- CARE International. (2012). *The Young men initiative: Engaging young men in the Western Balkans in gender equality and violence prevention*. Banja Luka, Bosnia Herzegovina: CARE International.

- CARE International. (n.d.). CARE International gender policy. Retrieved on September 8, 2009 from <http://gender.care2share.wikispaces.net/CARE+CI+Gender+Policy>.
- CARE International. (n.d.) Engaging men and boys. Retrieved on March 15, 2013 from <http://gender.care2share.wikispaces.net/Engaging+Men+%26+Boys>.
- CARE, Republic of Honduras. (n.d.). *Plan operativo anual de jovenes*. Tegucigalpa, Honduras.
- CARE, Republic of Honduras. (2008). *Informe estudio situacional*. Tegucigalpa, Honduras: CARE Honduras.
- CARE, Republic of Honduras. (2010a). Education Unit data collection of El Valle and El Pino, Honduras. Report compiled by CARE Education Unit. Tegucigalpa, Honduras.
- CARE, Republic of Honduras. (2010b.). *Renacer – PCTFI: Performance Report*. Tegucigalpa, Honduras. CARE, USA. (n.d.). *CARE USA's Revised Gender Policy*. Atlanta, GA: CARE.
- CARE, USA. (2006). *Patsy Collins Trust Fund Initiative (PCTFI) indicator framework: An initiative to support education for marginalized girls*. Atlanta, GA: CARE.
- CARE, USA. (2007a). *PCTFI Cohort 2: Workshop report*. Atlanta, GA: CARE.
- CARE, USA (2007b). *Patsy Collins Trust Fund Initiative*. Atlanta, GA: CARE.
- Chant, S. & N. Craske. (2003). *Gender in Latin America*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
- Chant, S. & M.C. Gutmann. (2002). 'Men-streaming' gender? Questions for gender and development policy in the twenty-first century. *Progress in Development Studies*, 2, 269-282.

- Chafetz, J. S. (1997). Feminist theory and sociology: Underutilized contributions for mainstream theory. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 23, 97-120.
- Chudgar, A. (2008). Looking beyond the household. In M.A. Maslak (ed.), *The Structure and Agency of Women's Education* (pp. 201-215). Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.
- Cieslik, M. (2003). Introduction: Contemporary youth research: Issues, controversies and dilemmas. In A. Bennett, M. Cieslik, & S. Miles (Eds.), *Researching Youth* (pp. 1-10). New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Clifford, J. (1990). Notes on (field)notes. In R. Sanjec (Ed.), *Fieldnotes: The makings of anthropology* (pp. 51-67). Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Cohen, M.A. & M. Rubio. (2007). *Violence and crime in Latin America*. San José, Costa Rica: Consulta de San José.
- Commission on the Status of Women. (2000). *Guidelines for a gender analysis: Human rights with a gender perspective*. San Francisco, CA: Commission on the Status of Women.
- Connell, R.W. (2005). Change among the gatekeepers: Men, masculinities, and gender equality in the global arena. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture & Society*, 30(3), 1801-1825.
- Connell, R.W. (2002). *Gender*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.
- Connell, R.W. (2000). *The men and the boys*. Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press.
- Corsaro, W. (2005). *The sociology of childhood* (2nd edition). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.

- Cortina, R. & Stromquist, N.P. (Eds.). (2000). *Distant Alliances: Promoting Education for Girls and Women in Latin America*. New York & London: RoutledgeFalmer.
- Cresswell, J.W. (2007). *Qualitative inquiry & research design: Choosing among five approaches* (2nd edition). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.
- Dawson, E. (1999). Gender: Assessing the impact. In C. Sweetman, I. Smyth, & F. Porter (Eds.), *Gender works: Oxfam experience in policy and practice* (pp. 124-131). Herndon, VA: Stylus Publishing.
- DeJaeghere, J. (2004). Quality education and gender equality. Presented at the International Conference on Education in Geneva, Switzerland, September 8-11, 2004.
- DeJaeghere, J. & McCleary, K. (2010). The making of Mexican migrant youth civic identity: Transnational spaces and imaginaries. *Anthropology of Education Quarterly*, 40(3), 228-244.
- Denzin, N.F. & Lincoln, Y.S. (2005). *Handbook of qualitative research* (third edition). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Deutsch, N. (2004). Positionality and the pen: Reflections on the process of becoming a feminist researcher and writer. *Qualitative inquiry*, 10, 885-902.
- DeVault, M.L. (1999). *Liberating method: Feminism and social research*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.
- Dillabough, J.A. (2006). 'Education feminism(s)', gender theory and social thought: Illuminating moments and critical impasses. In C. Skelton, B. Francis & L. Smulyan (Eds.), *The SAGE handbook of gender and education* (pp. 48-62). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications.

- Duggan, L., Nisonoff, L., & Wiegersman, N. (Eds.). (1997). *The women, gender, & development reader*. London: Zed Books Ltd.
- Durham, D. (2008). Apathy and agency: The romance of agency and youth in Botswana. In J. Cole & D. Durham (Eds.), *Figuring the future: Globalisation and the temporalities of children and youth* (pp. 151-178). Santa Fe, NM: School for Advanced Research Press.
- El Heraldo. (2010, June 14). Cae banda de asaltantes: Los maleantes operaban en los baños y parqueo de centros comerciales. *El Heraldo*, p. 66.
- Espinoza-Herold, M. (2007). Stepping beyond sí se puede: Dichos as a cultural resource in mother-daughter interaction in a Latino family. *Anthropology & Education Quarterly*, 38(3), 260-277.
- Fernández, H. (1996). Persistent inequalities in women's education in Peru. In J.K. Conway & S.C. Bourque (Eds.), *The politics of women's education: Perspectives from Asia, Africa, and Latin America* (pp. 207-216). Ann Arbor, MI: The University of Michigan Press.
- Gardner, J. (Ed.). (1995). *Provoking agents: Gender and agency in theory and practice*. Urbana & Chicago, IL: University of Illinois Press.
- Giddens, A. (1979). *Central problems in social theory: Action, structure and contradiction in social analysis*. Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press.
- Giddens, A. & Pierson, C. (1998). *Conversations with Anthony Giddens: Making sense of modernity*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

- Ginwright, S. & Cammarota, J. (2007). Youth activism in the urban community: Learning critical civic praxis within community organizations. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, 20(6), 693-710.
- Giroux, H.A. (2002). Teen girls' resistance and the disappearing social in ghost world. *The Review of Education, Pedagogy, and Cultural Studies*, 24, 283-304.
- Gomez, K. (2010, June 14). Su unieron para preservar los pulmones de su colonia. [Youth unite to save the community's lungs]. *El Heraldo*, 32.
- González, M. (2012). UNICEF-supported study sheds light on gangs in Honduras. Retrieved on March from http://www.unicef.org/infobycountry/honduras_65204.html.
- González, R. (Ed.). (1996). *Muy macho: Latino men confront their manhood*. New York, NY: Anchor Books, Doubleday.
- Gordon, R. (1998). 'Girls cannot think as boys do': Socialising children through the Zimbabwean school system. *Gender and Development*, 6(2), 53-58.
- Gordon, T. (2006). Girls in education: Citizenship, agency and emotions. *Gender and Education*, 18(1), 1-15.
- Gutmann, M. C. (1996). *The Meanings of Macho: Being a Man in Mexico City* (10th Anniversary Edition). Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press.
- Hadden, K. & London, B. (1996). Educating girls in the third world; the demographic, basic needs and economic benefits. *International Journal of Comparative Sociology*, 37(1-2), 31-46.

- Haraway, D. (1988). Situated knowledge: The science question in feminism and the privilege of partial perspective. *Feminist Studies*, 14(3), 575-599.
- Honwana, A. & De Boeck, F. (Eds.) (2005). *Makers & breakers: Children & youth in postcolonial Africa*. Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, Inc.
- hooks, b. (1989). *Talking back: Thinking feminist, thinking black*. Cambridge, MA: South End Press.
- Hughes, C. (2002). *Key concepts in feminist theory and research*. Thousand Oakes, CA: SAGE Publications.
- Jacobsen, J. (2006). *Men's issues in development*. In I. Bannon & C. Correia (Eds.), *The other half of gender: Men's issues in development* (pp. 1-28). Washington D.C.: World Bank.
- Jaquette, J.S. & Summerfield, G. (2006). Introduction. In J.S. Jaquette & G. Summerfield (Eds.), *Women and gender equity in development theory and practice: Institutions, resources, and mobilization* (pp. 9-38). Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Johnson, B. & Christensen, L. (2010). *Educational research: Quantitative, qualitative, and mixed approaches* (4th edition). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.
- Kabeer, N. (2003). *Gender mainstreaming in poverty eradication and the Millennium Development Goals: A handbook for policy-makers and other stakeholders*. Ottawa, Canada: International Development Research Centre.
- Kabeer, N. (1999). Resources, agency, achievements: Reflections on the measurement of women's empowerment. *Development and Change*, 30, 435-464.

- Krauskopf, D. (1999). *Dimensiones críticas en la participación social de las juventudes*.
San José, Costa Rica: United Nations Population Fund.
- La Cava, G., Clert, C. & P. Lytle. (2004). *Investing in youth empowerment and inclusion: A social development approach: Insights from the ECA and LAC regions*.
Washington, D.C.: The World Bank: Social Development.
- Lather, P. (1988). Feminist perspectives on empower research methodologies. *Women's Studies International Forum*, 11(6), 569-581.
- Lather, P. (2005). Scientism and scientificity in the rage for accountability: A feminist deconstruction. Paper presented at the American Education Research Association, April 11-15, 2005. Montreal, Canada.
- Lather, P. (2004). Critical inquiry in qualitative research: Feminist and poststructural perspectives: Science "after truth". In K. deMarrais & S.D. Lapan (Eds.), *Foundations for research: Methods of inquiry in education and the social sciences* (pp. 203-215). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Publishers.
- Leach, F. (1998). Gender, education and training: An international perspective. *Gender & Development*, 6(2), 9-18.
- Lipsitz, G. (2005). Foreword: Midnight's children: Youth culture in the age of globalization. In S. Maira & E. Soep (Eds.), *Youthscapes: The popular, the national, the global* (i-xiii). Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Lú, F. (2008) Celos. *Dos* [album]. Universal Latino.
- Maira, S. & Soep, E. (Eds.) (2005). *Youthscapes: The popular, the national, the global*. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press.

- Marshall, C. & M. Young. (2006). Gender and methodology. In C. Skelton, B. Francis, & L. Smulyan. (Eds.). *The SAGE handbook of gender and education* (pp. 63-78). London, Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications.
- Maslak, M.A. (Ed.). (2008). *The Structure and agency of women's education*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.
- McCleary, K.S. (2008). *Gender inclusiveness in policy, girls' education practice? An analysis of a CARE sponsored initiative in Peru*. Unpublished manuscript; Educational, Policy and Administration; University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, MN.
- McCleary, K.S. (2011, June). *'We are the rib of the man, not the feet: Gendered agency of Honduran youth*. Paper presented at the meeting of the International Development Association (IDEA), Bryn Mawr, PA.
- McNay, L. (2000). *Gendering and agency: Reconfiguring the subject in feminist and social theory*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.
- Meagher, M. (2007). CARE's strategic impact inquiry from women's empowerment to girls' empowerment. Presented at the Comparative International Education Society Conference February 26, 2007 in Baltimore, MD.
- Medea, B. (1987). *Don't be afraid, gringo: A Honduran woman speaks from the heart: The story of Elvia Alvarado*. New York, NY: Harper Perennial.
- Messer-Davidow, E. (1995). Acting otherwise. In J. Gardiner (Ed.) *Provoking agents: Gender and agency in theory and practice* (pp. 23-51). Urbana & Chicago, IL: University of Illinois Press.

- Mills, M. (2000). Issues in implementing boys' programme in schools: Male teachers and empowerment. *Gender and Education*, 12(2), 221-238.
- Miles, M. & Huberman, A.M. (1994). *Qualitative data analysis: An expanded sourcebook* (2nd edition). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.
- Mirandé, A. (2008). Hombres y mujeres. In S. Tarrant *Men speak out: Views on gender, sex, and power* (pp. 47-55). New York and London: Routledge.
- Miske, S. (2008). *Reviewing achievements and challenges in girls' education: UNICEF evaluations and studies 2000-2005*. New York, NY: UNICEF.
- Mohanty, C.T. (2003). *Feminism without borders: Decolonizing theory, practicing solidarity*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Mohanty, C. T. (1997). Under western eyes: Feminist scholarship and colonial discourse. In L. Duggan, L. Nisonoff, & N. Wiegiersma (Eds.), *The women, gender, & development reader* (pp. 79-86). London & New Jersey: Zed Books Ltd.
- Molyneux, M. (2001). *Women's movements in international perspectives: Latin America and beyond*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Monkman, K., Miles, R., & Easton, P. (2008). The dance of agency and structure in an empowerment educational program in Mali and the Sudan. In M.A. Maslak (Ed.) *The structure and agency of women's education* (pp. 107-125). Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.
- Montoya, R., Frazier, L.J., & Hurtig, J. (Eds.). (2002). *Gender's place: Feminist anthropologies of Latin America*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Moser, C. (1989). Gender planning in the third world: Meeting practical and strategic gender needs. *World Development*, 17(11), 1799-1825.

- Murphy-Graham, E. (2012). *Opening minds, improving lives: Education and women's empowerment in Honduras*. Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University Press.
- Murphy-Graham, E. (2010). And when she comes home? Education and women's empowerment in intimate relationship. *International Journal of Education Development*, 30, 320-331.
- Murphy-Graham, E. (2008). Opening the black box: Women's empowerment and innovative secondary education in Honduras. *Gender and Education*, 20(1), 31-50.
- Nagar, R. (2002). Footloose researchers: Traveling theories and the politics of transnational feminist praxis. *Gender, Place and Culture*, 9(2), 179-186.
- Narayan, D. (Ed.). (2005). *Measuring empowerment: Cross-disciplinary perspectives*. Washington, D.C.: The World Bank.
- Nayak, A. & Kehily, J. (2008). *Gender, youth and culture: Young masculinities and femininities*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Olesen, V. (2005). Early millennial feminist qualitative research: Challenges and contours. In N.F. Denzin & Y.S. Lincoln (Eds.) *Handbook of qualitative research* (3rd edition) (235-278). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Paechter, C. (2007). *Being boys being girls: Learning masculinities and femininities*. New York, NY: Open University Press, McGraw-Hill Education.
- Paige, R.M. (Ed.). (1993). *Education for the intercultural experience* (second edition). Boston, MA: Intercultural Press.

- Paige, R.M. (1993). On the nature of intercultural experiences and intercultural education. In R.M. Paige (Ed.) *Education for the intercultural experience* (second edition) (1-19). Boston, MA: Intercultural Press.
- Parpart, J.L., Rai, S.M., & Staudt, K. (2002). *Rethinking Empowerment: Gender and Development in a Global/Local World*. London & New York: Routledge – Taylor & Francis Group.
- Patton, M.Q. (2002). *Qualitative research and evaluation methods* (third edition). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Pelto, P.J. (1970). *Anthropological research: The structure of inquiry*. New York, Evanston and London: Harper & Row Publishers.
- Percy-Smith, B. & Weil, S. (2003). Practice-based research as development: Innovation and empowerment in youth intervention initiatives using collaborative action inquiry. In A. Bennett, M. Cieslik, & S. Miles (Eds.), *Research youth* (pp. 66-84). New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Petersen, A. (2003). Research on men and masculinities: Some implications of recent theory for future work. *Men and Masculinities*, 6(1), 54-69.
- Pine, A. (2008). *Working hard, drinking hard: On violence and survival in Honduras*. Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press.
- Programa de las Naciones Unidas para el Desarrollo (PNUD). (2009). Informe sobre desarrollo humano Honduras 2008/2009: De la exclusión social a la ciudadanía juvenil. [Honduran human development report 2008-2009: From social exclusion to the citizenship of youths]. Available from

http://hdr.undp.org/en/reports/national/latinamericathecaribbean/honduras/INDH_Honduras_2008-2009.pdf.

- Pulerwitz, J. & G. Barker. (2008). Measuring attitudes toward gender norms among men in Brazil. *Men and Masculinities*, 19, 322-348.
- Qin, D. (2004). Toward a critical feminist perspective of culture and self. *Feminism & Psychology*, 14(2), 297-312.
- Ramos, C. (2007). *Informe primer taller colectivo Latinoamericano de jóvenes (Honduras)*. El Salvador: FLACSO.
- Raynor, J. (2005). Educating girls in Bangladesh: Watering a neighbour's tree. In S. Aikman & E. Unterhalter (Eds.) *Beyond access: Transforming policy and practice for gender equality in education* (pp. 83-105). Herndon, VA: Stylus Publishing.
- Reason, P. & Bradbury, H. (Eds.) (2008). *The Sage handbook of action research: Participative inquiry and practice* (2nd edition) (pp. 227-235). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications.
- Reguillo, R.C. (2000). Emergencia de culturas juveniles estrategias del descanto. *Enciclopedia Latinoamerica de sociocultura y comunicación*. Not paginated.
- Roberts, K. (2003). In A. Bennett, M. Cieslik, & S. Miles (Eds.), *Researching youth* (13-28). New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Rodríguez, L.J. (1996). On macho. In R. González (Ed.), *Muy macho: Latino men confront their manhood* (pp. 187-201). New York: Anchor Books, Doubleday.
- Rowlands, J. (1997). *Questioning empowerment: Working with women in Honduras*. UK: Oxfam.

Republic of Honduras. (n.d.). *Ley contra la violencia domestica: Decreto no. 132-97.*

Tegucigalpa, Honduras: Corte Suprema de Justicia.

Republic of Honduras. (2006). La Gaceta: Ley marco para el desarrollo integral de juventud en Honduras. [Law on the integral development of Honduran youths].

Retrieved on June 28, 2009 from <http://www.inj.gob.hn/>.

Seidler, V.J. (2006). *Young men and masculinities: Global cultures and intimate lives.*

London and New York: Zed Books.

Sewell, W.H. (1992). A theory of structure: Duality, agency and transformation. *The American Journal of Sociology*, 98(1), 1-29.

Sirin, S.R., Diemer, M.A., Jackson, L.R., Gonsalves, L., & Howell, A. (2004). Future aspirations of urban adolescents: A person-in-context model. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, 17(3), 437-450.

Skelton, C., Francis, B., & Smulyan, L. (2006). *The SAGE Handbook of Gender and Education.* Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications.

Spradley, J.P. (1980). *Participant observation.* New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Stake, R. (2005). Qualitative case studies. In N.F. Denzin & Y.S. Lincoln (Eds.) *Handbook of qualitative research* (3rd edition), (pp. 443-465). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Stake, R. (2008). Case studies. In N.K. Denzin & Y.S. Lincoln (Eds.) *Strategies of qualitative inquiry* (3rd edition) (pp. 119-150). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Steans, J. (2006). *Gender and International Relations* (2nd edition). Malden, MA: Polity Press.

- Stromquist, N. (2001). What poverty does to girls' education: The intersection of class, gender and policy in Latin America. *Compare*, 31(1), pp. 39-56.
- Stromquist, N. (2008). The intersection of public policies and gender: Understanding state action in education. In M.A. Maslak (Ed.), *The structure and agency of women's education* (pp. 3-30). Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.
- Stromquist, N.P., Fischman, G.E. (2009). Introduction – From denouncing gender inequities to undoing gender in education: Practices and programmes toward change in the social relations of gender. *International Review of Education*, 55, 463-482.
- Tarrant, S. (Ed.). (2008). *Men speak out: Views on gender, sex, and power*. New York and London: Routledge.
- Thorpe, M. (2005). Learning about HIV/AIDS in schools: Does a gender-equality approach make a difference? In S. Aikman & E. Unterhalter (Eds.) *Beyond access: Transforming policy and practice for gender equality in education* (199-211). Herndon, VA: Stylus Publishing.
- Tjora, A.H. (2006). Writing small discoveries: An exploration of fresh observers' observations. *Qualitative Research*, 6(4), pp. 429-451.
- Torre, M & Fine, M. (2006). Participatory action research (PAR) by youth. In L. Sherrod (ed.) *Youth activism: An international encyclopedia* (pp. 456-462). Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishing Group.
- UNESCO. (2003). 2003-2004 Global monitoring report: Gender and education for all the leap to equality. Retrieved on August 2, 2009 from

<http://portal.unesco.org/education/en/ev.php->

[URL_ID=23023&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html](http://portal.unesco.org/education/en/ev.php-URL_ID=23023&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html).

UNESCO. (2007). Education for all 2008 global monitoring report: Education for all by 2015 will we make it? Retrieved on November 2, 2008 from <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0015/001547/154743e.pdf>.

United Nations. (n.d.). Youth and the United Nations. Retrieved on August 12, 2009 from <http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unyin/qanda.html>.

United Nations. (1994). International Conference on Population and Development: CIPD. Cairo, Egypt. Retrieved on April 29, 2011 from <http://www.un.org/popin/icpd2.htm>.

United Nations. (1996). *Report on the Fourth World Conference on Women*. New York, NY: United Nations.

United Nations. (1997). Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Retrieved on November 5, 2008 from <http://www.hrweb.org/legal/udhr.html>

United Nations. (2008). Millennium development goals. Retrieved on November 18, 2008 from <http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/>.

United Nations Children's Fund. (1989). Convention on the Rights of the Child. Retrieved on November 5, 2008 from <http://www2.ohchr.org/english/law/crc.htm>.

United Nations Children's Fund. (2007). Honduras statistics. Retrieved on August 2, 2009 from http://www.unicef.org/infobycountry/honduras_statistics.html#56.

United Nations Commission on the Status of Women. (2003). Thematic issue before the Commission: The role of men and boys in achieving gender equality. E/CN.6/2004/9.

- United Nations Development Program. (2007). Empowered and equal: Gender equality strategy. Retrieved on July 6, 2009 from <http://www.undp.org/women/docs/Gender-Equality-Strategy-2008-2011.doc>.
- United Nations Division for the Advancement of Women. (2007). Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women. Retrieved on November 2, 2008 from <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/cedaw/>.
- United Nations General Assembly. (1994). *Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women*. A/RES/48/104 23 February 1994.
- United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime. (2011). *2011 Global study on homicide: Trends, contexts, and data*. Vienna, Austria: United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime.
- United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA). (2008). *State of the world population 2008: Reaching common ground: Culture, gender and human rights*. New York, NY: United Nations Population Fund.
- Unterhalter, E. (2007). *Gender, schooling, and global social justice*. New York, NY: Routledge – Taylor & Francis Group.
- Valdés, T., Muñoz, A.M., & Donoso, A. (2003). *Have women progressed? Latin American index of fulfilled commitment*. Santiago, Chile: FLACSO: UNIFEM.
- Vargas, V. (1996). Alternative education for women in Peru. In J.K. Conway & S.C. Bourque (Eds.), *The Politics of Women's Education: Perspectives from Asia, Africa, and Latin America* (pp. 217-222). Ann Arbor, MI: The University of Michigan Press.

- Vavrus, F. (2003). *Desire and decline: Schooling amid crisis in Tanzania*. New York, NY: Peter Lang Publishing.
- Vavrus, F. (2000). Governmentality in an era of “empowerment”: The case of Tanzania. In T. Popkewitz (Ed.), *Educational Knowledge* (221-242). Albany, NY: SUNY Press.
- Walker, M. (2006). Towards a capability-based theory of social justice for education policy-making. *Journal of Education Policy*, 21(2), 163-185.
- Wallacher, H. (2012). *Engaging men: The Abatangamuco and women’s empowerment in Burundi*. Oslo, Norway: Peace Research Institute – PRIO.
- Watts, J. (2006). ‘The outsider within’: Dilemmas of qualitative feminist research within a culture of resistance. *Qualitative Research*, 6(3), 385-402.
- Wolcott, H. (2005). *The art of fieldwork* (2nd edition). Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press.
- Wolseth, J. (2008a). Everyday violence and the persistence of grief: Wandering and loss among Honduran youths. *Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Anthropology*, 13(2), 311-335.
- Wolseth, J. (2008b). Safety and sanctuary: Pentecostalism and youth gang violence in Honduras. *Latin American Perspectives*, 35(4), 96-111.
- World Bank GenderStats. (2009). Retrieved on August 17, 2009 from <http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/TOPICS/EXTGENDER/EXTANATOOLS/EXTSTATINDDATA/EXTGENDERSTATS/0,,contentMDK:21442622~menuPK:4851685~pagePK:64168445~piPK:64168309~theSitePK:3237336,00.html>.

Yin, R. (2009). *Case study research: Design and methods* (fourth edition). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.

Young, K. (1997). Gender and development. In L. Duggan, L. Nisonoff, & N. Wiegersman (Eds.), *The women, gender, & development reader* (pp. 51-54). London: Zed Books Ltd.

Appendix A: Sample questions from initial interview; IRB approved

Thank you for agreeing to talk with me. The intent of this interview is to discuss your participation in the youth group, or to discuss your interest in participating in a youth program. The interview will take between thirty and forty-five minutes. During this time, if there are questions you do not want to answer, tell me and we can talk about something else. At this time do you have any questions? As you can see I have a tape recorder with me to tape the interview. Because of ability in Spanish, I cannot capture your message well only in writing. Are you OK with me taping this interview? Ok, we are going to start the interview.

I want you to talk from your point of view and your experiences. There are not right or wrong answers. I am the only one who will know your identity. When I share your thoughts in my report, I will change your name. The intent of this is to understand from your point of view, but to also maintain your anonymity and privacy. Would you like to choose another name for yourself that I can use when I write up your interview? Do you have any questions before we start? Let's get started.

[Gracias por hablar conmigo. En esta entrevista le voy a preguntar sobre su participación en el grupo de jóvenes, O su interes en participar en un programa de jóvenes. La entrevista durará más o menos entre treinta y cuarenta y cinco minutos. Durante este tiempo, si hay preguntas que ud. no quiere contestar, dígame y podemos hablar de otra cosa que ud quiera en este momento. Nunca debe contestar algo que no quiere contestar.

Quiero que ud. hable lo que ud. cree y de su experiencia. No hay respuestas buenas ni malas. Mirame, quiero que me hable en confianza. La información que ud. me de, lo voy a manejar confidencialmente. Si tu quieres puedo utilizar otra nombre para fines de reportaje. En ese momento tienes alguna pregunta sobre algo que te dicho? Como puede ver, tengo una grabadora en mis manos que quisiera grabar su voz. Por mi idioma, no puedo captar bien su mensaje solo escribiendo. Está de acuerdo? Bueno, vamos a iniciar la entrevista].

El Valle:

- 1) How long have you been in the youth program?
- 2) What other groups, organizations or activities are you involved with in the community?
- 3) What motivated you to join the group?
- 4) How do you feel being a part of the group?
- 5) Has anything changed for you as being part of the youth program?
- 6) What is one thing in your life that you would like to change this year? Do you feel you are able to do this? How will you do it? Who would you need to work with to achieve this?

1) ¿Desde cuándo está participando en el grupo de jóvenes de La Cuesta?

- 2) ¿ En qué otros grupos, organizaciones, o actividades estás involucrado?
- 3) ¿Qué te motivó a participar en ese grupo?
- 4) ¿Cómo se siente de ser parte de este grupo?
- 5)
- 9) ¿Hay algo que has cambiado desde estás en el grupo de jóvenes?
- 10) ¿Hay algo que te gustaría cambiar en tu vida este año? Sientes que puede hacerlo? Cómo lo harías? Con quien necesitarías trabajar para lograr ese cambio?

El Pino:

- 1) Have you participated in a group program in the past? For example, this could be in the school, community, or church If so, what kind of program?
 - 2) Tell me about your interest in being part of a youth program?
 - a. Why do you want to be part of a youth program?
 - 3) What do you hope would change for you in being part of the youth program?
 - a. How much influence do you feel you have in making those changes?
 - 4) What is one thing you hope will change in your life this year?
 - a. Do you feel you are able to influence this in any way? How? In what ways?
-
- 1) ¿Usted ha participado en un grupo de jóvenes en el pasado? Por ejemplo, ese puede estar en la escuela, la comunidad, la iglesia o en un grupo de deporte. ¿Cuál tipo de grupo?
 - 2) ¿Tienes interés en participar en un nuevo grupo de jóvenes? Porque quieres participar? ¿Si ud. participa en el grupo promovido por CARE aquí en El Lolo, que quiere que ese grupo haga para su comunidad?
 - 3) ¿Si participa en el grupo de jóvenes promovido por CARE, piensa que puede ver cambios en su vida o en su comunidad?
 - 4) ¿Hay algo que te gustaría cambiar en tu vida este año? Sientes que puede hacerlo? Cómo lo harías? Con quien necesitarías trabajar para lograr ese cambio?

Appendix B: Sample questions from second interview; IRB approved

Thank you for agreeing to talk with me. The intent of this interview is to discuss your thoughts on things that you do and influence you have in different spaces (i.e. home, work, with friends). The interview will take between thirty and forty-five minutes. During this time, if there are questions you do not want to answer, tell me and we can talk about something else. If you start to share a story, and I ask you a something that makes you feel uncomfortable in answering, just tell me that you'd prefer to talk about something else. You should never answer something you do not want to answer.

I want you to talk from your point of view and your experiences. There are not right or wrong answers. I am the only one who will know your identity. When I share your thoughts in my report, I will change your name. The intent of this is to understand from your point of view, but to also maintain your anonymity and privacy. Would you like to choose another name for yourself that I can use when I write up your interview? Do you have any questions before we start? Let's get started.

[Gracias por hablar conmigo. En esta entrevista le voy a preguntar sobre su participación en el grupo de jóvenes, O su interes en participar en un programa de jóvenes. La entrevista durará más o menos entre treinta y cuarenta y cinco minutos. Durante este tiempo, si hay preguntas que ud. no quiere contestar, dígame y podemos hablar de otra cosa que ud quiera en este momento. Nunca debe contestar algo que no quiere contestar.

Quiero que ud. hable lo que ud. cree y de su experiencia. No hay respuestas buenas ni malas. Mirame, quiero que me hable en confianza. La información que ud. me de, lo voy a manejar confidencialmente. Si tu quieres puedo utilizar otra nombre para fines de reportaje. En ese momento tienes alguna pregunta sobre algo que te dicho? Como puede ver, tengo una grabadora en mis manos que quisiera grabar su voz. Por mi idioma, no puedo captar bien su mensaje solo escribiendo. Está de acuerdo? Bueno, vamos a iniciar la entrevista].

Decision-making, Influence, Action and Gender:

Education: School

- In your life as a student, is there anything you've done that makes you feel proud?
 - How did you accomplish that?
 - Who helped you accomplish that?
- Who do you think does better in school, girls or boys?
 - Why?

Spanish translation:

- ¿En tu vida como estudiante, hay algo que has hecho que te hace sentir orgulloso?
 - ¿Cómo lo lograstes?
 - ¿Le ayudó alguien en lograrlo?
- ¿Quién sobre sale más en la escuela, las niñas/muchachas o los niños/muchachos?
 - ¿En caso sobre sale más?

Work: Providing for self and others (work is loosely defined here and could be caring for siblings, selling tortillas, or working in construction)

- What responsibilities do you have in and outside the house?
- Why do you work?

Spanish translation:

- ¿Qué responsabilidades tienes fuera y adentro de la casa?
- ¿Y para que trabajas?

Peer-to-peer relationships

- Can you tell me about a time when you saw something happening amongst your friends that you didn't like?
 - Were you able to intervene?
 - Yes, how?
 - No, why not?
- How was the situation resolved?

Spanish translation:

- ¿Ha pasado algo con tus amigos/as que no te gusta, puedes contármelo?
- ¿Has hecho algo para corregir la situación?
 - ¿Sí, cómo? ¿No, por qué no?
- ¿Cómo se resolvió la situación al final?

Home life

- In your home, who do you feel has the greatest influence over what you do?
- Can you tell me a story about how you feel that person takes your thoughts/opinion into account (or not) when making those decisions?

Spanish translation:

- ¿En su casa, para ud., quién influye más sobre lo que haces? ¿Puedes darme un ejemplo de cómo esa persona tome en cuenta tus pensamientos y opiniones hay momento de tomar una decisión sobre ti?

Safety and security: Challenges to staying safe (gangs, violence, drugs/alcohol)

- Is there a group or people in your community that watches out for the security of your community?
- What would you want this group of people to do to ensure that you and your family is more safe?
 - Can you do anything to improve the level of security in your community?

Spanish translation:

- ¿Existe un grupo o personas en tú comunidad que velen para la seguridad en tú comunidad?

- ¿Qué quisieras que hiciera ese grupo de personas para asegurar que tú comunidad sea más seguro para ti y tú familia?
 - ¿Tu puedes hacer algo para mejorar el nivel de seguridad en tu comunidad?

Relationships, pregnancy, children, and marriage

- Tell me about a friend who is in a good relationship or good marriage.
 - How are you able to tell it is a good relationship?
 - What makes it a good relationship?
- Who should make the decisions?

Spanish translation:

- Dentro de tu grupo de amigos o familia hay alguna pareja de novios o de matrimonio que tiene una buena relación
 - ¿Cómo sabes que es una relación?
 - ¿Qué cosas influyen para que esta relación sea buena?
- ¿Quién crees que debe tomar las decisiones en una pareja?

Community

- As a young man, what do you feel you are able to do that a girl can't do in the community?
- As a young woman, what do you feel you are able to do that a boy can't do in the community?

Spanish translation:

- En tu comunidad, hay espacios que son más para mujeres que para hombres, o al contrario – más para hombres que para mujeres? (campo de fútbol o club de ama de casas)
- ¿En tú comunidad que cosa puede hacer un muchacho joven que no puede hacer una muchacha y vice versa?

Religion

- Are you a member of a church? [If yes, continue]
- How does this influence your life?

Spanish Translation

- Participas en un grupo religiosos?
- Cómo influye este en tu vida?

Appendix C: IRB approval letter

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

Twin Cities Campus

*Human Research Protection Program
Office of the Vice President for Research*

*D528 Mayo Memorial Building
420 Delaware Street S.E.
MMC 820
Minneapolis, MN 55455
Office: 612-626-5654
Fax: 612-626-6061
E-mail: irb@umn.edu or ibc@umn.edu
Website: <http://research.umn.edu/subjects/>*

February 4, 2010

Kate S McCleary
1762 Chatsworth Street
Roseville, MN 55113

RE: "Shifting, shaping or maintaining: Youth, agency and gender in Honduras"
IRB Code Number: 1001P76613

Dear Dr. McCleary

The Institutional Review Board (IRB) received your response to its stipulations. Since this information satisfies the federal criteria for approval at 45CFR46.111 and the requirements set by the IRB, final approval for the project is noted in our files. Upon receipt of this letter, you may begin your research.

IRB approval of this study includes the consent form dated January 27, 2010 and recruitment materials dated January 27, 2010.

For your records and for grant certification purposes, the approval date for the referenced project is January 25, 2010 and the Assurance of Compliance number is FWA00000312 (Fairview Health Systems Research FWA00000325, Gillette Children's Specialty Healthcare FWA00004003). Research projects are subject to continuing review and renewal; approval will expire one year from that date. You will receive a report form two months before the expiration date. If you would like us to send certification of approval to a funding agency, please tell us the name and address of your contact person at the agency.

As Principal Investigator of this project, you are required by federal regulations to:

- *Inform the IRB of any proposed changes in your research that will affect human subjects, changes should not be initiated until written IRB approval is received.
- *Report to the IRB subject complaints and unanticipated problems involving risks to subjects or others as they occur.
- *Respond to notices for continuing review prior to the study's expiration date.
- *Cooperate with post-approval monitoring activities.

Information on the IRB process is available in the form of a guide for researchers entitled, *What Every Researcher Needs to Know*, found at <http://www.research.umn.edu/irb/WERNK/index.cfm>

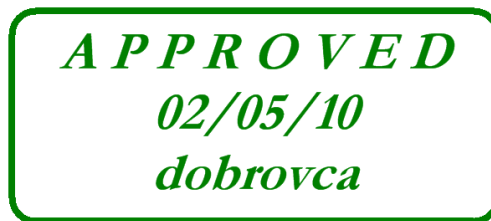
The IRB wishes you success with this research. If you have questions, please call the IRB office at 612-626-5654.

We have created a short survey that will only take a couple of minutes to complete. The questions are basic, but will give us guidance on what areas are showing improvement and what areas we need to focus on:

<https://umsurvey.umn.edu/index.php?sid=36122&lang=um>

Sincerely,

Felicia Mroczkowski, CIP
Research Compliance Supervisor
FM/pm
CC: Joan Dejaeghere



Appendix D: Focal participants' youth consent form

Investigación sobre los pensamientos de jóvenes sobre su participación social
Consentimiento de jóvenes en El Valle y El Pino
[Study on youth thoughts on agency in Honduras]
El Valle and El Pino Youth Consent]

Hola. Mi nombre es Kate McCleary y soy una investigadora de la Universidad de Minnesota en los EEUU. Estoy colaborando con CARE en Tegucigalpa, y también me gustaría colaborar con ud. y charlar sobre su trabajo en el grupo de jóvenes. Yo tengo un interés en lo que está pasando con los jóvenes en El Valle y El Pino, y sus pensamientos sobre su participación en el grupo de jóvenes y sobre su vida en esa comunidad. Con el permiso de ud., quiero hablar con ud. sobre sus experiencias y pensamientos sobre cosas como el trabajo, la escuela, sus amigos/as, su comunidad, y su familia.

[Hello. My name is Kate McCleary and I am a researcher from the University of Minnesota in the U.S. I am collaborating with CARE in Tegucigalpa, and I would also like to collaborate with you and chat with you about your work in the youth program. I have an interest in what is going on with youth in La Cuesta, and your thoughts about your participation in the youth program and about life in your community. With your permission, I want to talk with you about your experiences and thoughts about things like work, school, your friends, you community and your family].

Me gustaría hacer algunas entrevistas para entender mejor sus pensamientos sobre cosas como su participación en el programa de jóvenes, lo que pasa en la escuela o en su trabajo, lo que pasa en su casa, con sus amigos/as, con su pareja, y en su comunidad. Estarían entre tres o cuatro entrevistas de media hora o cuarenta y cinco minutos, y podemos hacerlas cuando ud. tiene tiempo libre.

[I would like to do a few interviews with you to better understand your thoughts on things like participation in the youth program, what's happening in school and in your work, what is happening at home, with your friends, with your partner, and in the community. There will be three or four interviews that last half an hour to forty-five minutes, and we can do the interviews when you have free time].

Usted puede interrumpirme y me pregunta cualquier cosa durante la entrevista. Si no siente cómodo/a en responder a una pregunta, puede declinar a responder. Además, si ud. decide que quiere terminar la entrevista, podemos parar cuando ud. quiera. Nadie puede enojarse o enfadarse con ud. si decide que no quiere continuar en la entrevista. Recuerda, que estas preguntas son sobre sus opiniones, pensamientos, y reflexiones. No hay respuestas correctas (buenas) ni incorrectas (malas).

[You can ask me questions at any point in time. If you do not feel comfortable in responding to a questions, you can decline to respond. Additionally, if you decide to end the interview, we can end whenever you would like. No one will be angry or upset with

you if you decide you don't want to continue the interview. Remember, these questions try to get at what you think. There are no right (good) or wrong (bad) answers].

Me gustaría usar partes de nuestros/as entrevistas en una tesis que estoy haciendo en la Universidad de Minnesota. Mi carrera es educación y tiene un enfoque en jóvenes y su participación social. Me prometo a proteger su identidad. Cambiaré su nombre en todo lo que hago. Si diga algo que no quiere que incluyo, solamente decirme que no debo incluirlo. También compartiré lo que discutimos con CARE. Ellos tienen un interés apoyarle y les gustaría entenderle y su experiencia mejor.

El riesgo más prominente en estar parte de esa investigación es la pérdida de confidencialidad. Como voy a compartir nuestras conversaciones con CARE, existe ese riesgo de la pérdida de confidencialidad.

[I would like to share parts of our interview in my thesis that I am doing at the University of Minnesota. My path of study is education and has a focus on youth and their agency. I promise to protect your identity. I will change your name in all that I do. If you tell me you do not want me to include something, just tell me and I will not include it. I will also share what we discuss with CARE. They have an interest in supporting you and they would like to understand you and your experiences better

The most prominent risk in taking part in this study is the loss of confidentiality. As I am going to share our conversations with CARE, a risk in the loss of confidentiality does exist].

Si firmas ese papel, indica que ud. entiende lo que digo y escribo en ese papel, y que está de acuerdo en participar en las entrevistas. Como un aviso, si quiere terminar la entrevista, ud. puede decidir a terminarlo cuando quiere. Si no firma el papel o si cambia de idea y después de empezar la entrevista, no quiere retirar, no hay problema. Nada va a cambiar su participación en el programa de jóvenes, en su colaboración con CARE, o en la amistad entre nosotros.

[If you sign this paper, you indicate that you understand what I say and write on this paper, and that you are in agreement of participating in the interviews. As a reminder, if you want to end the interview, you can decide to terminate it when you. If you do not sign the paper or change your mind and after we start the interview you want to end it, there is not a problem. Nothing is going to change your participation in the youth program, en your collaboration with CARE, or in the friendship between the two of us].

Firma de participante [participant signature]:

Firma de investigadora [investigador signature]:

Fecha [date]: _____

Appendix E: Youth group participants' letter of notification [Spanish & English]

Carta de Presentación y Autorización de Jóvenes [Spanish Version]

Hola! Me llamo Kate McCleary y soy una estudiante de la Universidad de Minnesota en los EEUU. Durante las próximas seis meses, trabajaré con CARE y estaré visitando su comunidad, los eventos que hay, y el grupo de jóvenes. Mientras estoy aquí es posible que tomaré fotos y escribiré apuntes sobre la experiencia de cada visita. En mis apuntes, no usaré sus nombres. Quiero pedir su permiso para incluir tus experiencias en lo que estoy escribiendo. Es parte de un proyecto de mi estudio en la universidad. Mi objetivo es entender mejor las experiencias en la participación social de jóvenes (muchachos y muchachas). Por lo que muy respetuosamente te pido el permiso o tu aprobación para tomar fotos y escribir sobre lo que hacemos y si tu no quieres que tome fotos ni escriba lo que hacemos puedes decir que no se haga. Esta decisión tuya será respetada.

Si estás de acuerdo en que yo pueda tomar y usar tus fotos, tus comentarios escritos, y otros documentos que se construya dentro del grupo de jóvenes para mis escritos favor responder a las siguientes frases:

Doy permiso para sacar fotos y usar en los documentos que Kate McCleary escriba:

Sí _____ No _____

Doy permiso para que Kate McCleary puede incluir sus apuntes de apreciación de mi participación, que ella toma en las reuniones, visitas a mi casa, y en mi centro estudio:

Sí _____ No _____

Doy permiso para Kate McCleary pueda incluir los apuntes a sale en los apuntes que Kate McCleary toma:

Sí _____ No _____

Doy permiso para Kate McCleary pueda usar comunicación entre nosotros(as) en la forma de textos (mensajes) por celular.

Sí _____ No _____

Nombre: _____ Fecha: _____

Letter of Notification [English Version]

Hello! My name is Kate McCleary and I am a student from the University of Minnesota in the USA. During the next six months, I will work with CARE and I will be visiting your community, the events that take place, and the youth group. While I am here, it is possible that I take photos and write notes about what is happening. In my notes, I never write real names. The names are always changed and your identity would never be in what I write. I want to ask your permission to include you in what I am doing. This is part of a project I am doing as part of my dissertation at the university. I want to better understand youth agency and youth experiences. If you do not want me to take photos or write what we do, it's OK. It is not a problem. I just want to ask your permission.

I give permission to take photos:

Yes _____ No _____

I give Kate McCleary permission to use my written comments that we do during the activities in the youth program and other documents that I share with her.

Yes _____ No _____

I give permission to be included in Kate McCleary's notes:

Yes _____ No _____

I give Kate McCleary permission to use communication between us in the form of text messages.

Yes _____ No _____

Name _____ Date _____

Appendix F: Parent notification of study used in El Valle and El Pino

*Investigación sobre los pensamientos de jóvenes sobre su participación social en
Informe a padres en El Valle and El Pino
[Study on youth thoughts on agency in Honduras]
Parent Notification in El Valle and El Pino]*

Hola. Mi nombre es Kate McCleary y soy una estudiante y investigadora de la Universidad de Minnesota en los EEUU. Estoy colaborando con CARE en Tegucigalpa, y me gustaría charlar su hijo/a sobre su interés en el programa de jóvenes y sobre su vida en El Valle/El Pino. Yo tengo un interés en lo que está pasando con los jóvenes en El Valle/El Pino, y los pensamientos de ellos. Con el permiso de su hijo/a, quiero hablar con él o ella sobre sus experiencias y pensamientos sobre cosas como el trabajo, la escuela, sus amigos/as, su comunidad, y su familia.

[Hello. My name is Kate McCleary and I am a student and researchers at the University of Minnesota in the United States. I am collaborating with CARE in Tegucigalpa and I am interested in talking with your son/daughter about their interest in the youth program and their lives in El Valle/El Pino. I have an interest in what is going on with youths in El Valle/El Pino, and their thoughts. With your son/daughters permission, I want to talk with him or her about their experiences and thoughts about things like work, school, their friends, their community and their family].

Usaré partes de las entrevistas que hago con su hijo/a en una tesis que estoy haciendo en la Universidad de Minnesota. Mi carrera es educación y tiene un enfoque en jóvenes y su participación social. Me prometo a proteger su identidad. Cambiaré su nombre en todo lo que hago. También compartiré lo que discutir con él/ella con CARE. Ellos tienen un interés en apoyarle y les gustaría entenderle y su experiencia mejor.

[I will use parts of the interviews that I do with your son/daughter in a thesis that I am doing at the University of Minnesota. My major is education and I have a focus on youth and their agency {social participat}. I promise to protect their identity. I will change their name in everything that I do. I will also share what I have talked about with your son or daughter with CARE. They {CARE} have an interest in helping them and they too would like to understand your son/daughter's experience better].

Haría entre tres o cuatro entrevistas de media hora o cuarenta y cinco minutos con él/ella. Haríamos las entrevistas cuando él/ella tiene tiempo y no interrumpe las otras cosas que él/ella tiene. Nada va a cambiar para su hijo/hija en su participación en el programa de jóvenes, en su participación con CARE, o en mi colaboración con él/ella.

[There would be between three and four interviews that last between 30 and 45 minutes with your son/daughter. We would do the interviews when he/she has time and it will not interrupt the other things that he/she has to do. Nothing will change your son/daughters

participation in the youth program, in their work with CARE, or in my collaboration with him/her.}

Si usted tiene preguntas o dudas, puede llamarme of la Lic. Alba Luz Ramírez en la Oficina de CARE en el numero 235-5055.

[If you have questions or doubts, you can call Alba Luz Ramirez in the CARE Office at the following number 235-5055].

Saludos, [Sincerely,]

Kate S. McCleary

Pasantilla de CARE Honduras [CARE Honduras Fellow]

Estudiante de la Universidad de Minnesota, USA [University of Minnesota Student]

Appendix G: Youths' constructions of *machismo* and *machista* [Spanish]

Name	Age	<i>Machismo</i> and <i>machista</i>
El Valle		
Lisa	22	Es que en si la mayoría de los hombres son muy machistas y eso a veces es el fracaso de un matrimonio. ['Machista' es] un mandón... Si uno dice algo no vale la palabra de uno para esa persona, para una persona machista. [Un mandón... Si uno dice algo no vale la palabra de uno para esa persona, para una persona machista].
Jessica	21	[Machista] Quiere que uno haga lo que él quiere, siempre. Todo lo que él diga. Tal vez uno dice algo positivo y ellos creen que es negativo.
Mariela	18	Somos personas muy importantes, y como personas muy importantes así como él, porque hay hombres que son machistas y dicen, 'Yo voy a tomar las decisiones porque soy el hombre,' claro ellos tienen que tener una iniciativa como cabeza de todo hogar, pero nosotros también tenemos que apoyarlos y si algo es correcto ayudarles y si no es correcto decirles... Necesitaba de una ayuda idónea, el hombre, y nosotras somos la ayuda idónea de ellos y como nosotros somos, somos la costilla, somos una costilla de los hombres, no somos los pies, ellos no tienen que tenernos bajo los pies porque hay muchos hombres machistas que, 'Vos, tus opiniones no cuentan.' Y somos la costilla tenemos que andar al lado de ellos no debajo de ellos.
David	18	Machismo que lo que pueda aunque no pueda él dice que lo hace, o impone su poderío porque el hombre por su naturaleza ha sido fuerte así el es lo que manda y le dice a la mujer tu no salís y punto o tú haces las cosas y yo trabajo tal vez.
El Pino		
Arianna	19	[Machismo es] que hay más espacio para el hombre que para la mujer y más oportunidades.
Vanessa	16	Si yo fuera varón yo no me consideraría que fuera así, pero eso es lo que pasa en ese tiempo y cuando los papas solo andan en la calle les dicen a los hijos usted tiene que ser el macho y la mujer es un trapo. Los padres también tienen mala influencia sobre los hijos
Juan	21	Machismo? Se puede considerar de varias maneras, como ella dice, esta sociedad, muchos lo consideran machista porque le dan más espacio a los hombres por eso es que la mayoría de las personas dicen este pueblo es machista. Bueno, ese es el significado que le dan a eso. Pero también machismo pueden ser varias cosas, no necesariamente que no le den puesto a las mujeres o no le den espacio sino que muchas mujeres no han cumplido las expectativas de lo que esperábamos de ellas porque ha habido mujeres en puestos altos en el gobierno pero no han alcanzado las expectativas que se esperaba de ellas, entonces a veces no realmente no es culpa de uno de hombre si no la población en general.
Mark	20	Es que uno hay veces de hombre es como machista, me entiende, porque uno al amigo no le va a ir a decir que estuve aseando la casa porque ya le va a decir: ¡hay niña! me entiende, o empiezan las bromas, pero si en realidad, hay veces no es necesario que esta una mujer en la casa para que se mantenga limpia, todo depende de uno, el trabajo de una mujer lo puede hacer uno y el trabajo de uno también lo puede hacer una mujer.

Appendix H: Lyrics to “Celos” by Fanny Lú and JKing Maximan in Spanish and English (Lú, 2008)

From: <http://lyricstranslate.com/en/celos-remix-jealous-remix.html> Celos Remix: Spanish

J KING Y MAXIMAN:

This is the official remix, re-remix

Pra, pra

J King, Maximan

Oye Fanny, tienes que dejar esos celos, oíste baby

FANNY LÚ:

Celos de tus ojos

Cuando miras a otra chica

Tengo celos, celos

Celos de tus manos

Cuando abrazas a otra chica

Tengo celos, celos

Cuando te encuentras con alguien

Cuando caminas con alguien

Cuando te siento feliz

Yo tengo celos, tengo celos

J KING Y MAXIMAN:

Tranquila baby que yo soy pa' ti

Toda la vida siempre estaré aquí

Para verte reír, para hacerte feliz

Por ti daría la vida, tu curas mis heridas con una sonrisa

Mi niña hermosa no sea tan celosa, vamos

Bésame en la boca y solo piensa en que nunca la voy a dejar

Caminemos de la mano, sólo piensa en que te amo

Tú y yo eternamente enamorados

Solo dejas los celos

Mami malditos sean tus celos, celos, celos

Yo no puedo bregar mami con tus celos, celos, celos

Yo tengo celos, tengo celos

Ya no hay confianza, siempre sales mami con tus celos, celos, celos Ah, ah, ah...

Ay dime amor, amor ay que tengo que hacer

Pa' quitarte esos celos que me espantan tu querer

Ya no tiene confianza, nuestro amor ya no avanza

Y lo único que le pido al Señor que nos quite la ignorancia

Ay Fanny mami dime si esto va a cambiar...(a cambiar)...

Ó si las cosas mami se quedan igual

Se me paran los pelos, mami tú eres mi anhelo

Pero sinceramente y hablándote claro

Te vas a quedar mamisonga sola con tus celos

Sola con tu celos, celos, celos, celos

Ah, ah, ah...Celos, celos, celos. Ah, ah, ah...

FANNY LÚ:

Hoy quiero bailar sólo contigo

Y hoy quiero soñar que tú eres mío
 Hoy te daré todo mi amor en un abrazo
 Y tú prometerás que nunca más
 Me harás sentir, nunca más
 Nunca más, nunca más, nunca
 Celos de tu boca cuando besas a otra chica
 Tengo celos de tu boca, celos de tus manos
 Celos de la noche que compartes tus secretos
 Tengo celos de la noche, celos de tus ojos
 Cuando te miro a los ojos
 Cuando te siento a mi lado
 Cuando te veo marchar
 Yo tengo celos, tengo celos

J KING Y MAXIMAN:

Celos, celos, celos
 Oye, este tema es dedicado...(celos, celos, celos, celos)...
 Para todas esas chicas celosas que no se puede resistir a mi
 De Latinoamérica y el mundo entero
 J King y el Maximan,...(no se puede resistir a mi)...Fanny Lú

Celos (Jealousy) Remix: English

J KING Y MAXIMAN:

This is the official remix, re-remix
 Pra, pra
 J King, Maximan
 Listen Fanny, you've got to leave this jealousy behind, did you hear baby
 Pra, pra

FANNY LÚ:

Jealous of your eyes
 when you look at another girl
 I'm jealous, jealous
 Jealous of your hands
 When you hug another girl
 I'm jealous, jealous
 When you meet up with someone
 When you walk with someone
 When I feel that you're happy
 I'm jealous, I'm jealous

J KING Y MAXIMAN:

Don't worry baby, I'm yours
 For the rest of your life I'll always be here
 To see you laugh, to make you happy
 To give my life for you, you cure my wounds with a smile
 My beautiful girl don't be so jealous, let's go
 Kiss me on the mouth and only think about how I'll never leave you
 We'll walk holding hands, only think about how I love you

You and I forever in love
 Only if you leave your jealousy behind
 Mami, damned is your jealousy, jealousy, jealousy
 I can't argue any more with your jealousy, jealousy, jealousy. I'm jealous, jealous
 There's no trust anymore, You always leave mami with your jealousy, jealousy ah, ah, ah...
 Ay tell me love, love what I have to do
 To make you give up this jealousy that scares away your love
 you don't have any trust anymore, Our love can't move forward
 And the only think I ask God is that he gets rid of our ignorance
 Ay Fanny mami tell me if this is going to change....(to change)...
 Or if things mami will stay the same
 My hair is sticking up, mami you are my desire
 But truly and speaking clearly to you
 You'll be left alone mamisonga with your jealousy
 Alone with your jealousy, jealous, jealous, jealous. Ah, ah, ah...
 jealous, jealous, jealous. Ah, ah, ah...

FANNY LÚ:

Today I want to dance alone with you
 And today I want to dream that you're mine
 Today I'll give you all my love in an embrace
 And you'll promise that never again
 Will you make me feel, never again
 Never again, never again, never
 Jealous of your mouth when you kiss another girl
 Jealous of your mouth, jealous of your hands
 Jealous of the night with which you share your secrets
 I'm jealous of the night, jealous of your eyes
 When I look you in the eyes
 When I feel you by my side
 When I see you walk away
 I'm jealous, I'm jealous

J KING Y MAXIMAN:

Jealous, jealous, jealous
 Listen, this song is dedicated...(jealous, jealous, jealous, jealous)...
 To all the jealous girls that can't resist me
 In Latin America and the entire world
 J King y el Maximán,...(no se puede resistir a mí)...Fanny Lú

Appendix I: Notes compiled from March 24, 2010 CARE youth group meeting

Lists compiled by the youths during the March 24, 2010 meeting. Please note that the spelling errors in Spanish are purposeful as that is how they were written by the youths.

Aprendizajes [Learnings]

1. Identificar familias en pobreza (boleta) [Identify families living in poverty {survey}]
2. Identificar oportunidades a los jovenes (ayudar a jovenes) [Identify opportunities for youths {to help the youths}]
3. Ser más sociable [To be more social]
4. Reconocer el valor que tenemos [To recognize our value {to recognize the value we have}]
5. Aprender (entre) jovenes – adultos [To learn {between} youths – adults]

Convivencias [Life together or Learnings together]

Nos conocemos de nosotros mismos [We learned about ourselves]

Nos enseña a compartir con los compañeros [Taught us to share with our peers]

Llevarme bien con mis compañeros [How to get along with my peers]

Ver lo bueno y lo malo de la vida [To see the good and the bad of life]

E aprendido a hablarle a los otro personas [I learned to talk with other people]

E aprendido a ser mas sociable [I learned to be more social]

Aprender un poco de los demas [I learned a little about others]

Combivir cosas buenas [To get along is a good thing]

Visitas [Visits – when to call a meeting]

Cuando queremos compartir algo [When we want to share something]

Cuando necesitamos ayuda [When we need help]

Cuando estamos aburridos [When we are bored]

Cuando sabemos que alguien necesita apoyo [When we know someone needs help]

Conocer las necesidades de los demas [To know the needs of other people]

Requisitos [Requirements]

Requirements to be in the El Valle Youth Group as decided upon by the youths during the March 24, 2010 meeting. The characteristics are in order of importance as identified by the youths.

1. Respetuosos [Respectful]
2. Disciplinado [Disciplined]
3. Disponibilidad [Available]
4. Responsable [Responsible]
5. Deseo de ayuda a la comunidad [Have a desire to help the community]
6. Participativos [Participative]
7. Cooperativo [Cooperative]
8. Con buena conducta [Good conduct]
9. Obediente [Obedient]
10. Amables [Nice]