

**“WE ARE NOT JUST THE FUTURE, WE ARE THE PRESENT.”
EXPLORING THE DEVELOPMENTAL NEEDS OF
YOUNG GARIFUNAS IN RURAL AND URBAN HONDURAS**

by

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ABSTRACT

This thesis explores the developmental needs of Garifuna young people living in rural and urban Honduras. Employing both qualitative and quantitative methods, the research traces the individual, familial and community development needs expressed by this highly migratory segment of the Afro-indigenous population. The study utilizes the Positive Youth Development (PYD) framework to understand both the data obtained from the interviewees and the programs offered by non-governmental organizations (NGOs) working with youth in the rural and urban settings. At both research sites young people identify access to education, traditional and alternative, as their principal need. Interviewees confirm that obtaining an education, often via urban migration, is a process which simultaneously facilitates personal development and a young person's ability to contribute to their family, Garifuna community and culture. This thesis demonstrates the applicability of PYD to contexts outside of North America, while concurrently highlighting themes and questions that PYD fails to address.

Keywords: Garifuna; Youth; Migration; Positive Youth Development; Honduras

**Subject Terms: Garifuna (Caribbean People)
 Garifuna (Caribbean People – Honduras)
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 Youth Development**

Dedicated to doña Mami, Kay Craven and Selma Adams.

My Honduran and Canadian Grandmothers.

Women of strength, faith and grace.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

APROSA Asociación Profesional de Sangreleya / Professional Association of Sangreleya

CAP Change of Attitudes and Practices/Cambio de Actitudes y Prácticas

CAUSE Christian Aid for Under-Assisted Societies Everywhere

CEB Centro Educación Básica / Basic Educational Centre

CEPROSAF Centro de Promoción de la Salud y Asistencia Familiar

CIDA Canadian International Development Agency

CISP Comitato Internazionale per lo Sviluppo Dei Popoli / International Committee for
the Development of Peoples

COMCAVI Comunicando Cambio para la Vida / Communicating Change for Life

CYD Community Youth Development

ISMF- Unknown

OFRANEH Organización Fraternal Negra de Honduras / Fraternal Negro Organization of
Honduras

ODECO Organización de Desarrollo Etnico Comunitario

PYD Positive Youth Development

SSPS Sub Sede Pastoral Social

USAID United States Agency for International Development

CHAPTER 1:

It's 3:00am on a warm Saturday morning in December. A decrepit school bus shakes its way down the dusty road towards the small seaside Garifuna village. It makes frequent stops to pick up its passengers, visible only when the clouds part away from the moon. At every stop another teenager, or two or three, mounts the bus, each carrying a single duffle bag or cardboard box: A lifetime of possessions neatly tucked into the carriers hanging above the worn school bus benches. Some of the teenagers are still dressed in their finest outfits, remnants of the graduation celebrations that finished just a few hours prior. The youthful energy that fills the bus is palpable; chatter and excited laughter, along with an ample measure of dust, fills the bus bound for La Ceiba. For some the seven hour journey to La Ceiba is their final destination, for others, an additional three to five hours will take them to the political and industrial capitals of Honduras. As the darkness lifts one can make out the distinct faces. The most vibrant young participants from the HIV/AIDS prevention teams, the young women that lead the humble church choir, the curious youths eager to learn about alternative approaches to small scale agriculture. I wonder: Where are they headed and what will they do? What did they learn? What did they contribute to their community? And what will they need in order to continue contributing? It is on this retired school bus bound for La Ceiba that this research project begins.

(Source: Reflective Journal, December 1, 2006)

Who are the Garifunas?

The Garifuna population is an Afro-indigenous group with communities that span the Central American nations of Nicaragua, Honduras, Guatemala and Belize. Large groupings of Garifuna can also be found in several North American cities. The most recently available estimates approximate the total Central American Garifuna population to be 200,000, with nearly 100,000 living in Honduras (England, 2006).

The Garifunas trace their roots to the small Caribbean island of St. Vincent in the 17th century where escaped and marooned Africans cohabitated with the native Arawak population; their offspring are known as the Garifunas (Valencia Chalá, 2006). Modern day Garifunas claim to be the youngest ethnic group in the world (ODECO, 2006). On the island of St. Vincent the Garifuna culture was born of both Arawak and African traditions; many of these traditions are still observable in contemporary Garifuna society (ODECO, 2006; Valencia Chalá, 2006). The influence of various colonial powers to which the Garifuna population was exposed is also evident. This colonial influence is notable in the Garifuna language, which borrows vocabulary from English, French and Spanish, in addition to African and Arawak tongues. On St. Vincent both the English and French battled for control, the French supported by the Garifunas. A few short years after consolidating control of the island, on March 11, 1797 the English forcibly removed more than 5,000 Garifunas from the island (Valencia Chalá, 2006). A month long journey across the Caribbean led the displaced Garifunas to the Honduran Island of Roatán. It was on Roatán that they encountered representatives of the Spanish Crown, and they were invited to help with the reconstruction of the mainland city of Trujillo (ODECO, 2008; Valencia Chalá, 2006). From Roatán and Trujillo the Garifunas spread throughout the Atlantic littoral region.

Today the costal region of Honduras is peppered with Garifuna villages, forty-eight in total (ODECO, 2002)¹. While some of these villages are close to the urban centres of Trujillo, La Ceiba and Tela, many are located in isolated regions of the country. Both in rural and urban Honduras levels of poverty, in some cases extreme poverty, persist. Honduras has been identified as one of the poorest nations in the Western Hemisphere for decades. Consistent with most indigenous communities in Honduras, isolated Garifuna villages lack basic infrastructure and economic resources (ODECO, 2002). It is especially in these distant locales, however, that the traditional Garifuna culture survives. While recently improved telecommunications and infrastructure allows these communities to establish and sustain contact with the rest of the country, many aspects of the traditional Garifuna way of life are maintained. This includes, but is not limited to their language, dance, food production and religion.

A study conducted in all forty-three villages found that 80.4% of the Garifuna population surveyed report themselves as Catholic (ODECO, 2002). It is widely recognized that the Catholic Church in Honduras provides a space within the church for Garifunas to simultaneously uphold their traditional belief systems, which are believed to be widely influenced by their African ancestors (ODECO 2006; Valencia Chalá, 2006). In the rural areas traditional agricultural practices are also maintained, predominantly by women. While women may be found fishing with a simple line and hook along the water's edge, it is the men who *chinchorear*, or fish with traditional nets and canoes. Commercial over-fishing in the region is of obvious concern to the Garifuna population. Another traditional foodstuff that has been threatened in recent years is the coconut, a key

¹ ODECO identifies forty-eight villages as "Garifuna Communities" in Honduras. These villages are legally titled as Garifuna territory and have individual community councils, or *patronatos*. Additional Garifuna neighbourhoods are established in urban centres, including San Pedro Sula, Tela and La Ceiba.

ingredient for many Garifuna dishes (Morales, 1994). From the 1990s onward Lethal Yellowing Disease swept the coconut plantations of many Garifuna communities, destroying the majority of the crops. Reforestation of the coconut crops is underway, but achievements to date have been limited.

Garifunas are proud of their strong culinary traditions. Additional sources of pride are the Garifuna dances and the Garifuna language. Local dance clubs, predominantly run by women, also play an important role in community level organizing (Mejía, 2004; Morales, 1994). While some of these Garifuna traditions are much more visible and commonplace in the rural communities, they are often carried with mobile Garifunas to locations as far off as New York City. In fact, González reports that some Garifunas learn the native tongue in New York City rather than in their countries of origin (1988). Urban Garifunas in particular are susceptible to the loss of language, as most places of education and employment use either Spanish or English. Despite challenges posed by the environment, modernization and constant flows of migration, maintaining and promoting the Garifuna culture is one of the primary activities of many Garifuna-run NGOs, both in the rural and urban settings.

Although maintaining the Garifuna culture is an important activity of both individuals and organizations, some Garifunas, in particular those living in the urban setting can be susceptible to a loss of culture (González, 1988; Guillermo Thomas, Interview 15, July 9, 2008; Nelson Ariola, Interview 17, July 13, 2008; ODECO, 2002). Racism, still prevalent in Honduras, is one of the many factors that can motivate a Garifuna individual to deny, or distance one's self, from their racial minority roots. During field research one local politician, a non-Garifuna Honduran, stated on two

separate occasions that the Garifunas are a “combative culture.” Many Garifuna youth, both in the rural and urban settings, recount firsthand experiences with racism, at school, church and even during NGO sponsored events (Daniela, Interview 4, June 6, 2008; Rosa, Interview 8, July 2, 2008).

Although the Garifunas are proud members of what claims to be the world’s youngest ethnic group, this Afro-indigenous groups also claims to suffers more racism, on account of the ‘afro’ prefix, than other indigenous groups located in Honduras (ODECO, 2002; 2006). Notwithstanding, most political and social Garifuna organizations prefer to adopt an African identity rather than an indigenous one. England and Anderson (1998) explain:

...because state discourses of Honduran mestizaje have tried to erase blackness from the national identity, Garifuna and other Afro-Honduran social movements have been forced to articulate their demands vis-à-vis the state in terms of “autochthony” (p.5).

They continue,

...the careful use of autochthonous *as opposed* to indigenous- with its connotations of biological sameness- allows Garifuna to make primordial claims to rights isomorphic to indigenous groups, while maintaining a racial distinction as black (p. 16)².

Although this racial distinction is employed by Garifuna groups and NGOs as a political, organizational and instructional tool, it has also has also been used by others, including prominent politicians, to further criticize this ethnic minority (which accounts for approximately 2-3% of the national population). Just days after the celebration of the Garifuna Bicentennial in Honduras, the Minister of Culture wrote the following admonition in the daily newspaper *El Tiempo*:

² Emphasis theirs.

...Like all other Hondurans, the Garifunas are mestizos, from the Arawak Indian and the African Black. To pass as the product of just one of these ancestors is to falsify ones identity, to forget the complimentary component, to betray the ancestors which they are trying to erase from their collective historical birth certificate (April 14, 1997 in England & Anderson, 1998, p.3).

Interestingly both sides of this debate accuse the other of the same crime: attempting to erase, or failing to acknowledge one ethnic group from the collective historical birth certificate. The racial identity of the Garifunas is a contested concept within the political arena in Honduras and the debate is far from being resolved. The NGOs and individuals presented in subsequent chapters continue to straddle the “racial and ethnic categories of Black, Hispanic, Afro-Latino and Garifuna” in both the rural and urban settings (England & Anderson, 1998, p. 25).

Introduction to the Context

Internal and international migration is not only a longstanding, even traditional practice of the Garifuna people, it becomes with each passing decade an increasingly essential step for the survival of Garifuna communities and individuals. From the earliest experiences at St. Vincent, Roatán and Trujillo, the Garifunas have always been a migratory population. González, in a 1969 publication, found that “the migratory process has itself moulded much of the way of life presently characteristic of the Garifuna” (González, 1988, p.169). The findings presented in González’s work remain largely true in present day Garifuna culture.

However, one fundamental change in this process has occurred. González astutely observed that Garifuna society had established a “domestic structure that [is] immune, so to speak, from any dangers to the family and community that might result from the

absence of large numbers of men during the prime of their lives” (1988, p.169).

Throughout the 20th century young Garifuna men located work on commercial fishing boats, as merchant marines for the United Fruit company and in British logging camps in Belize (England, Anderson, 1998). It was the women remaining in the village that were charged with rearing the children, preserving traditional cultural practices and tending to the crops. In recent years, however, a distinct migratory pattern has emerged. As populations grow, agriculture struggles, infrastructure improves and rural education becomes more accessible, young women are now leaving the Garifuna villages at a rate close to that of their male counterparts³. It has also become much more common to see both young women and men leaving Garifuna communities in search of educational opportunities.

This research projects aims to better understand the experiences of Garifuna young people on both sides of this migratory process. Engaging with young stakeholders from the Garifuna community, the research plan was specifically designed to work with young people who are actively involved in the internal migration process⁴. Young people were selected as the target research group for a variety of reasons. Young Garifunas today are the most mobile segment of the population, and are therefore the ideal group to explore the migration process with. This segment of the population also has had the most exposure to formal and informal educational opportunities, church activities for young people and non-governmental programs both in the rural and urban settings. Garifuna

³ Local leaders, educators and development professionals indicate that Garifuna communities in Iriona are growing at a fast rate and outgrowing the land available for living space and subsistence agriculture. Population figures for the region are available in Mejía (2004), however no other figures are available to make a growth comparison.

⁴ For a comprehensive study of the international migration experiences of Honduran Garifunas see S. England (2006) *Afro Central Americans in New York City, Garifuna Tales of Transnational Movements in Racialized Space*.

communities throughout Honduras are also experiencing a population “youth bulge”, substantiating the claims of two young Garifuna community leaders: “We are not the just the future, we are the present” (Guillermo Thomas, Interview 15, July 9, 2008; Mejía, 2004; Nelson Ariola, Interview 17, July 13, 2008).

To address the research goal of engaging with migratory youth, research was undertaken at two distinct research sites: the rural Garifuna community of Ciriboya, and segments of the population living in the coastal city of La Ceiba. In the decade following the devastation of Hurricane Mitch in 1998 there has been a significant increase in the amount of funds available to development NGOs working in the region where Garifuna populations are concentrated⁵. The once isolated Garifuna community of Ciriboya thus has become a hub of international development over the past decade. International development projects funded by Catholic World Relief Services, the Global Fund, the European Union and the Canadian, United States and Cuban governments have been based in this community. These development agencies have clearly had an impact on the lives of young people. Development programming has included agriculture training and HIV/AIDS workshops specifically for young people.

The community of Ciriboya was selected based on the uniquely high presence of development organizations which offer activities to young people. Field research conducted at this site was also facilitated by my having completed two distinct work experiences in the village of Ciriboya in 2006 and 2007, first as a Canadian International Youth Intern and subsequently as a field school coordinator for CAUSE Canada and Red

⁵ On October 26-27th 1998 Hurricane Mitch, one of the strongest storms ever recorded in the Atlantic Basin, delivered a decisive assault on Central America. Honduras was the nation most severely affected. The storm, and subsequent flooding, destroyed key infrastructure, land, essential food crops, homes and lives throughout the country. More than 5,600 people were killed and an estimated 1.5 million people suffered significant damages (Morris et al. 2002).

Deer College⁶. The urban centre of La Ceiba was selected as the second research site for two reasons. First, La Ceiba is the city with the largest percentage of Garifuna inhabitants in Honduras. Second, as verified in survey results presented in Chapter Two, La Ceiba is often the first migratory destination for young Garifunas leaving rural communities such as Ciriboya.

Engaging with urban Garifunas also provides a unique contribution to contemporary literature regarding this ethnic group. In Honduras researchers conducting anthropological studies with indigenous groups have a tendency to select “traditional”, predominantly rural, research sites. Urban anthropology, within the context of indigenous research, is relatively underdeveloped. Of the limited research conducted with the Honduran Garifuna population, virtually none has focused on the urban setting (Chernela, 1991; Cohen, 1984; Mejía, 2004; Mollett, 2006). Furthermore, urban indigenous youth are highly underrepresented in this body of social scientific literature⁷. Chapters Two and Four, in particular, present data and the reflections of urban Garifuna youth.

Research Question: Community and Youth Development within a Migratory Population

Across cultures and time, communities have been preoccupied with the frivolities and misbehaviour of their youth, yet the very sustainability of a community relies on a vibrant

⁶ From Sept. 2006 to March 2007 I worked as a Canadian International Development Agency youth intern with the NGO CAUSE Honduras. As an intern for CAUSE I worked as an agricultural technician in the municipality of Iriona. During this time I lived in the community of Ciriboya. In April/May 2007 I was asked to return to Ciriboya to work as a field school coordinator for a group of nursing students and professors from Red Deer College and the University of Alberta. Both experiences exposed me to Garifuna culture, language, traditions, agricultural practices and rural living. Furthermore, these experiences helped me to establish relationships and networks within the Garifuna and NGO communities.

⁷ One exception to this statement is Australia, where comprehensive sociological and anthropological studies are being carried out with urban indigenous youth. These studies primarily address health issues. For examples, see Brough, Bond and Hunt (2004) and Holmes et al. (2002).

young population (Côté & Allhar, 1996; Roche et. al., 2004). The future of communities depends on the future of their youth.

Garifuna communities are no exception to this truth. In fact, given the youth bulge and mobile nature of the young population, investing in young people is essential for Garifuna communities wishing not only to survive, but also thrive. At both of the research sites chosen for this study community groups, schools, churches and non-governmental organizations have already implemented key investments for young people. However, to overcome challenges of poverty, limited infrastructure and racism, among others, requires continued and improved investments for current and future generations. The quest of young people to sustain these investments, both in their rural communities as well as their new urban homes, is the focal point of this research project.

The research question that steers this study is:

Based on their experiences with personal and community development on both sides of the migration experience, how would Garifuna youth improve upon the options currently available to themselves and their peers, and why?

Follow-up questions include:

- How are the suggestions, experiences and needs expressed by young people similar and different in the rural and urban settings?
- Do these needs and suggestions change as the young person migrates to an urban centre? And does this change if a young person voluntarily or forcibly returns to their community of origin?

In order to answer these questions, it is first essential to paint to a more complete picture of this segment of the Garifuna population. In Chapter Two survey work completed at both sites answers the general questions: who are these young people, what are their education levels, what are their general migration patterns, what is their household structure, and in what community and personal development programs do they

participate? Chapter Two provides an introduction to the context, which leads into the more profound research questions explored with young people in the in-depth interviews and open-ended survey data presented in Chapters Three and Four. Chapter Three, dedicated to the rural research site, and Chapter Four, focused on the urban site, both present feedback from young stakeholders, in addition to providing more detailed information pertaining to the program and opportunities already available to young people.

Collectively Chapters Two, Three and Four present the feedback of young Garifuna actively involved in personal and community development processes. The interview data reveal a widespread conviction that personal and sustainable community development are inextricably linked. Drawing on insights derived from the Positive Youth Development theoretical framework, these distinct forms of development are conceptually correlated with one another. As Birjit Jentsch (2006) argues, in the field of youth development there appears to be a "...conflated agenda which trie[s] to deal with at once two separate issues, sustaining...communities and promoting youth welfare" (p.236). Positive Youth Development overcomes this conflation, as it argues that the very sustainability of a community and society relies on thriving individuals, individuals that begin a formative period of their lives during adolescence and early adulthood.

Theoretical Framework: PYD

As recently as 2006 the social psychologist D.A. Blyth (2006) wrote that the field of youth development "lacks a dynamic and appropriately complex theory or paradigm that captures what is known and stimulates new insights" (p.25). Although an epistemological divide has rendered two distinct approaches to the study of youth development, Positive

Youth Development (PYD) and Community Youth Development (CYD), a careful analysis of the literature reveals that proponents of PYD have developed over the past two decades a sophisticated and sufficiently complex paradigm that indeed “captures what is known and stimulates new insights.”

The Positive Youth Development paradigm is located under the umbrella of Applied Developmental Science (ADS), a multi-disciplinary field rooted in psychology which extends a vision “predicated on a belief that infants, children, adolescents, and families have significant strengths and capacities for healthy lives, and that all people possess individual and ecological assets that can be actualized to create their well-being” (Lerner, Jacobs & Wertlieb, 2005, p.ix). ADS studies individuals and their biological and psychological processes throughout the entire life cycle (Kurtines et al 2008). Positive Youth Development (PYD) is the branch of Applied Developmental Science dedicated to researching and guiding policy pertaining to young people.

PYD is not, however, a field that simply studies anything that can be viewed as ‘positive’ for the development of a young individual. As W. Damon (2004) states

It is an approach with strong defining assumptions about what is important to look at if we are to accurately capture the full potential of all young people to learn and thrive in the diverse settings where they live (p.13).

PYD emerged as a distinctive shift occurred in the field of Youth Development. Scholars, researchers and policy makers began viewing young people as “community assets”, rather than focusing on problematic behaviours that need to be mitigated (Zeldin, 2004). Positive Youth Development is an inclusive field, which aims to study and develop policy solutions for youth living in diverse contexts. One limitation of the PYD literature, however, is that it stems from research that has been conducted almost exclusively in the

United States (Damon, 2004; Kung and White 2004; Lerner et al, 2004; Pittman et al. 2003; Roth and Brooks-Gunn, 2003; Zeldin, 2000; Zeldin, 2004). PYD has proven to be a useful approach in that context, and in this research project several of the key assumptions and principals of the Positive Youth Development will be tested in an alternative geographic and socioeconomic setting: Garifuna communities on the northern coast of Honduras. An additional limitation of the PYD literature is that it remains incipient: a complete book or edited volume has not yet come to fruition. The key assumptions of PYD can therefore only be assembled by reviewing a robust selection of journal articles authored by proponents of this approach. Based on such a survey, three key assumptions of Positive Youth Development can be identified:

- The inclusion of *all* young people is paramount, both for individual and community wide development
- Young people must be viewed as “community assets”
- Positive Youth Development occurs within a community of actors

Assumption 1: Inclusivity

Nearly every article authored to explain the PYD framework opens with a sentence or paragraph asserting that this is a framework for all young people. W. Damon (2004) states that PYD is for “each and every child” (p.13). Lerner et al. (2002) are emphatic about inclusion in their opening statement, noting that “...*every* young person has the potential for successful, healthy development and that *all* young people possess the capacity for positive development⁸” (p.11). This emphasis on inclusion is not, however, designed explicitly to overcome racial, geographic or socio-economic divisions. Rather,

⁸ Emphasis theirs.

the emphasis on inclusion makes direct reference to the foundational period of PYD, a period in which practitioners and scholars working with young people moved away from preventative and risk-oriented models (Zeldin, 2000). This decisive shift in practice and scholarship opens a considerable amount of space, allowing for and promoting work with *all* young people, not just those who pose a risk to society or themselves. While this emphasis on inclusion allows for a much more comprehensive study of the development of young people, the model has rarely been explicitly applied to contexts outside of North America⁹. Although unconventional, this approach to the study of youth development is useful for the study of migratory Garifuna youth. In the Garifuna context young people, both those in need of preventative type interventions and those who are not, were interviewed and surveyed. Furthermore, by applying the collective assumptions of PYD to this research project, I will ascertain whether or not this is indeed an inclusive model for application to a group of young people who are ethnically, geographically and socio-economically distinct from those young people for whom PYD was originally developed.

Assumption 2: Young People as “Community Assets”

Inherently linked to the first assumption, all young people must be included in the PYD approach because it is designed to “capture the full potential of all young people to learn and thrive in the diverse settings where they live” (Damon, 2004, p.13). The programs and policies that PYD scholars and practitioners promote and study are designed to help all youth reach their full potential. Both Lerner et al. (2004) and Damon (2004) refer to young people as “resources” for their respective communities, rather than problems.

⁹ Many publications regarding youth development throughout the globe promote and study programs which operate on assumptions very similar to those of PYD, however this approach has not yet explicitly been transferred to the study of youth development in other countries.

This shift away from a deficit view implores scholars and practitioners working with and for young people to view them as “community assets”. It is also essential that young people come to understand themselves as assets to their community. The PYD literature clearly outlines a series of desired outcomes which in turn help convert young people into thriving community resources. These desired outcomes are the five Cs, found in the work of Lerner et al (2002) and Roth and Brooks-Gunn (2003):

- *Competence* in academic, social and vocational areas
- *Confidence* or a positive self-identity
- *Connections* to community, family and peers
- *Character* or positive values, integrity and moral commitment
- *Caring* and compassion

And the 6th ‘C’, added by Pittman et al. (2003):

- *Contribution*, to family, school and community

A 2003 piece by Pittman et al., presented in the following table, elaborates on the 5 'C's, replacing the fifth 'C' with their addition of Contribution:

Table 1.1

Desirable Youth Outcomes
(Pittman et al., 2003, p.11)

Confidence	Character	Connection	Competence	Contribution
<p>Self-Worth The perception that one's ideas and contributions are meaningful.</p> <p>Mastery and Future Awareness of one's progress in life and projecting into the future.</p>	<p>Responsibility and Autonomy Accountability for one's conduct and obligations. Independence and control over one's life.</p> <p>Spirituality Connectedness to principles surrounding families, cultural groups, communities and higher deities. An awareness of one's own personality or individuality.</p>	<p>Safety and Structure Having access to adequate food, clothing, shelter, and security, including protection from hurt, injury or loss.</p> <p>Membership and Belonging Being a participating member of a community. Being intimately involved in at least one lasting relationship with another person.</p>	<p>Knowledge Developing and reflecting on one's knowledge and experiences.</p> <p>Skills Developing a range of skills across developmental areas (health, civic, physical, social, emotional, cognitive, personal).</p> <p>Behaviour Applying and practicing new life skills and roles.</p>	<p>Participation Assuming roles as participants and leaders in various settings (family, school, community).</p> <p>Influence Making a difference, advocating for a cause, making meaningful decisions and accepting responsibility for mistakes.</p>

Throughout Chapters Three and Four of this study, interviews, open-ended survey data and a review of local NGO documents will be used to determine where and how the six Cs are being cultivated in Garifuna youth. By exploring the six Cs in interviews with young people we are also able to begin to answer the research question posed to young people: Based on their experiences with personal and community development on both sides of the migration experience, how would they improve upon the options currently available to themselves and their peers and why?

Assumption 3: PYD and Community

Although the six Cs are desired outcomes for individual young people, this is not to suggest that PYD is solely a personal and individual process. For the programs and policies proposed by PYD to fully function they require a community of actors. As Roth

and Brooks-Gunn (2003) astutely observe “young people do not grow up in programs, but in families, schools and neighbourhoods” (p.97). Undoubtedly, Damon (2004) and Furrow, Kung and White (2004) would add religious institutions. Zeldin is one of the few PYD scholars to specifically address the concept of community, as he notes a shift in youth development literature and practice away from the individual and towards the collective (2000). Zeldin’s (2000) definition of a healthy community includes not only a collection of material resources, but also “a shared identity, symbols, and collective energy” (p.7).

Zeldin addresses the concept of community in his work (2000), and virtually all of the predominant PYD scholars establish a vital link between communities and productive young citizens (Damon, 2004; Lerner et al., 2002; Pittman et al., 2003; Zeldin, 2000).

While the PYD literature is replete with the notion of community, virtually no discussion is dedicated to the theoretical concept of community. This is one element of the framework where PYD that could borrow greatly from the ample literature dedicated to the sociological concept of social capital, which establishes a theoretical link between individuals and the social networks they are situated in. Social capital theory offers a robust literature regarding community, and reciprocal community relationships.

Complimentary to PYD and the 6 ‘C’'s, foundational social capital scholar, Hanifan (1919), proposes that if an individual

comes into contact with his neighbour, and they with other neighbours, there will be an accumulation of social capital, which may immediately satisfy his social needs, and which may bear a social potentiality sufficient to the substantial improvement of living conditions in the whole community (In Putnam, 2002, p.4).

The notion that individuals can use social networks to acquire “a private good and [contribute to the] public good” is akin to the work by Pittman et al. (2003) which asserts

that young people can develop positive youth outcomes, the 6 'C's, in order to make a meaningful contribution to their community (Putnam, 2002, p.7).

Although the PYD literature does not mention migration, this model was selected for its applicability to a highly mobile segment of the population as their physical locations, communities and social capital alter. PYD emphasizes understanding individuals as they move between “diverse physical and cultural settings”(Kurtines et al, 2008, p.4). Furthermore, Zeldin's (2000) understanding of community helps to conceptualize community in terms similar to those of Garifuna young people themselves. In Chapter Four data taken from interview and field observations from the urban research site demonstrates how young Garifunas themselves have developed programs and traditions which facilitate their connections to community, family and peers, the 3rd 'C', throughout the often challenging migration process.

The healthy development of a young person requires a community of actors, and according to PYD this will create a fruitful cyclical pattern in which young people will then become contributors to the community of actors which initially supported them. As Damon (2004) states in a review of the PYD approach, it “sees the child [or young person] as a full partner in the community-child relation, bearing a full share of rights and responsibilities” (p.23). Once conceptualized as a full partner, the young person has the potential, and understood responsibility, to “acquire the capacity to contribute importantly to the world” (Damon, 2004, p.20). Lerner et al. explain this cyclical process:

...Healthy development involves positive change in the relation between a developing person- who is committed and able to contribute positively to self, family and community- and a community supporting the development of such a citizen (2002, p.15).

PYD can therefore be seen as not only a theoretical framework for personal youth development, but also a framework for sustainable community development.

Blyth (2006) argues that the field of youth development, including PYD, “lacks a dynamic and appropriately complex theory or paradigm ...[and does] not provide a solid theory to help guide future research” (p.26). To ameliorate this situations Blyth present a new “diet and exercise” analogy in a 2006 piece which offers a practical approach to strengthen the “developmental muscle groups” (p.28).

This new analogy proposes to move away from overly narrow views of education to one that is grounded in the cumulative nature of learning and development, is conscious of community contexts, and emphasizes young people’s roles in their own development (Blyth, 2006, p.30).

A review of the PYD literature, however, reveals that many of the key PYD authors have in fact addressed many of Blyth’s concerns. Zeldin (2000) is conscious of community contexts. Lerner et al. (2002) recognize the role that young people have in their own developmental process. Pittman et al. (2003) note the cumulative nature of learning and development, both inside and outside the classroom. This critique and alternative analogy does however highlight a critical question: is PYD sufficiently robust to address this “complex reality”, youth development (2006, p.36)?

Although the body of PYD literature collectively addresses many of the concerns that Blyth cites, Blyth nonetheless reiterates a significant limitation of the PYD model. Although it cumulatively provides a complex model for explaining and assessing youth development in a variety of contexts, no single document consolidates this information¹⁰. This can render the practical application of the PYD difficult and inconsistent amongst

¹⁰ The only edited volume or book to incorporate the PYD framework is *Positive Youth Development and Spirituality*, a 2008 publication of R.Lerner, R.Roeser & E.Phelps, which is principally dedicated to one component of the 6 ‘C’s, *Character*.

researchers and practitioners outside this epistemological community. Despite this noteworthy limitation, however, the PYD model was selected for this research project because it theoretically establishes a link between individuals, youth specific development and collective community development. Furthermore, the 6 'C' model can be used to assess, describe and evaluate programming that strives to produce positive youth outcomes.

By applying this approach to a unique setting I will attempt to demonstrate how the PYD model can be applied to the study of groups, cultures and locations outside of North America, where Positive Youth Development initially emerged. Additionally, in applying this framework specifically to the Garifuna context I will highlight important questions and themes which PYD does not fully explain. For example, do the six 'C's change when PYD is applied to a study in a developing country, and a distinct ethnic group? In the case of the Garifunas both migration and indigenous culture are two important themes which the PYD body of literature has not yet addressed. The PYD approach does however, offer insights into the application of educational, health, social and spiritual activities for the development of young people, or young "community assets", and their respective communities.

Methodology

Through qualitative and quantitative field research this study aims to elucidate the choices that young people make regarding the migratory process and personal and community development. Case study methodology was employed for the study of Garifuna youth. As the work of Dennis Chong demonstrates:

When studying decisional behaviour, case study research may offer insight into the intentions, the reasoning capabilities, and the information-processing procedures of the actors involved in a given setting. Thus [the researcher] uses in-depth interviews with a very small sample of respondents in order to better understand the process by which people reach decisions... (Gerring, 2007, 45).

To conduct this case study thirteen weeks in total were spent in the field conducting surveys and in-depth interviews. Seven weeks were spent at the urban site and six weeks at the rural site. The research conducted at the rural site complimented the research at the urban site, and vice versa, as I alternated each week in the field at either location.

Although more challenging logistically, this approach allowed me to refine the interview guides and survey instruments over the thirteen weeks based on what I was learning, hearing and observing at each site. At the rural site I stayed in the community of Ciriboya with a local family and five of their eleven children. This family, friends from my previous work experiences in the community, assisted me in locating potential interviewees, improving my Garifuna language skills, and immersing myself in the local culture and customs. At the urban site I stayed in the apartment of the CAUSE Central American Director, Sandra Rivera, which is located in a Garifuna neighbourhood in La Ceiba.

In La Ceiba two research assistants were hired to assist with administering a survey. The research assistants were hired principally because of their extensive social networks and familiarity with the majority of young Garifunas living in La Ceiba who are originally from rural Iriona. Both research assistants, sisters born and raised in the community of Ciriboya, were able to locate sufficient survey respondents who were: Garifuna, originally from Iriona, living in La Ceiba for more than one year, and within the appropriate age brackets. Locating this group of survey respondents would have been

a much more challenging and time consuming process without their assistance. Furthermore, the research assistants, who both have a university level command of Spanish, were able to translate portions of the survey to Garifuna if the respondents required clarification.

Similar assistance was available to Garifuna youth who completed a survey in the rural setting, where bilingual high school instructors were able to translate any portion of the survey that respondents didn't understand. All respondents completed the open-ended portions of the surveys in Spanish¹¹. A university degree in Hispanic studies and nearly a year of work experience in Honduras equipped me with adequate Spanish language skills to undertake this research project. Rudimentary Garifuna was used in informal social settings and while in the city I attended daily Garifuna lessons to increase my ability to communicate in the indigenous language. In-depth interviews were also conducted and recorded in Spanish and all of the translations presented in this document are my own.

A series of semi-structured, in-depth interviews were conducted at both research sites. In total twenty-two interviews were completed. The ages of the interviewees range from fifteen years to middle-aged adults. Of the 22 individuals interviewed, fifteen fit within the 15-30 year age "youth" bracket. The other seven include a high school principal, church youth leader and development officials who oversee youth programming at both research sites. Of the latter group of interviews four are with Garifuna adults, two are with Hondurans of other ethnicities and one is with a Canadian who worked in Ciriboya for five years.

¹¹ Garifunas typically learn to speak in their indigenous tongue as toddlers and begin studying Spanish in elementary school. ODECO reports that 96% of Garifunas surveyed in 43 villages speak the indigenous language (2002). ODECO does not have figures for Spanish language skills, however every single Garifuna that I encountered during my research and prior work experiences was able to communicate in Spanish.

All of the educational institutions and NGOs working with Garifuna youth develop programming to serve both young men and women. Many of these organizations outline gender parity as an institutional goal. Gender parity, therefore, was also a goal outlined in the original research plan. Of the 22 interviewees 10 are female and 12 are male. The majority (14) were conducted in the rural area (Ciriboya and the neighbouring community of San Jose de la Punta). However, this is not to suggest that reflections on the urban experience are overlooked. Eleven of these 14 interviewees are young people who have spent a significant amount of time (at least one year) living in an urban centre in Honduras, again reflecting the exceptionally mobile nature of this segment of the population.

While the in-depth interviews provided unique insight into young peoples' experiences, the limited data available for this segment of the population required a more comprehensive research plan. In order to provide a more complete picture of Garifuna young people, two surveys were designed and administered. The first survey was designed for Garifuna young people living in the rural community of Ciriboya. This survey was administered at the local junior high school to forty five 8th and 9th grade students. The second survey was designed specifically for young Garifuna migrants who are currently living in the urban centre of La Ceiba. With the assistance of two Garifuna women, the second survey was used to gather data from 48 young people, ages 15-30. The findings of these two surveys are presented in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 2

In the city we have “the opportunity to work, the opportunity to study, to be someone, a professional, [and] develop knowledge of one’s self as a person and Afro-descendant” (Survey #59). This quote is taken from one of the two surveys that were designed and administered to assess the demographics, migration processes and participation in youth development programming in the two distinct research sites: Irióna and La Ceiba¹². The design, administration and analysis of these surveys serve three primary purposes in the context of this research project. First, the data have been analysed to paint a picture of Garifuna Youth based on a data set larger than would have been possible relying solely on interviews and observations. Second, these data help enrich and support the findings gleaned from the qualitative research. Finally, the two surveys exploring similar themes in different settings allows for a comparison of Garifuna youth on both sides of the migration experience: those who have not yet left their community of origin and those who have.

The first survey, herein referred to as the rural survey, was administered to 8th and 9th grade students in the Municipality of Irióna at the Centro Educación Basica Alvaro Contreras in the community of Ciriboya. The survey was developed in conjunction with the high school Director, Roberto Ruiz Alvarez, to ensure that the questions were appropriate for the reading and comprehension level of the students. This was of particular concern because although students complete their high school studies in

¹² The survey instruments, in the original Spanish, can be found in Appendix II.

Spanish it is recognized by educators in the rural sector that some Garifuna youth struggle with reading and writing in their second language. It was also decided in conjunction with the Director that the survey would be most appropriate for the 8th and 9th grade students, and not the 7th grade students, as originally scheduled¹³. The survey was administered with the assistance of the classroom teachers who were available to answer questions regarding the survey, unfamiliar vocabulary, etc. In total 45 Garifuna students, aged 13 to 17 completed the survey¹⁴. Of this group, 27 were female and 16 male. Throughout this research project an attempt was made to equally represent both sexes, however the quantity of males and females surveyed reflects the composition of the classroom, attendance on the day of the survey, and the local reality that males are more likely to emigrate, and more likely to emigrate at a younger age (González, 1998). Of course, the decision to administer the survey in a local high school has a significant limitation as it excludes any young people living in this community who do not attend school. A meeting was scheduled to survey young people attending the alternative school, ISMF, in the community of Irión Viejo, but was unfortunately cancelled^{15 16}.

¹³ The original research planned was designed to administer surveys to all of the students in Junior Secondary Studies, which would include grades seven, eight and nine. I met with the Director twice prior to administering the survey to discuss the questions in the survey and the target group. The Director recommended that the survey be conducted only with the eight and ninth grade students because in his opinion the seventh grade students would not have sufficiently contemplated migration, and therefore would not be able to fully answer the questions in the survey.

¹⁴ The surveys were handed out during class and students were asked to voluntarily complete the surveys. The instructors made clear, in both Spanish and Garifuna, that students did not have to complete the survey if they did not wish to. All of the students in attendance completed the short-answer portion of the survey. One student did not complete the open-ended portion of the survey.

¹⁵ On the first occasion the meeting was cancelled due to illness, on the second occasion the meeting was cancelled due to transportation limitations

¹⁶ ISMF, an 'Alternative School' in the community of Irión Viejo serves all communities of the municipality. The school offers early secondary level courses on Saturdays. The ISMF serves young adults who were not able to complete their studies at an earlier age, young people who are already working full or part time and young mothers and pregnant teens who are unable to attend regular weekday classes.

The second survey, herein referred to as the urban survey, was administered in the coastal city of La Ceiba, a popular destination for young Garifuna migrants leaving Iriona for the first time. In the rural survey precisely one third of respondents report planning to relocate to La Ceiba upon completion of the 9th grade. For the purposes of this study the urban survey was designed for Garifuna youth (ages 15-30) who have relocated from Iriona to La Ceiba. To assist in locating this very specific group two research assistants were hired. Yenny Alvarez and Helen Alvarez, Garifuna sisters from the community of Ciriboya, administered 48 surveys over a two-week period. Respondents were located at a La Ceiba senior high school, church gathering, informal Garifuna Youth gathering and informal social events in the predominantly Garifuna neighbourhood 'Barrio La Isla'.

While both surveys explore the same three themes, demographics, migration processes and insertion into community development programming, two distinct surveys were created in order to ask specific and appropriate questions in each context. Of particular note are the demographic and community development sections. The rural survey contained several questions regarding participation with specific NGOs, while the urban survey, administered in La Ceiba, only had one such question, reflecting the abundance and higher visibility of NGOs in the rural context. The urban survey, however, had a much more extensive section dedicated to demographics and questions developed to understand various features of migrant life in the city. This section explored employment, education levels, economic support and household composition. For clarity and efficiency both surveys consisted primarily of multiple choice, dichotomous (yes/no) and one word answer questions.

To allow for a more nuanced and expressive analysis, the final question of each survey was open-ended. The rural survey asked students to list what they would like to accomplish before they graduate. The urban survey asked respondents to list the most significant advantages and disadvantages of life in the city. In both surveys most respondents took the time to answer these open-ended questions thoughtfully and thoroughly. When the written answers, spelling and use of language were not clear research assistants Yenny and Helen Alvarez assisted in the interpretation.

Although it represents a small sampling of the Honduran Garifuna population, the data set presented here allows for a unique analysis, one developed for, and in part administered by, Garifuna young people. While other data sets used in this research study offer useful household-survey type information (Mejía, 2004; ODECO, 2002), the respondents were primarily the male and female heads of household, not the young people living in these homes. Furthermore, in the rare instance where urban Garifunas are surveyed (ODECO, 2002) the data are only presented in an aggregate form which also includes rural data, thus preventing one from developing a statistically based comparison of Garifunas living in rural and urban areas¹⁷. The data set presented here is an initial attempt to address both age and geographic gaps in the available research. Data analysis was completed using Stata 10¹⁸.

¹⁷ ODECO (2002) surveyed more than 1,200 Garifuna adults in 48 communities throughout Honduras. 219 of the respondents live in the city of La Ceiba. Mejía (2004), in a publication for the Italian NGO CISP surveyed 200 adults from 8 communities in the rural Municipality of Iriona.

¹⁸ The STATA .do file used to compile Tables 2.1-2.4 can be found in Appendix III.

TABLE 2.1
Rural Survey Univariate Analysis
 Number of respondents: 45

<i>Demographics</i>		N		
High School Grade	Grade 8	20		
	Grade 9	25		
Age	13yr	9		
	14yr	8		
	15yr	10		
	16yr	15		
	17yr	1		
Sex	Female	27		
	Male	16		
<i>Migration</i>				
Plans for urban migration after completing the 9 th grade	No	0		
	Yes	38		
	Unsure	3		
Personal goals for the urban setting	Seek education	42		
	Seek employment	1		
Migration Destination	La Ceiba	15		
	San Pedro Sula	9		
	Trujillo	3		
	Tegucigalpa	7		
	Overseas	9		
Has discussed migration in the Home	Yes	13		
	No	32		
Has discussed migration at School	Yes	32		
	No	13		
Believes that he/she is ready for migration	Yes	38		
	No	6		
<i>Development Activities</i>				
Participated in a Church Youth Activity	Yes	28		
	No	16		
Participated in a CAUSE Youth Activity	Yes	16		
	No	28		
Participated in an HIV/AIDS Activity	Yes	28		
	No	17		
Participated in a Self-Esteem Activity	Yes	27		
	No	17		
Participated in a Micro-Credit or Business Development Activity	Yes	2		
	No	42		
Participated in an Activity regarding Drug Use	Yes	7		
	No	38		
Total number of Development Activities Participated in	1 act.	2	7 act.	3
	2 act.	23	8 act.	4
	3 act.	3	9 act.	2
	4 act.	1	10 act.	1
	5 act.	1	11 act.	0
	6 act.	2	12 act.	1
Level of Participation in Development Activities	None (0)	0		
	Some (1-3)	28		
	Extensive (4 +)	15		

Univariate Results

The rural survey was completed by 45 grade 8 and grade 9 students from the community of Ciriboya. Respondents' ages range from 13 to 17 years. As previously mentioned gender balance was desired but not achieved in the rural survey or the urban survey, however when these two data sets are combined gender parity is achieved. In total 45 males and 45 females completed the rural and urban surveys (three respondents did not answer the gender question). The research assistants were asked to try and select survey respondents equally from both genders at the urban site. The gender composition of the rural survey was subject to the students available in the classroom. Survey participants were selected via "convenience sampling", based on who was available at each site (Bryman, 2008, 183)¹⁹. While "convenience sampling" was used for the rural survey, relying solely on the available number of eighth and ninth grade students, at the urban site purposive sampling was used: research assistants were asked to proportionately select, if possible, an equal quantity of male and female respondents. The fact that more females were available to survey in the rural area and more males were available to survey in the urban area is not surprising. While historically it was more common for younger men to leave these rural communities for work on commercial fishing boats, with a declining fishing industry it more common for young men to leave at an early age to seek employment and/or education in the city (Abel Figueroa, Personal Communication, Nov.19, 2008). Young women are more likely to remain in the rural villages until a later age, or sometimes permanently, to assist with maintaining the family

¹⁹ Bryman (2008) warns that a convenience sample "may be acceptable, although not ideal" because there no assurance that it proportionately represents the target population. In this instance, the convenience sample is vulnerable to student attendance on any given school day that the survey is conducted in the classroom.

home, the rearing of cousins, nieces and nephews, or as Schmalzbauer calls it “other-mothering” and tending to agricultural plots (2005).

The most recent data on the educational coverage of children and young people in Irióna site reveals incredibly low coverage for grades 7 through 12. In 2002 coverage for grades seven to nine was 14.1% and a dismal 1.8% for grades ten through twelve. This data was compiled by the Presidential Secretary in preparation for the Honduran Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP)²⁰. Based on these data it would appear that the rural survey, conducted in a rural high school, overlooked more than 80% of the local youth population. When the PRSP data were collected in 2002 grades 7 through 9 were only available in two communities in the municipality. By contrast, now, in 2008, six communities offer these lower secondary classes. Although no recent official data are available, local educators and community development leaders estimate coverage to be approximately 70% for grades seven through nine. Complete secondary studies (up to Grade 12) are available in Irióna. However, the classes are offered in the community of Sangrelaya, the most isolated and expensive community to reach, as it is only accessible by boat.

Because of the limited education and work opportunities available in the isolated Irióna communities, it is not surprising that 38 of the 8th and 9th grade students surveyed report planning to migrate to an urban location upon completion of their early secondary studies. It is interesting to note that only three students reported being unsure and no

²⁰ In 1999 the Bretton Woods Institutions introduced the Heavily Indebted Poor Countries-Poverty Reduction Strategy (HIPC-PRS) initiative. Four Latin American countries, including Honduras, were required to complete PRSPs, or Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers to be eligible for debt relief assistance. Although two PRSPs were completed in Honduras, the PRS was insufficient and incomplete in design to tackle the pervasive issues of poverty and inequality in the region. For more information please see: Cuesta, 2007 and Dijkstra, 2005.

student reported not planning to leave. One third plan to relocate to La Ceiba, the nearest major urban centre, another nine plan to relocate to San Pedro Sula, the economic capital of the country, and another nine name 'overseas' as their migration destination. While none of these results appear incongruous to one familiar with the context, two questions regarding migration produced surprising results. When asked to select their personal goals in the urban setting (options included Seek Education, Seek Employment, Unsure and Other) only one respondent selected 'Seek Employment'. A resounding 42 respondents selected 'Seek Education'. Unfortunately it is unlikely that all 42 of these young people will have the opportunity to continue their studies in their selected city, but as data from the urban survey will show, a large percentage does. The final question in the migration section of the survey asked the students if s/he feels prepared for migration, a shocking 38 respondents answered 'Yes'; only six reported not feeling prepared. Although improved telecommunications in the municipality, as well as dramatically improved road access, increase the likelihood that young people have made and maintained contact with urban Honduras, the fact that the vast majority feel prepared for the migration process is surprising. Regrettably, data collected in the open-ended questions of the urban survey, as well as in-depth interviews presented in subsequent chapters suggest that this overwhelming sense of preparedness is unfounded.

TABLE 2.2
Urban Survey Univariate Analysis
 Number of respondents: 48

<i>Demographics</i>	N		N	
Age	15yr	3	21yr	3
	16yr	4	22yr	4
	17yr	3	23yr	1
	18yr	10	24yr	2
	19yr	7	25yr	2
	20yr	7	26yr	1
	Sex	Female		18
Male		29		
Level of Education	Lower than 7 th grade	4		
	8 th or 9 th grade	1		
	1 st cycle	1		
	2 nd cycle	2		
	3 rd cycle	7		
	Complete Bach.	20		
	Technical School	3		
	Some University	3		
Complete University	3			
<i>Migration Experience</i>				
Years living in La Ceiba	Less than 1 year	4		
	1 year	5		
	2 years	9		
	3 years	7		
	4 years	4		
	5 years	6		
	more than 5 years	11		
Has lived in locations other than Iriona and La Ceiba	Yes	25		
	No	22		
Currently lives with a spouse or partner	Yes	13		
	No	35		
Currently lives with their own children	Yes	4		
	No	44		
Currently lives with relatives	Yes	32		
	No	16		
Currently lives with friends or roommates	Yes	7		
	No	41		
Currently lives with an employer	Yes	4		
	No	44		
Receives economic support in the city	Yes	35		
	No	12		
Receives economic support from parents	Yes	18		
	No	29		
Receives economic support from family members other than parents	Yes	14		
	No	33		
Receives economic support from family overseas	Yes	8		
	No	39		
Employed	Yes	13		
	No	34		
Employed in:	Unemployed	34		
	Technical	5		

	Factory	1	
	Hospitality Industry	2	
	Professional Field	3	
	Non-Profit Sector	1	
Unemployed (not working and not in school)	Yes	8	
	No	40	
Currently studying	Yes	31	
	No	17	
Has future plans to return to Triona permanently	Yes	30	
	No	18	
Believes migration has given them a better life	Yes	31	
	No	16	
<i>Development Activities</i>			
Has done volunteer or social service work in the city	Yes	30	
	No	17	
Participated in an HIV/AIDS activity in the city	Yes	31	
	No	17	
Participated in soccer in the city	Yes	26	
	No	22	
Participated in activities for Afro-Hondurans in the city	Yes	6	
	No	42	
Participated in youth forums/events/workshops in the city	Yes	7	
	No	41	
Total number of development activities participated in	0 act.	2	7 act. 4
	1 act.	3	8 act. 1
	2 act.	21	9 act. 1
	3 act.	5	10 act. 0
	4 act.	2	11 act. 0
	5 act.	1	12 act. 1
	6 act.	6	13 act. 1
Level of participation in development activities	None (0)	2	
	Some (1-3)	29	
	Extensive (4+)	17	

Urban Analysis

The urban survey was developed and administered to explore the 'after' side of the migration experience, to understand what life looks like for a Garifuna young person from Triona living in the third largest city in the country. Forty-eight Garifuna youth ages 15-26 were surveyed in the city of La Ceiba. As previously mentioned, gender parity for the two surveys combined was achieved. However, in the urban survey a larger proportion of males were surveyed (29). Because the objective of the survey was to explore various facets of the 'after-side' of the migration experience, the research

assistants were asked to ensure that they surveyed people who were both newly arrived and who had lived in the city for an extended period of time. It was simultaneously important to survey individuals coping with the adaptation process to the city and individuals who had already established themselves in the urban setting. Of those surveyed, four had arrived in the city within the previous year, 31 had lived in La Ceiba between one and five years, and 11 had lived in the city for more than five years. It is interesting to note that the majority, 25, report having lived in locations other than Iriona and La Ceiba. Here it is important to highlight that although La Ceiba is a common destination for Garifuna youth, migration patterns for this group extend far beyond and are quite diverse. When asked to specify what other locations they had lived in, answers varied from other small Garifuna communities, such as Nueva Armenia, to the Cayman Islands and the United States. However, subsequent sections of questions were specifically designed to assess elements of life in La Ceiba.

The urban survey was designed to obtain a data set from which levels of socio-economic and developmental support could be surmised. While this survey provides data specific to Garifuna youth in the city, it does not provide the complete picture that a household style survey would. Complimentary data from the ODECO surveys help us to understand the living standards of the Garifuna population in Honduras, but unfortunately does not disaggregate the data for an urban specific analysis (ODECO, 2002). This would be a valuable research project for any organization wishing to work with urban Garifuna youth in the future²¹.

²¹ It is important to note that other surveys have been completed with Garifuna youth in the urban setting, most notably by CEPROSAF, a preventative health NGO working the Atlantic region of the country. These surveys, however, focus solely on health issues, in particular on attitudes and practices related to the spread of HIV/AIDS.

The first set of questions in the section was designed to approximate the potential levels of social and economic support for young people in the city. In the qualitative interviews Garifuna youth reported anxiety and loneliness arriving in a city after having spent their entire young life in a small community. The interviews also revealed a substantial reduction in this anxiety and sense of loneliness if the young person had family or close friends nearby. It is therefore important to ascertain who the young people surveyed are living with in the city. From a listing of potential housemates (spouses, children, relatives, friends, employers and other) respondents could check all that applied. In total 32 reported living with relatives, 13 with spouses or partners and four with children of their own. Only seven reported living with friends or roommates and four with an employer. These data highlight the pivotal role of the nuclear and extended family in the migration process of Garifuna youth. Here it is also important to note that although only four respondents currently live with children of their own and 13 with spouses or partners. However, these data can be misleading. It is very unlikely that only four respondents have children of their own: in the Garifuna culture it is common for both spouses to be separated from one another and for children to be separated from their parents (England, 2006). It is very common for children to be raised by relatives who continue to live in the villages, where the child can be raised in what is considered by many to be a more culturally authentic environment (Nelson Ariola, Interview 17, July 13, 2008; Yoya, Interview 5, June 20, 2008). Immersion in the Garifuna language is also deemed essential by many parents. And of course, there are also sizeable economic advantages to raising a child in the village as opposed to the city.

While parents often remit economic support to their children in the villages, it is also common for Garifuna young people to receive economic support while living in the city. This economic support comes from a variety of sources: parents, siblings, extended family members, and family members overseas. No fewer than 35 or 73% of those surveyed report receiving some form of economic support, primarily from family members. From the options: parents, family members other than parents, family overseas and other sources, respondents were asked to check all that apply. Eighteen report receiving assistance from parents, 14 from other relatives and eight from family members overseas. In total 35 young people reported receiving some form of financial support in the city. Of these 35 individuals, 15 are female and 19 are male (one did not report their gender), or approximately 83% of females and 68% of males surveyed. Females are only slight more likely than their male counterparts to receive economic support in the city. Only four respondents reported receiving funds from multiple sources. This financial support is vital to these young people, as only 13 had 'fixed employment' at the time they were surveyed²². This question was designed to ascertain which of these young people have fixed, consistent employment, but this of course does not account for the plethora of secondary income generating activities that these youth likely engage in. The ODECO survey finds that in the general Garifuna population 13% participate in secondary economic activities. Field observations and interviews indicate that Garifuna young people in the city often engage in secondary income generating activities to supplement the limited funds that they receive from family members. These activities include, but are

²² In the original Spanish survey the question asks if the respondent has "un empleo fijo", which roughly translates to a 'fixed' or permanent position.

not limited to, hair-braiding, craft-making, baking and selling traditional Garifuna foods and odd-jobs.

Of those young people surveyed who are currently employed in a fixed position, five are technical workers, three are professionals, two work in the hospitality industry, one works in the non-profit sector and another works a factory job. It is important to highlight here that these results are very specific to La Ceiba. Had this survey been completed in the more industrialized areas of Honduras, for example San Pedro Sula and surrounding areas, the results would most likely show a large percentage of young people working in technical and factory jobs²³. The group surveyed also has a much higher education level than the general Garifuna population. The majority (60%) of respondents have either completed their secondary studies, or attended technical school or university. Of the forty-eight people surveyed, thirty-one are currently studying, which also suggests a potential for increased education levels amongst this group in the future. The same percentage, 31 out of 48 young people, believes that migration has given them a better life. Although not all students share this conclusion, and some of those with lower education levels also report positively on the impact of their migration, a correlation exists between young people furthering their education and their perceiving migration as a beneficial life experience²⁴. This correlation is outlined in Table 2.3, where the majority of *bachillerato* level students and all but one of those who have studied at a technical school or university believe that migration has given them a better life.

²³ An industrial free trade zone was established around San Pedro Sula in 1976, as a result the city is surrounded by extensive factory developments.

²⁴ Bivariate and multivariate analysis to better understand the relationship between perceiving migration to have given them a better life and other independent variables (including sex, age, education levels, etc.) were considered, but these methods were deemed not appropriate given the small sample size and therefore limited data set.

Table 2.3
Education Levels and Perception of the Migration Experience

Believes that Migration Has Given them a Better Life	Education Level ²⁵								
	<Grade 8	Grade 8-9	1st Cycle	2 nd Cycle	3 rd Cycle	Bach.	Tech.	Some Uni.	Lic.
NO	0	1	1	1	4	8	1	0	0
YES	3	0	0	1	3	12	2	3	3
Total	3	1	1	2	7	20	3	3	3

Furthermore, as the PYD literature suggests, education, particularly for young people, extends far beyond the classroom. Community development projects also have a strong role in educating young people, often in important areas which may be overlooked in the formal classroom. In both the rural and urban settings community development programming offers young Garifunas opportunities to expand their mental, physical and emotional education.

²⁵ Education Level Abbreviations:

<8th Grade: Less than 8th Grade. 1st, 2nd & 3rd Cycle: the three cycles, or grades, of upper secondary studies.

Bach.: Bachillerato, or completed upper secondary studies. Tech: Technical School. Some Uni.: Some university studies. Lic.: Licenciado/a: completed university degree.

TABLE 2.4
Youth Participation in Development Programming

Participation in Development Activity	Rural Total Out of 45	Rural Females (%)	Rural Males (%)	Urban Total Out of 48	Urban Females (%)	Urban Males (%)
Has Done Volunteer or Social Service Work in the City	--	--	--	30	64.7	65.5
Participated in a Church Activity	28	69.2	62.5	12	27.8	24.1
Participated in a CAUSE Youth Activity	16	34.6	37.5	--	--	--
Participated in a SSPS Youth Activity	4	11.5	6.3	--	--	--
Participated in a CISP Youth Activity	8	11.5	25.0	--	--	--
Participated in an ODECO Event	--	--	--	8	27.8	10.3
Participated in an HIV/AIDS Activity	28	48.1	81.3	31	66.7	62.1
Participated in a Family Planning Activity in the City	--	--	--	10	38.9	10.3
Participated in a Self-Esteem Activity	27	61.5	62.5	21	61.1	34.5
Participated in an Agriculture Activity	13	23.1	43.8	--	--	--
Participated in an Activity with Computers	11	26.9	25.0	--	--	--
Participated in a Micro-Credit or Business Development Activity	2	7.7	0.0	--	--	--
Participated in a Sports Activity (Including Soccer in the city)	12	11.5	56.3	30	27.8	75.9
Participated in a Music Activity	7	11.5	25.0	--	--	--
Participated in Garifuna Culture activities in the city	--	--	--	15	50.0	17.2
Participated in Youth Forums/Events/Workshops in the City	--	--	--	7	22.2	10.3
Participated in Activities for Afro-Hondurans in the City	--	--	--	6	22.2	6.9
Participated in an Activity Regarding Human Rights	11	22.2	31.3	12	22.2	27.6
Participated in an Activity Regarding Domestic Violence in the City	--	--	--	11	38.9	13.8
Participated in an Activity regarding Drug Use	7	14.8	18.8	19	38.9	41.4
Participated in Other Activities in the City	--	--	--	9	22.2	17.2
Level of Participation in Development Activities						
None (0)	0	0.0	0.0	2	5.6	3.5
Some (1-3)	28	76	43.8	29	50	65.5
Extensive (4 +)	15	24	56.3	17	44.4	31.0

Participation in Urban and Rural Development Activities

In both surveys questions sets were developed to ascertain not only youth participation in NGO programs, but also in activities which the PYD literature suggests are essential for youth development; these activities include involvement with the church, sports, music, volunteering and exposure to new technologies. The Garifuna-run institutions OFRANEH and ODECO also highlight in their work and publications the importance of providing young people with activities specifically for Afro-descendants regarding their cultural heritage, human rights and racism (ODECO 2002; Valencia Chalá, 2006). These questions can tell us a lot about youth participation and exposure to a variety of programs and youth development themes; however they do not tell us about the quality or the programming, impact on the respondent, or frequency of participation. These types of questions are more appropriately explored in the in-depth interviews presented in subsequent chapters.

To ascertain the quantity and variety of participation in youth development activities two new variables were derived from the survey responses. First, a new variable was created to tabulate the number of activities participated in for each respondent. A second new variable was then created to group the respondents according to levels of participation. The respondents are divided into three groups, those with no participation, those with some (exposed to one to three activities) and those with extensive participation (four or more activities). Initially it was assumed that participation in the rural setting would be notably higher. This was assumed for three reasons; first, because of the higher visibility of NGOs in the rural setting, second, because of the limited pastimes and activities available to youth in the rural setting (e.g., no television, movies or malls to spend time in) and finally, because young people in the city report filling their time with

both work and school. However, these data show little change in the overall levels of participation in the two settings. It is also possible that young people who are exposed to development programs at a younger age in the rural setting will continue this participation in the city. It would have been advantageous to include questions in the urban survey to measure exposure to these types of activities prior to living in the city. As shown in Table 2.4, in total 15 rural youths and 17 urban youths participate 'extensively' in these activities; 28 rural youths and 29 urban youths have 'some' exposure to these activities, and in the urban survey two young people report having no exposure to any youth development programming.

While the overall development participation totals remain consistent on both sides of the migration experience, some notable changes occur as young people move from rural to urban settings. The most dramatic change is in the participation levels for church activities. In Ciriboya 28 of the 45 young people surveyed participate in church activities for young people; in La Ceiba this figure drops to only 12 out of 48. When these totals are disaggregated by sex the drop is similar for both males and females. All of the participation variable totals were disaggregated by sex to look for development trends amongst males and females. Not surprising in the context of Latin America, participation in sports activities, notably soccer, in both the rural and urban sites is significantly higher for males. Participation in sports, however, increases in the city for women. In Ciriboya only 11% of females surveyed had participated in a sporting activity, this figure increased to nearly 28% in La Ceiba.

Although some results when accounting for sex were not surprising, some were indeed unexpected, even to development experts and community leaders familiar with the

context. These data show a sizable percentage of males participating in HIV/AIDS prevention activities in the rural context (81% males, compared to 48% of females). This number then diminishes to roughly 66% of females and 62% of males in the city. These figures have to be understood, however, within the broader context of development planning in the region. HIV/AIDS education is vital in Iriona: amongst the Garifuna population the HIV infection rate is estimated to be 8%, or approximately four times higher than the national infection rate of 1.8-3.2% (USAID, 2004)²⁶. Iriona-based NGOs, notably CAUSE, noted a much higher percentage of women engaging with the HIV/AIDS activities offered in the municipality. Because the spread of HIV/AIDS is a problem which involves both sexes, CAUSE developed specific activities to attract males to HIV/AIDS events. These events included municipality wide soccer tournaments and workshops using new technologies, including computer programs. Although 81% of males surveyed may have participated in the occasional tournament, the 48% of females surveyed were much more likely to regularly participate in HIV/AIDS prevention leadership training. This is an example where a CAP assessment (Change of Attitudes and Practices/Cambio de Actitudes y Practicas) would provide more informative data for future policy development and planning²⁷.

The HIV/AIDS example clearly illustrates the importance of framing the discussion and figures within the broader context. In the following chapters observations,

²⁶ HIV infection rates for the Garifuna population are estimated, by UNAIDS, to be approximately 8%. This figure, however, is at best an educated guess based on limited data collected in select communities by a variety of NGOs. Comprehensive testing and consistent tabulation needs to be completed in rural areas to verify this figure. CAUSE has been struggling with funding restraints, logistical challenges and bureaucratic red tape for several years to implement rapid testing in the municipality of Iriona.

²⁷ Both CAUSE in Iriona and CEPROSAF completed CAP surveys with the Garifuna populations they work with.

in-depth interviews and NGO documents will be employed to further understand the initial trends presented in the survey data.

CHAPTER 3

As the quantitative data demonstrates, young rural Garifunas place a high value on education. Seeking educational opportunities is the principal migratory push factor and often remains the primary activity for Garifuna youth residing in the urban setting. Of course, this trend towards individual, familial and community development, or what some may call social mobility, via formal education is not limited to the Garifuna population. In a study of rural youth working in the agricultural sector in South Africa similar results were found: all of the 32 participants surveyed also expressed the desire to continue their studies (Kristzinger, 2002). In the rural sector, however, the push for increased educational opportunities is often thwarted by the fact that all too often “young people in many areas, and particularly the poor are trapped between declining state support and increasing familial and personal ambitions” (Jeffrey, McDowell, 2004, p.132). This statement aptly captures the situation of many Garifuna youth.

Consistent with the positive youth development literature, education is not and should not be limited to the formal classroom setting. As Pittman et al. assert, youth development is an ongoing process, one which does not “take a break when the school day ends...or when young people move into the workforce” (2003, p.18). This is especially true in a context where educational investments and infrastructure are significantly limited. To better understand the educational and developmental needs of young people residing in the rural settings it is essential to first understand the context and opportunities available. Second, it is crucial to engage in a meaningful dialogue with

young people concerning the opportunities they are exposed to, as well as those that they lack. In the rural community of Ciriboya, in addition to the neighbouring community of San Jose de la Punta, fourteen in-depth semi-structured interviews were conducted. Interviews were conducted with high school students preparing for the migration process, young Garifuna adults who had returned from a period of time living outside of their community, and development professionals and educators working in the area²⁸. Although the interviews covered themes ranging from daily life in the village to the increasing availability of drugs in the region, one clear and consistent message was echoed by the interviewees: Young Garifunas want to learn, for themselves, their families and their communities, and they require more viable options to do so.

Formal Education

The community of Ciriboya is located in the isolated municipality of Iriona, along the Northern coast of Honduras. Accessible by dirt roads in ill repair, and some communities only accessible by boat, opportunities for young people to learn in Iriona are limited to the scarce infrastructure available locally. In the municipality seven schools offer Kindergarten through to the 6th grade, and five of these schools also offer junior secondary education (grades seven through nine). Although the current level of education offered is limited, vast improvements have occurred over the past decade. When the director, Roberto Ruiz, of the Centro Educación Básica (CEB) in Ciriboya arrived in

²⁸ The names of all interviewees have been changed, except for those individuals representing their respective organizations. Permission was granted by these employees to use their names and identify them as employees of their respective organizations. A complete list of interviews can be found in Appendix I.

2000 the school was only able to offer elementary level courses²⁹. After a year of what the director refers to as “struggling and fighting”, the school was able to offer junior secondary courses. Between 2001 and 2008 the school was also able to obtain, through state funds, local and international donors, a new roof, solar panels and a handful of computers for the older grades to use occasionally. These are significant improvements in a relatively short period of time. In fact, many young Garifunas interviewed recall the struggles they overcame to simply finish the ninth grade. Rosa, now in her mid-twenties, was required to leave home in her early teens to attend junior secondary school in the neighbouring community of Cusuna. In Cusuna she lived with friends of the family during the week and returned home on weekends. Rosa recalls “the environment was different and challenging...but my mom counselled me on how to behave in other peoples homes. I had to put up with it” (Interview 8, July 2, 2008). When asked why she left, Rosa asserts “I had to leave in order to finish my studies...to change my life...I had to think of the future, the future of my family. [I had to] study something, and be to be able to work in order to continue studying” (Interview 8, July 2, 2008).

In addition to the challenges posed by limited funding, frequent teachers strikes, relative isolation, and scarce infrastructure, the educational institutions in Iriona are facing a new challenge: increased drug trafficking³⁰. Luxury SUVs and trucks moving Colombian cocaine through the rural roads and beaches of Iriona has been commonplace for many years. However recent increases of drug trafficking in the region possess an additional threat to not only communities and innocent bystanders, but also development

²⁹ Centro Educación Básica is a ‘Basic Education Centre’ which provides schooling from grades one through nine.

³⁰ National teachers strikes are a common occurrence in public schools in Honduras, often motivated by limited wages and infrequent/missed paycheques from the Secretary of Education.

programs and educational opportunities designed for young people. In April 2008 a large motor boat, filled with cocaine and American cash, crashed off the coast of the Irióna community of Punta Piedra. Much of the resources found aboard the abandoned boat are believed to have stayed in the community, largely in the hands of young males. Similarly, early on the morning of July 30, 2008 a plane filled with 2,500 kilos of cocaine used the rural highway running through Irióna as a landing strip. The plane was subsequently set on fire, intentionally, because mechanical problems prevented the plane and crew from taking off³¹. This recent expansion of drugs and American money being mobilized in Irióna poses a serious threat to organizations working with young people. Young people, with instant access to financial resources via the drug trade are no longer interested in participating in agricultural workshops. Similarly, the director of the Ciriboya high school reports, in a hushed voice, that “there are many, many people who are no longer motivated to study or work because they believe that all their problems will be solved if they are able to find another gram” (Roberto Ruiz, Interview 20, August 14, 2008).

Fortunately, despite the challenges posed by drug trafficking and countless other sources, the education system in Irióna continues to make strides forward. The recent expansion of formal educational opportunities has vastly altered the educational landscape of the municipality. In 2004 Mejía reported dismal junior and senior secondary coverage: in Ciriboya approximately 37.7 percent of young people completed the ninth grade (Mejía, 2004).³² Rates were similar for the entire municipality, with slight improvements in the community of Sangrelaya (Mejía, 2004). While no statistics are

³¹ Information regarding the July 30, 2008 plane incident was taken from La Prensa daily newspaper. (“Queman avioneta que traía cocaína”, 2008)

³² No data for upper secondary level coverage is available for Ciriboya. For the municipality of Irióna approximately 1.8% of young people complete their upper secondary level education. (Mejía, 2004)

available for recent years, Ruiz and Abel Figueroa, the former Irióna director of a large scale CISP project, estimate 70% coverage rates for junior secondary education in Ciriboya³³ (Interview 25, November 25, 2008). A local high school student confirms the widespread coverage of education. When Dixá, a ninth grade student from Ciriboya, was asked what she would like Canadians to know about the Garifunas she replied “the good thing is that almost everyone studies” (Interview 3, June 6, 2008). While not everyone is able to study, in this statement she identifies improved educational coverage as a source of cultural pride, a characteristic worthy, and in her mind most important, to share with people unfamiliar with her culture and community. Upon completion of the ninth grade in December 2008 Dixá plans to migrate to the city of Trujillo to finish her secondary studies.

The community of Sangrelaya is the only location in the municipality where senior secondary level courses are offered. However, the trip to Sangrelaya via bus and boat is becoming increasingly costly³⁴. One of the principal advantages of the program is that condensed courses are offered on weekends. As Sofía, now in her early 20s, explains, she was able to travel by boat every Saturday morning and return Sunday nights for two years to complete her senior secondary studies prior to leaving for La Ceiba to study nursing (Interview 11, July 4, 2008). As the eldest daughter of a single mother of four, this program allowed her to assist with household, child rearing and agricultural duties

³³ CISP is an Italian and European Union NGO project designed for the municipality of Irióna. The program, operating from 2002-2005, worked on HIV/AIDS prevention, hurricane preparation, and cultural and environmental preservation. Abel Figueroa, a young Garifuna, was the local director of this program, in addition to several other NGO programs in the Irióna region. His familiarity with the local context and development in the region is profound.

³⁴ In Honduras senior secondary school is comprised of three grades, or levels. These levels are known as 1st, 2nd and 3rd cycle. Upon completion of these three levels students are awarded with their *Bachillerato*. A *Bachillerato* is a requirement for entering many jobs, educational institutions and universities.

during the week. It also afforded her two additional years of education in the rural setting prior to incurring the costs associated with studying in the city³⁵.

Because of the volume of work associated with simply surviving in the municipality of Irióna, especially on weekdays, education programs offered on weekends are practical, especially for young adults who have families to care for and agricultural plots to tend to. The administrative capital for the municipality, the community of Irióna Viejo, has recently opened an alternative school which operates on Saturdays. The alternative school, ISMF, offers classes on Saturday mornings for individuals wishing to complete their junior secondary studies in a setting other than their community CEB³⁶. Students of the alternative program include young adults who work on weekdays or care for children, single mothers, and young pregnant women. All three levels are simultaneously taught by one instructor, a female Garifuna with a Bachelors degree in law and human rights who is currently completing an education program for teachers working in bilingual settings³⁷.

Roberto Ruiz of the Ciriboya CEB is particularly pleased that his centre only lost one junior high school student in the 2007/08 school year to the alternative program due to an unplanned pregnancy. He reports that the dropout rates due to pregnancies at the Ciriboya CEB and surrounding communities are usually higher, and credits the numerous NGOs promoting preventative healthcare in the region for this reduction. When asked

³⁵ Sofia now works as a full time nurse at a community healthy centre in the neighbouring municipality

³⁶ I was unable to ascertain from local professionals and community members what the acronym ISMF stands for. Attempts were made on two separate occasions to visit the school, but both visits were cancelled by the instructor due to exams and transportation challenges.

³⁷ The educational program, offered free of charge by the Honduran Secretary of Education, is specifically designed for instructors working in a Spanish-Garifuna bilingual context. Also offered on weekends, this program allows instructors to teach during the week and attend classes on Saturdays and Sundays in the city of La Ceiba. La Ceiba is a six to eight hour bus ride from Irióna; the travel and work schedule is incredibly demanding for these local educators.

what he believes the local and international NGOs have done for young people in the region Ruiz responds “Yes, they have done things for young people, but mostly about health, prevention...in this area they have done a lot..” Of course it is noted in the careful selection of words that although this aspect of youth development has been well developed, it does not comprehensively deal with the plethora of young peoples needs. No single program could do so. As Ana, a ninth grade student in Ciriboya states, “we [Garifuna youth] are in need of everything” (Interview 19, August 14, 2008). However, the only formal youth activity that she has ever attended, outside of school sponsored events, were HIV/AIDS prevention workshops. Indeed, when discussing NGO work in the region young people most often reference the highly organized and strategically implemented HIV/AIDS prevention programs.

NGO Sponsored Education in Iriona

The most well known and frequently cited HIV/AIDS prevention program in Iriona is that of CAUSE Canada. CAUSE Canada, in conjunction with COMCAVI, a Honduran executing agency of USAID, implemented a series of comprehensive programs for young people between 2004 and 2007 in all eight communities of the municipality. The coordinated, well funded and systematically implemented program delivered a variety of learning opportunities and skill building sessions for young people. This prevention and education program was divided into two distinct target groups, one for youth ages 12 to 18, and another for young adults. This distinction was developed for two reasons, firstly the material and activities were customized for each age group. This distinction was also dictated, to the detriment of HIV/AIDS prevention, by international donor politics. The principal challenge is that many NGOs working in the region receive substantial funding,

directly and indirectly from USAID. USAID, due to changes in policy under the Republican administration of 2000-2008, stipulates that funding for HIV/AIDS prevention programs are not to be used to supply condoms or condom education to individuals under the age of eighteen³⁸. While the young adult group was able to discuss the comprehensive 'ABC' approach to HIV/AIDS prevention, the under-eighteen group was limited to discussions of abstinence and the virtue of "postergación", or waiting to engage in sexual activities³⁹. CEPROSAF sponsored Garifuna youth health surveys have found that sexual activity amongst this segment of the population can begin as early as age twelve.

Beyond the typical workshops and focus groups, the team of nurses and community outreach employees employed larger-than-life puppet "process theatre", computers, interactive games and two soccer tournaments to reach both young males and females⁴⁰. In a community where resources are scarce and luxuries are far from commonplace, the promotional materials served as a draw for young people. When 16 year old Ana was asked why she decided to attend the CAUSE HIV/AIDS activities she replied simply "I wanted to learn." And with a sincere smile she added, "...they gave us some t-shirts, hats, everything" (Interview 19, August 14, 2008). The promotional materials for the younger group, worn proudly by participants and staff, carry messages such as:

³⁸ The Obama administration in 2009 lifted the USAID 'gag rule' regarding condom distribution and education to minors. In the future USAID funded programs in Iriona may have more flexibility when implementing comprehensive HIV/AIDS prevention programs.

³⁹ The ABC approach to HIV/AIDS prevention includes A: Abstinence, B: Be Faithful and C: Condom Use.

⁴⁰ Process Theatre is an interactive process in which young participants act as the authors, actors and directors of a theatrical presentation. In the HIV/AIDS groups process theatre provided young people with an opportunity to create plays incorporating their own knowledge of the epidemic, as well as scenarios, music and humour that was appropriate for their age group and collective interests.

- *I am going to wait for what God wants, Love, Communication and Mutual Fidelity* (Youth workshop pencil cases)

Members of the Young Adult groups received materials with distinct messages, such as:

- *For the love of soccer and health, we will stop HIV/AIDS: We won't give up. Using a condom makes me a champion.* (Soccer Tournament Promotional Materials)
- *USO Condón/ I use condoms* (T-shirts with the 'O' represented visually with an image of a condom)
- *For my health and the health of my community, I always use a condom or don't risk it—AIDS Action Committee* (Leadership Committee T-Shirt)

Although condoms were not available directly to youth under the age of 18 via NGO activities, there is significant value in popular older youth wearing promotional materials advocating the use of condoms. This indirect form of promotion and education, in addition to equipping older youth with comprehensive prevention information is a notable first step.

One of the nurses employed by the program highlights the popularity of the promotional materials:

We always had gifts for the young people...everyone wanted to participate, everyone wanted to leave with a prize.... So we asked them questions, and those who could answer questions correctly could receive a prize. It was truly a circus. We had handkerchiefs, books, pencil sharpeners, t-shirts...we had a little bit of everything. We looked for things that we thought young people would like...we even had lipgloss! We had a lot of stuff for young people.

The decision to employ this method was used by the nurses

...because we saw that if we gave away prizes many young people wanted to participate...in a single *tardeada educativa* up to 120 young people would arrive. We would work with the direct and indirect [participants]...young people would invite their friends, so many young people would arrive, even those who I had never seen before in my life! But we only gave prizes to those who answered the questions correctly (Rosy Alvarez, Interview 21, August 18, 2008).⁴¹

While the program produced a lot of amusement and promotional goods for young people, these activities are novel approaches to address a serious need in Garifuna communities. In 2001 a study funded by the Honduran government reported an HIV/AIDS infection rate of more than 8% amongst the Garifuna population (USAID, 2004). This study puts the infection rate of Garifunas at more than two to four times the national infection rate of approximately 1.8-3.2%⁴². Stansbury & Sierra (2004) and Sierra et al. (2002) highlight countless challenges that these prevention initiatives face. In Garifuna communities male migration, gender dynamics, firmly entrenched religious morals, and inaccessibility to prevention methods (most notably condoms) collectively challenge prevention programming⁴³.

While it may be tempting to disregard the promotional tactics as simple bribery to fulfil donor attendance requirements, that would be an incorrect interpretation. The

⁴¹ A *tardeada educativa*, or educational afternoon, usually took the form of a large scale workshop.

⁴² For a comprehensive study of HIV/AIDS amongst the Honduran Garifunas, see Stanbury & Sierra (2004) Risks, Stigma and Honduran Garifuna Conceptions of HIV/AIDS. *Social Science & Medicine* 59, : 457-471

⁴³ Condoms are scarcely available in the municipality of Iriona. Condoms are available to adults, but are only available at select events and from some NGO offices and local nurses. Condoms are not available for purchase in the region. One noteworthy exception is the NGO CEPROSAF, which offers condoms and prevention methods training, in addition to abstinence counselling, to Garifunas ages twelve and up. CEPROSAF currently works in Garifuna communities along the Atlantic coast, but not in the municipality of Iriona (Mirian de Valenzuela, Interview 16, July 10, 2008).

simple act of filling a town with vivid, eye catching messages on popular t-shirts and handkerchiefs regarding the epidemic helps the issue make the transfer from taboo to commonplace. Disintegrating firmly entrenched taboos, stereotypes and misinformation is a first and essential step towards disease prevention. When asked about the impact of the program Rosy Alvarez reports that young people were *encantados*, or enchanted with the program; “sometimes they would show up an hour early!” (Interview 21, August 18, 2008) Rosy believes that the young people were enamoured with the program

...because there are things that young people have never seen in their homes. Because amongst [...] talking about sexual relations is taboo. So when they arrive at adolescence they experiment with everything life has to offer in the street rather than in their home (Interview 21, August 18, 2008).

In other words, CAUSE was able to offer young people a forum to discuss important, but taboo topics, outside of the home, where it was not only permissible, but encouraged.

Professionals working in the field of HIV/AIDS prevention recognize that it is a lengthy process, one which may take several generations to achieve its objectives (M. Valenzuela, Interview 16, July 10, 2008). While it is practical and efficient to develop prevention activities for children and youth, one of the most striking strengths of the HIV/AIDS programming implemented by CAUSE is that it was developed to work simultaneously with young people and adults. Distinct groups, with age appropriate activities, were created for youth and adult prevention teams in each community⁴⁴. The need for more activities which simultaneously engage children, youth, parents and adults in NGO activities was a common theme in the rural interviews.

Roberto Ruiz, school director, explains, “[w]e need to work together and create a coordinated effort...so that the language that the parents use is the same as the language

⁴⁴ In the most isolated community of Cocolito an additional group was created for adults living with HIV/AIDS.

that the children use, and the NGOs” (Interview 20, August 14, 2008). Similar sentiments were expressed by Yoya, a middle-aged community leader who oversees local administration of the Ciriboya Catholic Church. When asked what Yoya would say to those working with young people on themes of sexual health she replies “If the parents don’t support it Caty...nothing...nothing” while shaking her head⁴⁵ (Interview 5, June 20, 2008). If Yoya was the director of a community project she “would...advise young people, work with this group of families, a family group, knowing that this is very necessary...very necessary. [She doesn’t] know how to do it, but [she sees] it as a necessity” (Interview 5, June 20, 2008). Karen Patricia Bernardez, known as Paty, reiterates this need for intergenerational programming. When asked what type of program she would develop for youth in Irióna, the twenty one year old CAUSE employee and teacher answers:

Well, first I would form a group of young people in each community. After forming the groups I would form a board of directors for each group and we would do small projects with young people. We would ask the young people what they wanted to do, and if it was good for them and their communities we would do small projects...and always keep them busy.

After a pause, she continues:

I would like to work with both [youth and adults] because it does not serve me to work with only adults or only young people...you have to teach both (Interview 6, June 30, 2008).

In this brief response to a complex question Paty astutely introduces two essential characteristics of a successful youth-centred development program. First, she recognizes the need for meaningful youth participation and leadership. Second, she simultaneously recommends intergenerational programming. Referring back to Table 1.1 and the PYD

⁴⁵ ‘Caty’ is the nickname for the author, Catherine Craven

six 'C's, Paty's approach would help facilitate both *Contribution*, assuming roles as participants and leaders, and *Confidence*, the perception that one's ideas and contributions are meaningful. Furthermore, in recognizing the need for building intergenerational bridges, this type of programming may help foster one aspect of *Connection*: "Being a participating member of a community. Being intimately involved in at least one lasting relationship with another person" (Pittman et al, 2003, p.11).

Agricultural Training in Iriona

Some of most popular and widely available programs for young people in Iriona are those which deal with HIV/AIDS prevention. Part of the success of these programs specifically is that they deliver meaningful and appropriate life skills, skills which are vital both in the rural and urban setting. The advantage that these programs have, at least from a coverage and participation perspective, is that the vast numbers of young people who plan to leave the region upon graduation see value in obtaining this specific and potentially lifesaving education. Several non governmental organizations in the region, however, have also developed a series of small scale agricultural training programs for young people. With nearly ever single junior high school student planning to leave the region promptly, this approach initially appeared to be ill conceived. Furthermore, it is not uncommon for directors and program coordinators from their comfortable offices overseas and in Tegucigalpa to romanticize traditional, indigenous and rural ways of living. In-depth interviews with several of the young participants and leaders of these programs, however, revealed that these programs, although not well-suited to all beneficiaries, do indeed address a need of some young people in the region.

Both CAUSE and Sub Sede Pastoral Social have offered agricultural schools and training programs designed specifically for adolescents in recent years. From 2004-2007 CAUSE developed an agricultural program for youth, working in conjunction with local junior high schools to develop training plots and an experimental garden where new technologies, such as plant grafting, were introduced⁴⁶. The experimental garden was installed in Ciriboya, and three schools in the municipality received technical and financial support to begin rice and yucca plots. The junior high school in Ciriboya also received training and supplies to plant high-value trees, such as mahogany, on a large piece of undeveloped property that the school owns⁴⁷.

At the end of 2007 another agricultural education project was introduced to the municipality by Sub Sede Pastoral Social, herein referred to as Sub Sede, a Honduran run NGO which receives substantial funding from the Catholic Church. Like CAUSE, Sub Sede's local offices are located in the community of Ciriboya. However, the projects are designed to serve the entire municipality. The new Sub Sede program has been quickly and enthusiastically embraced by young locals, and the interviews with some of these participants reveal the value of this alternative agricultural educational program. As Lucas, the 22 year old youth leader of this program asserts, "we don't need to farm the way our grandfathers did, but we need to continue farming" (Interview 14, July 14,

⁴⁶ Young people were also part of the community team that trained and worked with CAUSE on the Honduran Coconut Reforestation Pilot Project which operated between 2002 and 2005.

⁴⁷ The reforestation process, both of high value trees and coconut trees is an essential task for these communities. Coconut trees, destroyed by a lethal blight, provide the principal ingredient in many of the traditional Garifuna dishes. Stands of high value trees such as mahogany are also being destroyed by "bandit loggers" who continue to illegally invade Garifuna lands. The destruction of these trees not only results in an economic loss, but also compromises the integrity of the protective root system in an area subject to annual floods and hurricanes.

2008). This new way of farming includes non-traditional, hybrid and synthetic crops and new techniques for planting and care⁴⁸.

Twenty year old Mateo is the volunteer community leader for the Sub Sede program in San Jose de la Punta; when asked what the most valuable thing he has learned participating in the group he replies “it is magnificent...the new technologies.” He continues “we are in a field school learning the new technology of planting...in this field school we have the new technology for planting rice, corn, tomatoes and sweet peppers...I have my own little parcel [of land]...where I can plant rice.” Mateo’s enthusiasm and pride for the program and his leadership role within the group is magnetic: he carefully spent a large portion of the hour long interview explaining, in depth, all of the new plants and techniques that the group has learned.

For Mateo this experience represents much more than a new garden plot to tend to, it forms an integral component of a healing process after several tumultuous teen years. A runaway at eighteen, Mateo found himself on the island of Roatán working on a commercial fishing boat and ignoring pleas from his family to return to the village or the city homes of his elder siblings. Mateo speaks regrettably of this time, the people he spent his time with and the activities that filled his spare time. He recounts vividly, however, a turning point in his young years, a car crash outside of La Ceiba in which he was seriously injured. It was during the recovery period that he decided to return to the village and live with his family. Shortly upon his return to the village he was approached

⁴⁸ Many NGOs working in agriculture in the region strive to introduce new technologies, crops and techniques while simultaneously recognizing the importance of traditional methods and crops. Highly skilled agronomists and development professionals, notably Garifuna Ing. Julio Morales, have worked with community stakeholders to achieve a balance between the old and new. For example, many programs will introduce new crops and hybrid species, in addition to introducing new techniques or technologies to improve the yield or processing of the most traditional Garifuna crop: Yucca.

by Lucas, and invited to participate in the Sub Sede group. Not only has Mateo re-established relationships with his family, he has also been given a new sense of pride from the ability to contribute to the family with his agricultural plots and acquired knowledge. In Mateo's case we can clearly see the impact of the PYD 5 'C's: this program offered him an opportunity to develop not only *Competence*, but also *Confidence*, *Connection* and *Contribution*. The principal design of the program is to deliver Competence, in the form of a new set of knowledge and skills. However, the vital step of establishing volunteer youth leaders in each community also provided Mateo with the opportunity to assume a new role as a participant and leader (Contribution) and develop Confidence, knowing that his ideas and contributions are meaningful to the Sub Sede organization and his peers. Indeed, Yoya sites her primary concern with NGOs in the region is concerning those which fail to offer meaningful opportunities for participants to gain experience as leaders and decision makers (Interview 5, June 20, 2008).

Mateo also considers the Sub Sede program an integral component of his education, he distinctly refers to the meetings as 'field schools' and defined the lessons as part of his education (Interview 12, July 4, 2008). He recalls "I had given up studying, but now, now I wouldn't give up my studies for anything, for anything" (Interview 12, July 4, 2008).

Mateo's story is just one of the many reasons why Lucas believes in the program that he is coordinating; "they [young people] are motivated by learning new things...there are now adults in the group, up to 30 years old, because they [too] became interested in what we were doing" (Interview 14, July 5, 2008). When asked if he

believes that providing young people with agricultural skills is a viable alternative to migrating for educational purposes Lucas explains:

Many of the young people who finish school and leave for the city to continue studying or for work, that is why they go to the city...but the majority of the young people who participate in our groups are single mothers, young people who aren't studying...others that already have families.

Although there is a new "ideal" life trajectory for young Garifunas, Lucas reminds us that not all young people desire, or are able, to follow this path. This ideal trajectory, repeated in many interviews and field observations, is nicely summarized by Yoya.

In my opinion, it is necessary that [young people] go to the city to see what it is like...to...how do I put it...[to see] how to better one's self...(pause) what development is like in other places. It would be nice if they left to study or to work and then return to the community. That is the ideal.

Although this plan is equally popular with Dixia and Daniela, local ninth grade students, not everyone agrees that this is the ideal model for young people to follow⁴⁹. Despite the fact that nearly every young person plans to migrate upon completion of their junior secondary studies, migration is a contested theme in many of the interviews that were conducted. The popularity of the agricultural programs is frequently due to the belief that the youngest generation has lost the traditional agricultural skill set, often because they are focused on their studies and subsequently leave. Even the school director, Ruiz, in charge of the education of the next generation believes that migration has negative effects on the community. He asserts,

I almost don't see any [advantages to migration] because it is *minimal* the number of young people who left who have been able to return anything productive for themselves or communities. There are almost no advantages. Now, the disadvantages...one is that until now there is a question of natural recourses, very few people are working the earth, Irióna is losing its youth, this is one of the great disadvantages (Interview 20, August 14, 2008).

⁴⁹ In interviews 3 and 4 (June 6th) both Dixia and Daniela outline plans similar to the one that Yoya proposes.

Although his interpretation of the situation is biased, perhaps even dramatized, it helps to understand one side of the migration debate. Migration, both in rural Iruona and in the literature, is a contested concept. Abel Figueroa, a young Garifuna who has worked with countless NGOs in Iruona, believes that youth migration is fostering a “loss of human capital” in rural communities (Interview 2, May 24, 2008). González (1988) expresses similar fears regarding urban migration:

It is my sense that, with a few exceptions, those who have migrated to cities within their own country are “permanent removals,” ...As they become involved in the developing urban world of the larger country, they may or may not lose sight of their forebears (p.184).

González and Figueroa express opinions regarding internal migration that remain prevalent in rural Garifuna communities, especially amongst the older generations.

Migration: Commonplace, Cyclical, Contested

In part the contested theme of migration is often misunderstood. In several interviews young people outline life plans to leave for the city, get an education, work in the city, make remittances to family members in the village, and save enough funds to retire in their native village. Migration, in the contemporary Garifuna context, however, is more often than not a cyclical process. It is far more common for young people to leave for the city, return to the village for a period, and repeat this process several times during their most economically productive years. The fears expressed by individuals such as Roberto Ruiz in large part reflect the reality that the migration of Garifunas has drastically changed within a single generation. While young Garifunas today have the opportunity to accumulate education and social capital within Honduras, previous generations were

required to leave their communities permanently, commonly to low-skilled, low-paying and often dangerous working conditions⁵⁰. While the assumption, and perhaps fear, of some community members is that a mass and permanent exodus of young people will hinder the progress of their community, this is likely untrue.

Cyclical youth migration can in fact dramatically improve the progress of a rural Garifuna community. A notable example is the rural hospital that was inaugurated in Ciriboya August 2008. In 1999 the Cuban government began offering full scholarships for Honduran students to study medicine at the Latin American School of Medicine. In this first year eleven of these students were Garifunas. The first group of Garifuna students organized themselves in OEGA-CUBA(The Organization of Garifuna Students in Cuba). OEGA-CUBA was able to obtain a meeting with Fidel Castro to request more scholarships for Garifuna students in future cohorts. Following this meeting, twenty scholarships were earmarked for Honduran Garifunas in 2001. Garifuna students have entered the program every year since. Students return to Honduras on annual working trips, as medical brigades, putting into practice the skills have learned. These trips are designed to foster a “spirit of service” amongst the students (Dr. Luther Castillo, Interview 18, August 14). Students of OEGA-CUBA are largely responsible for fundraising, coordinating and staffing the first indigenous hospital in Honduras. The development of this hospital also addresses an additional challenge associated with cyclical youth migration. Frequently young, newly educated migrants return to their communities of origin with a desire to contribute and share their skills, but have limited resources and infrastructure to do so.

⁵⁰ The challenges associated with migration and the previous Garifuna generations are widely acknowledged. See England (2006), Gonzalez (1992) and ODECO (2002).

Although the hospital is an example of productive, cyclical youth migration, not all young migrants work in healthcare. In part the fear of some community members, such as Ruiz, is that the increased levels of human capital amongst young people are not matched by the opportunities available in the rural setting. Furthermore, an influx of young people who have obtained higher levels of education could potentially disrupt or truncate the necessity or desire to continue traditional practices, such as subsistence agriculture.

Throughout the interviewing process in the rural setting, however it was common to find young people who have spent a period of time in the urban setting, often acquiring work experience, education and new skill sets in the process. Rosa, 26, studied accounting in a technical school and returned to Ciriboya to assist in caring for her 10 siblings and father upon the untimely death of her mother. Sofia, a nurse in her early twenties, returned home to help her mother care for younger siblings and seek work in the region; she was successful in finding a job. David, also in his early twenties, studied at a technical school in the nearby city of Tocoa and returned after three years to assist his father in running the family-owned corner store. These are just a sampling of numerous young people interviewed with similar experiences and migratory patterns.

Consistent with the rural survey data (see table 2.1), most adolescents from Ciriboya do plan to migrate for educational and work purposes. However, it is very likely that many will return during their most economically productive years. It is in these return periods that interviewees also call for more support for young people. Although many will leave in search of education opportunities, some may not succeed. In the rural interviews conducted with young people who have spent significant periods of time in the

urban settings, many interviewees asserted that the most important thing that youth in Iriona require is more locally available opportunities to complete upper level and alternative education. This call for more educational opportunities in the rural setting is also rooted in the urban experiences of young people who left with the goal of educating themselves. Carlos, who studied in Tocoa for three years, would like to see a training centre where students can learn skills, such as handicrafts and woodworking. School director Ruiz, who believes that young people are required to leave at too early an age, would rather see a local educational centre with practical and technical skills for these young people to study at. Ruiz adds:

There are many students who simply don't have the intelligence to continue their education beyond the sixth grade, but currently there are no other options for them. But they are very appropriate for certain positions, technical skills (Interview 7, July 1, 2008).

Although some would disagree that there are many students who are not sufficiently "intelligent" to continue secondary and tertiary education, there are indeed socio-economic limitations which may prevent many young people from furthering their education, and alternative education available locally would ameliorate the situation. Twenty year old Lucas, of the Sub Sede organization, agrees that the region is in need of "more educational projects. [He] would like to see a technical school- in Honduras there are not many technical schools" (Interview 14, July 5, 2008). Lucas himself participated in a series of handicraft workshops offered by APROSA, the Professional Association of Sangrelaya in 2000. In Sangrelaya he learned to weave hammocks, hats and baskets, and make jewellery from coconut shells; all of the arts and crafts were made from locally available resources. When Lucas travelled to Guatemala City for a year of secondary studies he was able to make and sell weaved hats, using the skills he gained from the

APROSA program to earn spending money for his time in Guatemala. Lucas speaks proudly of the skills he learned, and now considers himself an artisan. Unlike Guatemala, unfortunately, says Lucas, the isolated Iriona region lacks a market or demand for many artistic products. While handicraft workshops of the past have taught more artistic skill sets, many locals would like to see a more sophisticated series of education opportunities, including woodworking, agronomy, mechanics and plumbing.

The call for more tertiary education opportunities in the rural region is also common, although not as common as the call for more technical education. Sofia, a licensed nurse, aspires to become a professional nurse, a higher level of accreditation which requires a four year university degree. However, due to familial and employment obligations in the rural sector, she knows that her only option will be distance education, which will take many years to complete. Sofia, however, is even less likely to leave her community a second time due to a sense of responsibility to her community. She states “In Plaplaya there are no longer young people, now they are in [La] Ceiba, San Pedro Sula...but I am not a spoiled person, I will always return” (Interview 11, July 4, 2008).⁵¹ In her view permanently leaving is an act of selfishness. Put another way, Lucas, who aspires to one day study medicine, says that he would not feel right acquiring a useful skill set and utilizing it elsewhere because he is acutely aware that those skills could be used for his community. When asked why Rosy, the talented nurse and community organizer for CAUSE, returned to Ciriboya she simply answered “because my community needs me” (Interview 21, August 18, 2008).

⁵¹ Plaplaya is a Garifuna community in the Moskitia region, located close to the municipal border of Iriona.

CHAPTER 4

Rosy Alvarez, nurse and CAUSE employee, expresses a common sentiment amongst Garifuna young people: my community, or in some instances my family, needs me. As Positive Youth Development proponents Pittman et al. (2003) astutely observe, young people “look to weave together learning, work and contribution – preparation and engagement – throughout their lives” (p.14). Although the survey data shows a strong trend towards urban migration, this migration is done with a sense of purpose and a desire to contribute. To better equip themselves to contribute to their communities and families, most Garifuna youth seek upper secondary and, in some cases tertiary education opportunities in the urban setting. When asked what development initiatives young urban migrants would develop for their peers, the most common answers were related to educational objectives. Prior to departing the rural communities, David, thinks that it would be advantageous to “be in the schools in the afternoons in each community...to give these people a chance to be counselled in the process of migration” (Interview 14, July 4, 2008). Rosa would develop a similar project. Rosa believes that it is essential to visit young Garifuna students in the classroom to explain the educational opportunities in the city, the requirements and costs for the different options. These classroom sessions would ensure that students understand which degrees and diplomas serve which purpose, “because it would be very, very unfortunate for a young person to not know what they were going to study after [they finish the first portion of their education]” (Interview 8, July 2, 2008). In La Ceiba Guillermo Thomas would work to facilitate cooperative living

arrangements for young students, where they could live, study, cook and adapt to life in the city together, in addition to sharing living costs (Interview 15, July 9, 2008).

Guillermo, Rosa and David have strong opinions regarding young migrants and the educational process because all of them have experienced this firsthand. Many young people leave the rural villages in seek of further education opportunities. They value their rural communities, but it is often for this very reason that they recognize the advantages and opportunities presented in the cities, especially during their most productive years. The migration process, although often successful, is not necessarily easy for the young people involved. Young Garifuna surveyed in La Ceiba site a plethora of challenges, especially upon arrival:

- “The most difficult thing is being far away from my family” (Survey 60⁵²)
- “Adapting to the way of life and the behaviour of others. And sometimes I suffer racist insults.” (Survey 63⁵³)
- “Living alone in a room.” (Survey 64⁵⁴)
- “At first my Spanish wasn’t very good and people made fun of me.” (Survey 81⁵⁵)
- “Finding a stable job to support myself.” (Survey 86⁵⁶)

Several young migrants report struggling to navigate the bureaucratic landscape of the city: it is unfamiliar, confusing and many arrive without *cédulas*, or ID cards^{57 58}.

⁵² 18 year old female, living in La Ceiba for two years.

⁵³ 19 year old male, living in La Ceiba for five years.

⁵⁴ 18 year old male.

⁵⁵ 19 year old male, living in La Ceiba for six years.

⁵⁶ 18 year old female, living in La Ceiba for five years.

⁵⁷ The challenges associated with documentation and identification were reported in three interviews: Interview 8, July 2, with Rosa; Interview 15, July 9, with Guillermo and Interview 9, July 4, with Carlos.

Without the correct documentation obtaining legitimate, stable work is nearly impossible. Lacking sufficient documentation may also impede one's ability to register in school. Without the proper support networks and preparation local experts report that young migrants to the city can also be vulnerable to employment in prostitution and the drug trade (Interviews 1 & 2, May 24, 2008 and Interview 7, July 1, 2008).

Despite the abundance of difficulties and vulnerabilities, a variety of organizations, educational programs and church related activities, in addition to informal, youth coordinated gatherings, help to mitigate these challenges. Many of these programs, including the educational ones, have also been developed to foster a sense of cultural pride and reinforce connections to the Garifuna community, despite the potentially isolating factors of the city. It is here that Garifuna youth challenge the widespread notion that "because their sights are set on emigration as the recognition of adult status, children fail to learn traditional lore and ritual, native crafts or economic activities such as fishing and gardening" (González, 1992, p.25). Garifuna youth, with the right support and initiative, have demonstrated that they are able to balance the challenges and demands of migration with the desire to remain connected to their culture and community. Several organizations based in La Ceiba help to facilitate the educational, developmental and spiritual progress of migratory Garifuna youth. The organizations that collaborated with this research project in the urban setting include the Pastoral Garifuna, the Catholic Church, the Organización de Desarrollo Étnico Comunitario (ODECO) and several young community organizers. These organizations work to provide activities and learning opportunities that extend beyond the formal classroom setting.

⁵⁸ In Honduras *Cédulas* function much like a Social Insurance Number and Identification Card. It is uncommon for most citizens to have alternative identification, such as a driver's licence.

ODECO

The Organización de Desarrollo Étnico Comunitario, or ODECO, is undoubtedly one of the most prominent and active NGOs in not only La Ceiba, but all of Honduras⁵⁹.

ODECO, formed in 1992 in La Ceiba, is a predominantly Garifuna ran organization which works to design and promote an integrated approach to development in Afro-Honduran communities. This also includes non-Garifuna Afro-Honduran communities, most notably the English speakers of African descent living in the Bay Islands. The motto of the organization, printed on every publication and boldly displayed across the exterior of the main offices reads: *Buscamos voces que acallen el silencio/ We seek voices that break the silence*⁶⁰. ODECO clearly and emphatically understands the role that young people play in the process of community development and overcoming the challenges and barriers that these communities face. At the highest levels of the organization a youth secretary is one of the elected positions on the board of directors. Furthermore, in virtually every room and hallway of the three story office one will find young, energetic Garifunas working, receiving training or socializing. The organizational structure, as well as the programs offered by ODECO demonstrates a commitment to not only working with young people, but also developing the next generation of Afro-Honduran community leaders. ODECO has developed two distinct education programs to address the needs of youth living in the urban and rural settings. Once again, ODECO affirms that the priority for Garifuna young people is obtaining diverse, engaging and improved educational opportunities.

⁵⁹ Organización de Desarrollo Étnico Comunitario, or in English The Organization for Ethnic Community Development.

⁶⁰ The verb *acallar* in Spanish literally translates to silence. This play on words, literally translated would read: We seek voices that silence the silence.

Escuela de Lideres

In 2006 ODECO began offering a truly unique educational opportunity specifically for Afro-Honduran youth. Since its inception in 2006 the *Escuela de Lideres*, formally known as The School for the Formation of Afro-descendant Leaders in Human Rights, has graduated six cohorts of students. The students, hailing from both rural and urban Garifuna communities, convene for one week per month for six consecutive months at the ODECO offices. The total instruction time, approximately 240 hours, represents a significant investment of time away from home, school or work for the students. Some students travel in excess of twenty hours, round trip, from remote villages to attend classes. Despite this investment of time and energy, enrolment remains consistent or increases with each graduating class. Fortunately, the program is made available to all willing participants thanks to funding provided by ODECO, the government of the Netherland and the National Commission for Human Rights. This generous support provides transportation, food, lodging and instruction free of charge to all students⁶¹. In the 2008 cohort ODECO was also able to invite one Garifuna student from Nicaragua to participate. The popularity of this program, which intakes approximately fifty to sixty students per cohort, is largely due to the innovative and non-traditional curriculum⁶².

The 135 page curriculum represents a complete and well-structured program of instruction (ODECO, 2006). The material covered and activities planned are selected with a principal objective in mind: “Promoting the self defence of human rights in the Afro-Honduran community” (ODECO, 2006, p.1). This emphasis on racial

⁶¹ The third floor of the ODECO offices includes sufficient dormitories and cooking facilities to accommodate the students. The dormitories also allow young community leaders to network and build relationships outside of the classroom.

⁶² Up to date information and photos from the 2008/09 cohorts and onward can be found at the ODECO blog: <http://odecohn.blogspot.com>

empowerment is a feature which allows ODECO to solicit significant funding from select international donors to support its youth programs. The curriculum consists of eight instructional units: Identity and Culture; Organization for the Defence of Human Rights; Understanding Human Rights; Protecting Human Rights; Females and Community; Family, Youth and Children; HIV/AIDS and Human Rights and Land and Environment⁶³. The units are taught by ODECO staff, invited university professors, lawyers specializing in human rights, community organizers and activists. Legal rights, international conventions and national and international mechanisms for protecting these rights and conventions are the focus of many units. Each unit is completed with a formal written exam, ensuring that the students have grasped key concepts. Students often spend their breaks and evenings studying the material together⁶⁴.

The curriculum also allows for some flexibility in instruction, based on the availability and expertise of guest lecturers. For example, the fifth cohort was offered an additional unit in ‘The Contributions of Afro-Americans to Humanity’ which was presented by Dr. Jorge Ramirez Reyna, who travelled from Peru to teach the unit⁶⁵. The presentation by Dr. Reyna borrowed largely from the work of an American researcher, Dr. Sheila Walker⁶⁶. Not only do students learn about the historical contributions of Afro-descendants in the Americas, they are also exposed to the work of key activists and academics. Surrounded by posters of Malcolm X, Nelson Mandela and many other

⁶³ For the complete curriculum, see ODECO, 2006.

⁶⁴ Observations are based on data gathered from unit three of the fifth cohort, which convened in August 2008.

⁶⁵ Dr. Jorge Ramirez Reyna is a research, educator, activist from Peru. In Peru he is also the Executive Director of The Black Association for the Defence and Promotion of Human Rights (ASONEDH). For more information please see the website of ASONEDH: www.asonedh.com

⁶⁶ Dr. Sheila S.Walker is a professor at the University of Texas at Austin and an expert in African culture and the African Diaspora in the Americas.

distinguished figures of African heritage, during the breaks many students are overheard discussing the lives and accomplishments of individuals such as Rosa Parks, Martin Luther King, Jr. and Dr. Satuye, the first Garifuna to graduate from medical school in Honduras⁶⁷. These lessons have a lasting impact on many of the students. When a former student from the 2007 cohort, Guillermo Thomas, was asked if he feels a sense of responsibility towards the Garifuna community, he references a portion of Martin Luther King Jr.'s 'I have a dream' speech:

In the words of the illustrious Martin Luther King, '*I have a dream*' he said '*a dream to see the grandchildren of...both, of both slaves and non-slaves, together at the same table, like brothers*' This is the dream that I have as a leader. This country, we can, we can get [Honduras] out of the situation that it is in. We can get out of it. We have a dream, as Martin said (Guillermo Thomas, Interview 15, July 9, 2008).

Although Guillermo is a highly active and involved young Garifuna community leader, the lessons taken away from the Escuela de Lideres have a profound influence on the majority of the participants. During a break of the summer 2008 cohort, several participants explained the impact of the curriculum:

- A young man from the community of Nueva Armenia is working with local youth on a project to protect their coastal land from foreign companies who are trying to appropriate 200 *manzanas* from traditionally titled Garifuna territory⁶⁸.
- A young man from Mascara who spent a large portion of his adolescent years in New York City learned to be proud of his Garifuna culture and language not in Honduras, but while living in the United States. Upon his return to

⁶⁷ See England & Anderson (1998) for a comprehensive analysis of the processes which have encouraged Garifuna NGOs in La Ceiba, including ODECO, to so strongly identify with an African American identity, rather than an Indigenous American one.

⁶⁸ A *manzana* is a unit of measure for land. One *manzana* equals approximately 1.7 acres.

Honduras he enrolled in the *Escuela de Lideres* to learn more about his culture and to learn how to share this with fellow Garifuna youth.

- A young woman from Santa Rosa de Aguán, waiting to begin her university studies in the fall semester, was inspired to teach the Garifuna language to young Garifunas living in the urban areas who are losing their native tongue.

Evident in the variety of goals expressed by the students, the breadth of the material covered by the school equips students to select appropriate goals for their respective communities. Again, referring back the 6 C's, and Table 1.1, the *Escuela de Lideres* fosters *Confidence*, "the perception that one's ideas and contributions are meaningful", *Connection* "being a participating member of a community" and *Contribution* "making a difference, advocating for a cause [and] making meaningful decisions" (Pittman et al, 2003, p.11).

Colegio Garifuna

Consistent with concerns of the young woman from Santa Rosa de Aguán, components of Garifuna culture can be lost in the urban setting. Many children of Garifuna migrants are not exposed, or not sufficiently exposed, to their native language. This is also why a large number of Garifuna parents living in the urban setting prefer that their children be raised by extended family members who live in the rural villages. To address the linguistic needs of Garifuna youth raised in the city, ODECO has also developed a Garifuna

language school which offers classes five days a week⁶⁹. The pilot program, currently in its first year, is the only one of its kind in Honduras. The first year of the program, in addition to the earlier years of planning and seeking financial support has required significant time and energy. The sole instructor, Guillermo Thomas, explains why he believes the program is a worthy investment:

I like what I do because I do it with love...love for the Garifuna community. Little by little foreign cultures are...[pause] taking our culture away from us. And the reality is that the most susceptible to this phenomenon are young people, and children. Cultural resuscitation is very, very important (Interview 15, July 9, 2008).

ODECO has garnered financial support for the program from the Ford Foundation and the Interamerican Institute of Human Rights. This generous financial support allows ODECO to charge students a nominal fee: monthly tuition is 50 lempiras, or approximately three Canadian dollars. The students are principally comprised of adolescents who are simultaneously completing, and paying for, senior secondary or vocational studies⁷⁰. Several students are concurrently studying tourism and believe that more exposure to Garifuna language and culture would be a useful skill set in their chosen field. Others admit that while growing up there was a certain level of shame associated with speaking their indigenous tongue, and therefore its use was discouraged by parents or peers. It is only now, thanks to the ODECO program, that these young people are offered a formal opportunity to engage with their culture and language. The subtext on the Garifuna School instructional materials and certificates reads: *Reforzando*

⁶⁹ To improve my Garifuna language skills and foster stronger relationships with members of the ODECO organization, I attended lessons five days a week while I was in La Ceiba (bi-weekly for the duration of the field research). The data presented here are based on my observations and interviews with the Instructor, Guillermo Thomas. This is the one instance in the research where my methodology can be considered participatory observation.

⁷⁰ Other students include: one mature Garifuna woman seeking to improve her grammar; one Garifuna child living in the United States who returned to La Ceiba to study during the summer break; one adolescent Honduran male who is not Garifuna and one Canadian research, myself.

Valores y Fomentando La Inclusión, or Reinforcing Values and Fostering Inclusion.

There is little doubt that the Garifuna School is much more than a language instruction centre.

Cultural exposure forms the secondary component of the education program. Instructor Guillermo is emphatic that the mission of the school is to expose students not only to the living Garifuna language, but also the living Garifuna culture. Every Saturday an additional class is offered to students to practice traditional songs, dance and drumming. At the end of the weekday classes students practice singing the Honduran national anthem and the Garifuna national anthem in the Garifuna language. The culmination of these exercises for the 2008 summer session was a Catholic Mass held in the Garifuna language at the offices of ODECO on July 5th. The Mass was presided over by one of the handful of Garifuna priests in Honduras who are able to conduct Catholic ceremonies in the Afro-indigenous language. Formal invitations, written in Garifuna and Spanish, were extended to nearby community dance groups and *patronatos*, local and national leaders and politicians and the Garifuna-speaking population of La Ceiba⁷¹. Students of the school were invited to wear traditional dress, dance, sing, and make simple offerings and prayers in Garifuna. This public display of what they had learned was a source of immense pride for the students. Many of the young women were also thrilled to borrow and wear eye-catching traditional Garifuna and Afro-inspired outfits for the first time.

Perhaps even more important, the mass was a forum for networking and socializing amongst Garifuna youth, both those who are fluent in the language and

⁷¹ A Garifuna community *Patronato* is a local board comprised primarily of elders, which advises the community on political and cultural matters. The board also oversees the administration of Garifuna land titles.

customs, and those who are learning. The music, audio and technical preparations for the mass, as well as the decorations, were organized by young, highly involved Garifuna volunteers and ODECO staff⁷². Opposed to an environment where young people learn to hide their language and customs, at the mass Garifuna culture is celebrated with these young people. At the end of the mass the youth president of the Pastoral Garifuna, the Garifuna branch of the Catholic Church in Honduras, approached a group of students and said “When I saw you up there, speaking [our] language, you made me proud.”

In all of its youth extension activities, ODECO clearly understands the value in providing alternative, practical and culturally-focused education for the next generation of Garifuna young people. They also understand that fostering a sense of cultural, community and personal pride is vital to this developmental process.

Pastoral Garifuna

Another organization working to capacitate Garifuna youth leaders is the Catholic Church, specifically the Pastoral Garifuna. The Pastoral Garifuna, established in the 1990s, is a group within the Catholic Church dedicated to serving the Garifuna population. The Pastoral Garifuna, in collaboration with the Archdioceses of Honduras, has formally opened a space within the church for Garifuna language, and some aspects of the traditional Garifuna belief system, rooted in African and Arawak customs⁷³. When asked what the Pastoral Garifuna offers young people, the youth director Nelson Ariola responds “Well...much, [because it] allows us to celebrate our faith via our own cultural lens and understanding” (Interview 17, July 13, 2008). The Pastoral Garifuna develops an

⁷² Traditional food preparations and the more formal aspects of the religious ceremony were organized by mature staff and community volunteers.

⁷³ For an introduction to the highly complex, traditional Garifuna belief system see Chapter 2 in Valencia-Chalá (2006).

annual pastoral plan which includes a component for young people. The youth component is overseen by Nelson, a volunteer in his early twenties, who also works full time at an international bank and part time at an English language school. Nelson explains why he believes it is essential that the Pastoral work with young people:

The adults have told young people that they are the future. We are not just the future, we are also the present. The physical and spiritual development of the Garifuna community requires that we work with youth (Interview 17, July 13, 2008).⁷⁴

The work that Nelson coordinates includes weekly church youth group meetings in La Ceiba, a radio program on Saturdays and an annual Garifuna Fair. The radio program on Saturdays is a joint venture between mature leaders from the Pastoral Garifuna and the youth group. Consistent with Nelson's message, the radio program is a marriage of spiritual and cultural promotion. Prayers and religious songs, presented in Garifuna, are combined with messages and lectures about various aspects of Garifuna culture⁷⁵. Another event which effectively combines these two elements is the annual Garifuna fair, held in October, which brings together youth representatives from communities throughout Honduras.

The annual Garifuna fair, usually held over a weekend in October, rotates amongst the largest cities in the coastal region of Honduras: La Ceiba, Tela and San Pedro Sula. The fair is a forum both for sharing messages from the Catholic Church and for celebrating Garifuna culture. Workshops focus on spiritual development and moral

⁷⁴ The statement "We are not just the future; we are the present" was repeated by three interviewees in the urban setting (Interviews 15, 16 & 17). This statement is commonly heard in a variety of NGOs in La Ceiba. It was never heard in the rural portion of the research. The original source is unknown.

⁷⁵ I was invited to participate in the Radio Program on Saturday, July 14th, 2008. Although this was in part a kind gesture, Nelson also admitted that he invited me on the show to speak rudimentary Garifuna to demonstrate to listeners that even some North American youth found the Garifuna culture and language intriguing.

themes, while large group activities are bright, colourful expositions of Garifuna song and dance. The most popular event is the song and dance competition, which invites young people to create a performance celebrating their respective village. Young people practice their performance and enlist the help of community members in making costumes and props in the months leading up to the competition. These activities are designed to foster a sense of cultural pride in young people, within the context of the Catholic Church.

The Pastoral Garifuna and ODECO events such as the Garifuna mass provide concrete examples of an important concept in Positive Youth Development. PYD aims to concurrently develop individuals and their ability to contribute to society. PYD researchers have conducted a number of studies which highlight the role that spiritual organizations have in nurturing fully developed young people who are able and eager to give back to their families and communities. Furrow, King and White (2004), who survey numerous reports on the religious and spiritual impact on young citizens, conclude that their study “provides further support for a constructive role of religion as a developmental resource” (p.25). This conclusion is supported by the findings of many:

Youniss and colleagues found that religious youth were more involved in community service than those adolescents reporting little religious activity (Youniss et al, 1999, Youniss & Yates, 1997 in Furrow, King & White, 2004, p.18).

King (2003) suggested that identity formation within a religious context may encourage a young person to transcend self and promote a sense of commitment that not only fosters individual well-being, but the good of society as well (King, 2003 in Furrow, King & White, 2004, p.24).

Lerner and colleagues (Lerner et al, 2003) proposed that that youth who develop within a value-laden and moral context will emerge with a spiritual sensibility that nurtures attitudes and action committed to contributing to the common good (Lerner et al., 2003 in in Furrow, King & White, 2004, p.24).

PYD has outlined a clear message for youth development practitioners: fostering a sense of spiritual identity in young people has positive outputs for both the young individuals themselves and those within their sphere of influence. What PYD fails to explore, however, is whether developing spirituality or a religious identity is an *essential* step in producing positive youth outcomes, in particular *Character*. Given the replete nature of religious institutions, religiosity and spirituality within the Garifuna context this PYD assumption is suitable. It can not be assumed however, that fostering a spiritual identity is viable, or desired by all young people. Both within the Garifuna culture and other racial, ethnic, cultural and regional groups alternatives for the development of *Character* should be explored within the PYD framework.

Although the Pastoral Garifuna provides activities and spiritual development opportunities for some, as noted in the survey work, participation in church activities dramatically drops in the urban setting. The most dramatic change noted in the survey of youth participation in organized activities is the participation levels for church activities. In Ciriboya 28 of the 45 young people surveyed participate in church activities for young people; in La Ceiba this figure drops to only 12 out of 48. However, this survey question specifically refers to formal gatherings offered by the church. It was only after nearly two months of observations and interviews in La Ceiba and Ciriboya that an alternative explanation for this trend in the urban setting was revealed. Although young people report participating less in formal church gatherings, they have developed in cities throughout the coastal region informal youth gatherings via the organization of the church that they were first exposed to in the rural setting.

Informal Youth Gatherings

Although young people are less likely to engage in formal church activities upon arrival in the city, this does not necessarily suggest that they become isolated from their church community. In fact, young people in the coastal cities of Tocoa, La Ceiba and San Pedro Sula have taken it upon themselves to ensure that this disconnect does not occur.

Valentina and Jamie, two twenty year olds born and raised in Ciriboya, illustrate this phenomenon. Valentina migrated to La Ceiba when she was twelve years old, Jamie when he was fourteen. Both arrived in the city at young age to continue their education: Valentina had to move to the city to complete her secondary studies, but she arrived at an earlier age to assist her older sister who was already living in the city with household and childrearing duties while simultaneously continuing her studies. Jamie moved with his family to La Ceiba because “there was not enough education available, so [he] had to move” (Interview 23, August 19, 2008). Both agree that the migration experience was a surprising, and sometimes challenging process of adaptation. Valentina elaborates:

[I felt] very, very different, completely different arriving at a very big school where I didn't know anyone. I came from the village, here there was electricity, which [we didn't have] there. It was totally different, with its advantages and disadvantages (Interview 22, August 19, 2008).

Despite the initial challenges, Jamie and Valentina have both completed their secondary studies in La Ceiba and are both currently applying for tertiary education programs.

Valentina plans to attend university in La Ceiba and Jamie is one of ten Garifuna youths who have received a 2008 scholarship to study medicine at the Latin American School of Medicine, in Cuba. During their time in La Ceiba, both young people, despite their busy schedules, have enthusiastically participated in informal youth gatherings. During their early years in the rural settings, as well as their regular trips to the village for Christmas

and Holy Week, both Jamie and Valentina congregated with the youth groups organized by the local Catholic Church⁷⁶. However, as these groups of young people age and leave for cities through out the country, they have worked together to maintain this community of like-minded young Garifunas.

The groups of young people, originally organized in small community youth groups, upon arrival in the city have organized themselves into youth groups that meet on a monthly basis to share their culture, food, language and dance. Again, contrary to the notion that young people are destined to lose, or deny, their culture upon arrival in the city, these bright young people have developed a mechanism to mitigate this very real challenge. Former youth group members from Irióna congregate, informally, in their urban migration destinations on a regular basis. Furthermore, the groups of young people organize monthly trips to other cities where former youth group members live. For example, in July 2008 the youth group members from San Pedro Sula organized a trip to meet and share with their La Ceiba counterparts. Valentina enjoys the youth groups, “we meet, we sing, we talk” (Interview 22, August 19, 2008). The informal youth gatherings, which have no formal or financial support from the church, are held in members’ homes. Activities range from sharing traditional food to singing and dancing to Garifuna and popular music. Jamie adds, “we speak Garifuna amongst ourselves, but sometimes we invite friends who don’t understand, so we speak in Spanish too. We don’t want to make them feel bad...It is all to share friendship and community” (Interview 23, August 19, 2008). David, who participated in similar gatherings in Tocoa elaborates, “Sometimes [in the city] you can feel very alone, but seeing the group, a group of your compatriots, you

⁷⁶ The same youth groups that Yoya refers to in Chapter 3 (Interview 5, June 20).

feel better” (Interview 13, July 4, 2008). Unfortunately, because the activities rely solely on the funds of the young members, the increasing cost of transportation in Honduras has limited the frequency of the meetings.

These gatherings reinforce friendships and reinforce connections to their native community. Furthermore, because these gatherings emerged organically, from young people themselves, it provides unique insight into youth organization, leadership and priorities. As Valentina states, “[life in the city] is not the same, it is totally different, but to better ourselves we had to migrate here, there was no alternative” (Interview 22, August 19, 2008). Young people arrive in the city with a purpose and a mission, to better themselves, to obtain an education. This does not mean, however, that connections to their traditional community and customs have been lost. Young people, employing an organizational mechanism from the church, are rearticulating the Garifuna experience in the urban setting. It may not be traditional, but it is undeniably authentic.

Despite the numerous migratory challenges outlined at the onset of this chapter, Garifuna youth are offered, and have even developed for themselves, mechanisms to mitigate these challenges. At the heart of these mechanisms are two elements: the priority placed on education and a continuation of Garifuna culture. Although removed from their communities of origin, the connection with their culture and community is not lost. This reality simply reinforces the fact that the majority of Garifuna young people who migrate do so with a strong sense of purpose and an even stronger sense of obligation. This obligation is to obtain an education and give back to their communities and families with this acquired education and earning potential. This is reflected in the urban survey results, which reveals that 30 of the 48 young people surveyed plan to permanently return to

Iriona in the future. Young people plan to return, after they glean what they require from the migration experience, whether it be an education, a particular skill set or sufficient funds to support a family. This sense of obligation, or contribution, is reflected consistently and clearly in interviewees' definitions of a *better life*. In the urban survey 31 of the 48 individuals surveyed agree with the statement that migration has provided them with a better life. In subsequent in-depth interviews Garifuna youth defined "better life" in their own terms:

- A better life is "to be able to help family members so that we can get ahead as a family (Ana, Interview 15, August 14, 2008).
- "For me, [a better life] is related to education...it is of no service to me to have a lot of money and no education" (Paty, Interview 6, June 30, 2008).
- "What is a better life? I have *learned* many things socially. I have *learned* to save because this is something that I never knew about here [in the village]. I have *learned* to spend my money in times of necessity" (Rosa, Interview 8, July 2, 2008).^{77 78}

And perhaps most succinctly, an explanation by Guillermo Thomas:

Has migration given him a better life?

Clearly, of course. If I had not left Limón, I wouldn't be working here [at ODECO]. Maybe I would have continued in Limón because I come from a very humble, very poor family. But at least my poverty didn't restrict me to Limón. I wanted to see life, to try life, in the city. It is a very interesting life. Truly, it is very interesting because there are universities, there are colleges. One can graduate from whatever they want. Obligatory, I live here.[But] the city is, it is as it is, so I have to go back to my community, to help it get ahead, out of it's situation... because a community, a department, a country, only advances with education... We have to develop ourselves, we have to study (Interview 15, July 9, 2008).

⁷⁷ Note that Rosa studied accounting and worked in bookkeeping while in the city. Although she references this as a social skill that she learned, it also formed part of her formal education in La Ceiba.

⁷⁸ Emphasis mine.

In this statement Guillermo concisely portrays how, in his situation, migration, education, community and contribution are inextricably linked.

CONCLUSIONS

Conclusions from the Rural & Urban Sites

The principal research question guiding the research presented in Chapters two, three and four is: Based on their experiences with personal and community development on both sides of the migration experience, how would Garifuna youth improve upon the options currently available to themselves and their peers, and why? Initially in the survey work, and more profoundly in the in-depth interviews, young people overwhelmingly indicate that the principal mechanism for developing themselves and individuals and their respective communities is education. The development professionals and educators interviewed echo this notion, both in the interviews conducted and evident in the types of programming they are developing for young people.

In rural Iruña young people not only seek formal education in the under-funded, over-crowded classrooms, they also seek unique and vital educational opportunities offered to them by a variety of NGOs working in the region. These include non-traditional and innovative agricultural schools, church activities and preventative health workshops. Research conducted in the rural sector also introduced an additional segment of the migratory population: young adults who have returned from the city. These return migrants include nurses, accountants, teachers, NGO employees, shop attendants and volunteers. Migration, within Honduras, is not a one- or two-way process; in most cases it is a circular process.

Migration, furthermore, has undergone a fundamental shift amongst the current generation of young Garifunas. Migration, although still a mechanism for securing wage-labour, is concurrently a mechanism for accumulating social capital. This circular migration process is most fruitful for everyone involved when these mobile young people are equipped to serve themselves and others with an acquired skill set, whether they are a highly skilled community health professional, or a young volunteer eager to share information with others about alternative agricultural practices.

At the urban site there is equal emphasis and priority placed on acquiring new skills sets and obtaining formal education. For many young people this is the principal reason they relocate to the urban setting. While most young migrant Garifunas spend the majority of their time attending formal secondary and tertiary educational institutions, the research presented in Chapter three expands on the Positive Youth Development notion that young people can learn and thrive outside of the classroom. Alternative and supplemental educational opportunities in La Ceiba range from the highly organized and structured curriculum of the Escuela de Lideres to the informal, but equally popular, informal youth gatherings. The influence of the Catholic Church in La Ceiba, both at the informal youth gatherings and events such as the ODECO mass, highlights another PYD point: fostering a spiritual identity can help develop active, engaged and contributing young citizens.

Although virtually all of the activities discussed contain some educational element, there are key differences between the activities offered and proposed in the urban and rural settings. In rural Iriona the activities can broadly be categorized into two distinct groups of intended recipients: young people who will likely migrate in the near

future and young people who are inclined, for a variety of reasons, to stay in the rural region. Agricultural programs already available are more appropriate and necessary for those who will likely remain in Iriona. The call for alternative educational programs in the area, including handicraft and trades training, is also proposed by young people who seek more opportunities for those who do not, or can not, migrate. Other activities, including secondary schooling, preventative health programs, and proposed classroom training for the migration process, are more preparatory in nature. These activities, although available to all young people in the region, have particular appeal for young people who require a particular skill set for the challenging migration process.

On the other side of the migration process, the educational and developmental programs and activities offered in La Ceiba have a distinct cultural component. As young migrants make the transition from the homogenous Garifuna culture to a multicultural and multilingual city, there is more emphasis on reinforcing the connections and pride associated with their native culture, language and community. This trend is seen in the activities of ODECO, the cultural component of the Pastoral Garifuna, and the informal gatherings which young migrants organize. Although the theme that ties personal and community development activities at both sites is education there do exist key differences in the activities offered and the needs expressed: for future migrants in Iriona, preparation is essential. In La Ceiba facilitating connections to community and culture is the focal point of most supplemental activities.

Although the types of activities offered and desired at both sites are distinct, the overarching goal is educating the next generation of Garifunas. Furthermore, at both sites the common thread that holds these desires, goals and education aspirations together is a

sincere desire, on the part of young people, to make a meaningful contribution to the Garifuna, and Honduran, community. The connections between community, youth, education and contribution can be more fully explained within the context of the selected theoretical framework: Positive Youth Development.

PYD Discussion: Competence and Contribution

The application of the Positive Youth Development framework to this research project is fruitful for two reasons: it successfully demonstrates the flexibility of the framework in a unique context and it also produces two important unanswered, or partially unanswered, questions. The PYD framework, in its inclusion of all young people as they move through a variety transitions during their adolescent and early adulthood years, is an adept model for ethnically diverse and migratory youth (Lerner et al, 2002). Not pegged to a particular place or race, as PYD weaves throughout the discussions in Chapters one, three and four it helps us understand various successes and rationales behind a variety of youth and community development programs. The model provided by PYD, both its key assumptions and the 6 'C's, is an explanatory tool that can be used to assess, describe and prescribe youth programming for positive youth outcomes. Research at both sites reinforces the PYD notion that productive and essential education occurs outside of the formal classroom. It also supports PYD research that identifies religious institutions and activities, when used in the appropriate context, as a "developmental resource" (Furrow, King and White, 2004). Religiosity or spirituality, a component of *Character*, is equally important as the remaining 'C's in the PYD model. However, in the Garifuna community religion, faith and traditional belief systems are an everyday experience for many young people. It is no coincidence, therefore, that youth development programming in the

Garifuna context regularly adopts a religious lens. Although the 6 'C's are viewed as equals in the PYD model, in the application of this model to Garifuna culture certain 'C's are more readily available for examination.

At the onset of this research project I aimed to explore the application of the PYD framework to a racial minority group located outside of the developing world. Referring back to Table 1.1, and the concept of the 6 'C's, two questions emerge from this application. The first question is largely a north/south question, regarding the socio-economic development of the locations where PYD is applied: When PYD is applied to study in a developing country do the 6 'C's change? First, in a context where individuals are "doubly discriminated for being poor and black", do young people view the 6 'C's as equals? (Guillermo Thomas, Interview 15, July 9, 2008) And if these young individuals believe they are doubly discriminated, should we assume that simultaneous access to all of the 6 'C's is viable? With the overwhelming emphasis, at both sites, on education, one can conclude that amongst Garifuna youths the first priority is acquiring and developing *Competence*. *Competence*, in PYD is defined as acquiring knowledge and skills and "applying and practicing new life skills and new roles." (Pittman et al., 2003, p.11) Although all of the 6 'C's are important components of a comprehensive approach to youth development, in a situation where students mitigate the challenges posed by declining state support and underdeveloped educational systems, do young people themselves place more importance and value on acquiring *competence*, or sufficient education opportunities? In other words, in developing countries can the 6 'C's be viewed as equals, or is there a hierarchy determined by external forces, ranging from neoliberal economics and national politics to the state of available infrastructure? Furthermore,

within the context of distinct cultural groups and racial minorities, are the 6 'C's viewed as equals, and can access to all 6 'C's be assumed? Although the application of PYD to an alternative setting allows for the development of such questions, the analysis of one very specific segment of the Honduran Garifuna population is insufficient to answer them.

The application of PYD, in particular the 6 'C's, to a specific segment of an Afro-indigenous population in Honduras poses a second question, which is more a question related to racialized, minority groups than it is to geographic location: Does culture promote *character*, *connection* and *contribution*? And could culture be the 7th C? Positive Youth Development, although it proposes to be a framework for all cultures, has very little mention of distinct cultures within its body of research (Lerner et al, 2002). These questions regarding culture are most clearly answered by examples taken from the urban research. As we established in Chapter four, activities such as the ODECO mass, Pastoral Garifuna and Informal youth gatherings are designed to develop a sense of spirituality and connection to community. In PYD these religious institutions, developed with a specific Garifuna cultural lens, help foster "*spirituality*: connectedness to principles surrounding families, cultural groups, communities and higher deities" and "*membership and belonging*: being a participating member of a community" (Pittman et al, 2003, 11). Within the 6 C's, spirituality is a subsection of *Character*, and membership and belonging a subsection of *Connection*. Further discussion of these activities reveals a sincere desire amongst the participants to develop themselves, as students, learners and leaders, so as to serve their communities. The entire migration process, for many interviewees, is a mechanism which will allow them to make future contributions to

family and community. The Escuela de Lideres, in particular, demonstrates that by employing appropriate cultural lenses in the educational process, young people are more equipped and inspired to contribute to their families, communities and cultural group.

Culture and development, in the eyes of young Garifunas, are not mutually exclusive. Abel Figueroa argues that “culture is the foundation of development” (Interview 2, May 24, 2008). Nelson Ariola reiterates:

Culture and development. A young person, nowadays, studies, obtains a diploma or university degree. [He or she has] to take this title and serve the community. We have to move our communities forward, to the future. And [this is how] our families will be able to develop (Interview 17, July 13, 2008).

We can conclude that, in the Garifuna context, culturally focused activities and education do promote both components of *Contribution*: “*participation*, assuming roles as participants and leaders in various settings...and *influence*, making a difference [and] advocating for a cause” (Pittman et al., 2003, 11). The concept of culture is understudied in the field of Positive Youth Development. Although one case study can not propose to alter the structure of the analytical framework, this research does suggest that culture can play an important role in fostering desirable youth outcomes.

Future Research

This research project, especially the application of the Positive Youth Development model, highlights both empirical and theoretical questions which may be answered by future research projects, both in Honduras and elsewhere. First, the aforementioned questions regarding the application of PYD to diverse cultural groups and young people living outside of the developed world merit further investigation. Is acquiring competence more important than the other ‘C’s to youth living in locations where access to

educational opportunities is limited? And where does culture fit into the PYD framework? Finally, it must also be noted that the research presented here answers questions related specifically to Garifuna youth living in rural Iriona and the coastal city of La Ceiba. It would be unrealistic to assume that the data, answers and lessons gleaned from this work can be transferred to segments of the Garifuna population living in other areas. Of note is the city of San Pedro Sula, and surrounding areas, where Garifuna youth are far less likely to obtain higher education, more likely to work in *maquilas*, and more frequently exposed to urban violence and gang activity. Addressing the needs of Garifuna youth living in other areas also requires further investigation.

Critical Reflection: Methodology & Researcher

The geographical scope of this study is one of the limitations of this study. Additional limitations include the sample size of the survey work (93 surveys) and the interview work (22 in-depth interviews), which were largely determined by the timeframe of the field research. Although the findings presented in this thesis offer insight into the evolving migration process in the Garifuna context, and the NGOs that shape and influence this process, more extensive research is undoubtedly necessary. Evidence presented in Chapter 3, from the rural site, also suggests that further engagement with the older generations regarding this area of research would add to the analysis. Furthermore, it must be acknowledged that my position as a researcher, although it allowed me unique access to certain organizations and communities, may have also influenced the findings presented here. As a female researcher it was more difficult to locate and truly engage with male interviewees. The assistance of Lucas Martinez was invaluable, as he assisted me in locating young men to participate in the research presented here. My previous work

experiences in the community of Ciriboya as an NGO employee, although it facilitated relationships with key stakeholders and the NGO community, may have also filtered the way in which I present the data concerning NGOs and their employees. Although I used respondent validation to ensure faithful representation in my findings pertaining to CAUSE Canada, my former employer in the region, inherent biases are inevitable in this type of research and writing. If I was a critical observer, rather than a former employee, volunteer and participant who has developed relationships with staff and participants that expand far beyond the scope of this research project the findings presented could be different. The data presented here, however, would have been largely impossible to obtain without said relationships within the Garifuna community. Although the intricacies of NGO politics can render divergent analysis amongst distinct researchers, it is undeniable that all of the aforementioned organizations, both those that I was intimately involved with and those that I was not are collectively working to address the multi-faceted needs of Garifuna youth.

Addressing the needs of all young people is a challenging process, a process which Positive Youth Development strives to answer in a variety of diverse contexts. In the Garifuna context it is a collection of numerous organizations and young people themselves who are working to understand and address the challenges, needs, goals and aspirations of their youth. Development professionals are told that education is not a panacea, Pittman and colleagues argue that “academic competence is important, but not sufficient” (2003, p.26). However, Garifuna youth, both in urban and rural Honduras demonstrate that education, formal and informal, traditional and alternative, is their selected tool for moving their families, communities and country forward. Most

importantly, obtaining an education is the single most powerful option available to them to make a meaningful and lasting contribution.

APPENDIX I

List of In-Depth Interviews:

Interview #	Full Name	Pseudonym	Date (2008)
1	Rory O'Connor	...	May 24
2	Abel Figueroa	...	May 24
3	...	Dixa	June 6
4	...	Daniela	June 6
5	...	Yoya	June 20
6	Karen Patricia Bernardez	...	June 30
7	Roberto Ruiz Alvarez	...	July 1
8	...	Rosa	July 2
9	...	Carlos	July 4
10	Lucas Martinez	...	July 4
11	...	Sofia	July 4
12	...	Mateo	July 4
13	...	David	July 4
14	Lucas Martinez	...	July 5
15	Guillermo Amancio Thomas	...	July 9
16	Mirian de Valenzuela	...	July 10
17	Nelson Ariola	...	July 13
18	Luther Castillo	...	Aug. 14
19	...	Ana	Aug. 14
20	Roberto Ruiz	...	Aug. 14
21	Rosy Alvarez	...	Aug. 18
22	...	Valentina	Aug. 19
23	...	Jamie	Aug. 19
24	Antonio Rico	...	Aug. 21
25	Abel Figueroa	...	Nov. 19

APPENDIX II

Survey Instruments:

Rural Survey (Begins on following page)

Si tiene planes quedarse en Iriona, que va a hacer:

___ Ir al monte/ Cultivar

___ Buscar trabajo

___ No sé

___ Otra (_____)

Si tiene planes para irse de Iriona, dónde quiere ir:

___ La Ceiba

___ San Pedro Sula

___ Trujillo

___ Tegucigalpa

___ Al extranjero

___ Otro lugar (_____)

Han hablado de la migración:

___ en la casa

___ en la escuela

___ en un foro o taller

___ otro lugar

Si tiene planes de salir de Iriona, se siente preparado/a para la vida en la ciudad?

___ Sí

___ No

Ha participado en un foro, taller o grupo de:

la iglesia/ grupo juvenil

CAUSE

Sub Sede Pastoral
Social

CISP

Otro (_____)

En los talleres, foros y grupos de ONGs, ha aprendido de:

VIH/SIDA

Autoestima

Agricultura

Racismo/ Derechos
Humanos

Computación

Micro crédito o
Negocios

Deportes

Música

Drogas

Le gustaría más actividades para jóvenes en su comunidad:

Sí

No

Urban Survey (Begins on Following Page)

ENCUESTA 2

Meta: Investigación de los jóvenes Garifunas

Lugar: La Ceiba, Atlántida, Honduras

Investigadora: Lic. Catherine Craven

Por favor, NO se escribe su nombre.

Edad: _____

Sexo: Fem. _____ o Masc. _____

Nivel de Educación:

_____ Menos de 7o grado

_____ 8o o 9o grado

_____ 1 ciclo _____ 2 ciclo _____ 3 ciclo

_____ Bachillero cumplido

_____ Escuela técnica

_____ Unos cursos de la Universidad

_____ Licenciatura cumplido

Lugar de nacimiento: _____

Cuantos años lleva aquí en la ciudad: _____

Ha vivido en otras ciudades o países: _____ No

_____ Sí (Dónde: _____)

Usted vive con: _____ Un esposo/a o Una pareja
_____ Sus propios niños
_____ Familiares
_____ Amigos/ Compañeros de cuarto
_____ Un jefe o una jefa

Recibe algún ayuda económica para cubrir sus gastos en la ciudad?

No: _____

Sí: _____ de:

_____ Padres
_____ Familiares
_____ Familiares al extranjero
_____ Otra persona

Actualmente, tiene un empleo fijo: _____ No
_____ Sí

Si actualmente tiene un empleo fijo, en que trabaja:

Está estudiando actualmente: _____ No
_____ Sí

En La Ceiba, usted ha hecho trabajo voluntario o servicio social: _____ No

_____ Sí

En La Ceiba, usted ha participado en: _____ Un equipo de fútbol

_____ Otros deportes

_____ Una iglesia o grupos de apoyo
de una iglesia

_____ Eventos de la cultura Garifuna

_____ Eventos de ODECO

_____ Foros juveniles

_____ Eventos para afrodescendientes

En La Ceiba, usted ha participado en talleres, foros o charlas sobre:

_____ VIH/SIDA

_____ Planificación
Familiar

_____ Autoestima

_____ Drogas

_____ Derechos
Humanos

_____ Violencia
Doméstica

_____ Otro

Usted cree que hay suficientes actividades para jóvenes en La Ceiba: _____ No

_____ Sí

Usted cree que hay suficientes actividades para jóvenes GARIFUNAS en La Ceiba:

_____ No

_____ Sí

Usted regresa a Irióna: _____ cada mes

_____ 6-11 veces al año

_____ 1-5 veces al año

_____ casi nunca

_____ no ha regresado

Usted tiene planes de vivir, permanente, en Irióna en el futuro: _____ No

_____ Sí

Usted cree que la migración a La Ceiba le ha facilitado una vida mejor: _____ No

_____ Sí

Qué ha sido lo más difícil para usted en la ciudad: _____

Cuales son las ventajas de la vida en la ciudad: _____

Gracias

APPENDIX III

Stata 10 .do file:

The following Stata.do file was used to create both data sets, run frequencies, recode variables and create tables 2.1, 2.2, 2.3 and 2.4.

```
* STEP 1: CREATING DATA SET, RURAL
```

```
rename var1 rur_urb  
label variable rur_urb "RURAL or URBAN"  
label define rur_urb 1 "rural" 2 "urban"  
label values rur_urb rur_urb
```

```
rename var2 id  
label variable id "questionnaire number"
```

```
rename var3 grade  
label variable grade "highschool grade"
```

```
rename var4 age  
label variable age "age in years"
```

```
rename var5 sex  
label variable sex "gender"  
label define sex 0 "female" 1 "male"  
label values sex sex
```

```
rename var6 birthplace  
label variable birthplace "were you born in Irióna?"  
label define birthplace 0 "yes" 1 "no"  
label values birthplace birthplace
```

```
rename var7 birthplaceII  
label variable birthplaceII "location of birth"  
label define birthplaceII 0 "Irióna" 1 "SPS" 2 "Trujillo" 3 "Ceiba"  
4 "Tegus" 5 "Roatan" 6 "Tocoa" 7 "Overseas" 8 "Nueva Armenia"  
label values birthplaceII birthplaceII
```

```

rename var8 urban_migr
label variable urban_migr "plans for urban migration after graduation"
label define urban_migr 0 "yes" 1 "no" 2 "unsure"
label values urban_migr urban_migr

rename var9 urban_goal
label variable urban_goal "goals in urban setting"
label define urban_goal 0 "education" 1 "employment" 2 "unsure" 3 "other"
label values urban_goal urban_goal

rename var10 rural_goal
label variable rural_goal "goals in rural setting"
label define rural_goal 0 "agriculture" 1 "employment" 2 "unsure" 3 "continue education"
label values rural_goal rural_goal

rename var11 migr_local
label variable migr_local "migration destination"
label define migr_local 0 "ceiba" 1 "SPS" 2 "trujillo" 3 "tegus" 4 "overseas"
label values migr_local migr_local

rename var12 migr_disch
label variable migr_disch "migration discussed at home"
label define migr_disch 0 "yes" 1 "no"
label values migr_disch migr_disch

rename var13 migr_discs
label variable migr_discs "migration discussed at school"
label define migr_discs 0 "yes" 1 "no"
label values migr_discs migr_discs

rename var14 migr_discw
label variable migr_discw "migration discussed in workshop"
label define migr_discw 0 "yes" 1 "no"
label values migr_discw migr_discw

rename var15 migr_disco
label variable migr_disco "migration discussed in other location"
label define migr_disco 0 "yes" 1 "no"
label values migr_disco migr_disco

rename var16 migr_prep
label variable migr_prep "perceived preparation for migration"
label define migr_prep 0 "yes" 1 "no"
label values migr_prep migr_prep

rename var17 part_church

```

```
label variable part_church "participated in church youth activity"  
label define part_church 0 "yes" 1 "no"  
label values part_church part_church
```

```
rename var18 part_cause  
label variable part_cause "participated in CAUSE youth activity"  
label define part_cause 0 "yes" 1 "no"  
label values part_cause part_cause
```

```
rename var19 part_ssps  
label variable part_ssps "participated in SSPS youth activity"  
label define part_ssps 0 "yes" 1 "no"  
label values part_ssps part_ssps
```

```
rename var20 part_cisp  
label variable part_cisp "participated in CISP youth activity"  
label define part_cisp 0 "yes" 1 "no"  
label values part_cisp part_cisp
```

```
rename var21 dev_hiv  
label variable dev_hiv "participated in activity regarding HIV/AIDS"  
label define dev_hiv 0 "yes" 1 "no"  
label values dev_hiv dev_hiv
```

```
rename var22 dev_esteem  
label variable dev_esteem "participated in activity regarding self-esteem"  
label define dev_esteem 0 "yes" 1 "no"  
label values dev_esteem dev_esteem
```

```
rename var23 dev_agri  
label variable dev_agri "participated in activity regarding agriculture"  
label define dev_agri 0 "yes" 1 "no"  
label values dev_agri dev_agri
```

```
rename var24 dev_race  
label variable dev_race "participated in activity regarding racism/human rights"  
label define dev_race 0 "yes" 1 "no"  
label values dev_race dev_race
```

```
rename var25 dev_comp  
label variable dev_comp "participated in activity regarding computers"  
label define dev_comp 0 "yes" 1 "no"  
label values dev_comp dev_comp
```

```
rename var26 dev_busi  
label variable dev_busi "participated in activity regarding microcredit or business"
```

```
label define dev_busi 0 "yes" 1 "no"  
label values dev_busi dev_busi
```

```
rename var27 dev_sport  
label variable dev_sport "participated in activity regarding sports"  
label define dev_sport 0 "yes" 1 "no"  
label values dev_sport dev_sport
```

```
rename var28 dev_music  
label variable dev_music "participated in activity regarding music"  
label define dev_music 0 "yes" 1 "no"  
label values dev_music dev_music
```

```
rename var29 dev_drugs  
label variable dev_drugs "participated in activity regarding drug use"  
label define dev_drugs 0 "yes" 1 "no"
```

```
rename var30 acti_youth  
label variable acti_youth "prefer more activities for youth in community"  
label define acti_youth 0 "yes" 1 "no"  
label values acti_youth acti_youth
```

```
rename var31 acti_adult  
label variable acti_adult "sufficient activities for adults in community"  
label define acti_adult 0 "yes" 1 "no"  
label values acti_adult acti_adult
```

```
rename var32 acti_child  
label variable acti_child "sufficient activities for children in community"  
label define acti_child 0 "yes" 1 "no"  
label values acti_child acti_child
```

```
rename var33 acti_urbanI  
label variable acti_urban "will be sufficient activities for youth in urban setting"  
label define acti_urban 0 "yes" 1 "no"  
label values acti_urban acti_urban
```

* STEP 2: CREATING DATA SET, URBAN

```
rename var1 rur_urb  
label variable rur_urb "RURAL or URBAN"  
label define rur_urb 1 "rural" 2 "urban"  
label values rur_urb rur_urb
```

```
rename var2 id
```

```
label variable id "questionnaire number"
```

```
rename var3 age  
label variable age "age in years"
```

```
rename var4 sex  
label variable sex "gender"  
label define sex 0 "female" 1 "male"  
label values sex sex
```

```
rename var5 education  
label variable education "level of education"  
label define education 1 "less than 7" 2 "8 or 9" 3 "1c" 4 "2c" 5 "3c"  
6 "bach" 7 "tech" 8 "some uni" 9 "lic"  
label values education education
```

```
rename var6 birthplace  
label variable birthplace "place of birth"  
label define birthplace 0 "Irióna" 1 "SPS" 2 "Trujillo" 3 "Ceiba"  
4 "Tegus" 5 "Bay Islands" 6 "Tocoa" 7 "Nueva Armenia" 8 "Cayman Islands"  
label values birthplace birthplace
```

```
rename var7 years_urb  
label variable years_urb "years living in La Ceiba"  
label define years_urb 0 "less than 1 year" 1 "1 year" 2 "2 years"  
3 "3 years" 4 "4 years" 5 "5 years" 6 "more than 5 years"  
label values years_urb years_urb
```

```
rename var8 local_other  
label variable local_other "has lived in locations other than Irióna or La Ceiba"  
label define local_other 1 "No" 0 "Yes"  
label values local_other local_other
```

```
rename var9 local_otherII  
label variable local_otherII "has lived in these other locations"  
label define local_otherII 1 "SPS" 2 "Trujillo" 3 "Ceiba" 4 "Tegus" 5 "Bay Islands"  
6 "Tocoa" 7 "Nueva Armenia" 8 "USA" 9 "Canada" 10 "El Salvador" 11 "Lima"  
12 "Multiple locations"  
label values local_otherII local_otherII
```

```
rename var10 live_spouse  
label variable live_spouse "Currently lives with spouse or partner"  
label define live_spouse 0 "Yes" 1 "No"  
label values live_spouse live_spouse
```

```

rename var11 live_child
label variable live_child "Currently lives with their own children"
label define live_child 0 "Yes" 1 "No"
label values live_child live_child

rename var12 live_fam
label variable live_fam "Currently lives with relatives"
label define live_fam 0 "Yes" 1 "No"
label values live_fam live_fam

rename var13 live_friend
label variable live_friend "currently lives with a friend or roommate"
label define live_friend 0 "Yes" 1 "No"
label values live_friend live_friend

rename var14 live_boss
label variable live_boss "currently lives with an employer"
label define live_boss 0 "yes" 1 "no"
label values live_boss live_boss

rename var15 eco_help
label variable eco_help "Receives economic support in the city"
label define eco_help 1 "No" 0 "Yes"
label values eco_help eco_help

rename var17 eco_parent
label variable eco_parent "receives economic support from parents"
label define eco_parent 1 "no" 0 "yes"
label values eco_parent eco_parent

rename var18 eco_fam
label variable eco_fam "recives economic support from family members other than
parents"
label define eco_fam 1 "no" 0 "yes"
label values eco_fam eco_fam

rename var19 eco_oseas
label variable eco_oseas "receives economic support from family overseas"
label define eco_oseas 1 "no" 0 "yes"
label values eco_oseas eco_oseas

rename var20 eco_other
label variable eco_other "received economic support from other sources"
label define eco_other 1 "no" 0 "yes"
label values eco_other eco_other

```

```
rename var21 employed
label variable employed "currently has a fixed employment position"
label define employed 1 "no" 0 "yes"
label values employed employed
```

```
rename var22 employ_class
label variable employ_class "currently is employed as a..."
label define employ_class 0 "unemployed" 1 "technician" 2 "factory" 3 "hospitality"
4 "professional" 5 "non-profit sector" 6 "other"
label values employ_class employ_class
```

```
rename var23 studying
label variable studying "currently studying"
label define studying 1 "no" 0 "yes"
label values studying studying
```

```
rename var24 volunteer
label variable volunteer "has done volunteer or social service work in city"
label define volunteer 1 "no" 0 "yes"
label values volunteer volunteer
```

```
rename var25 acti_soc
label variable acti_soc "has participated in soccer in city"
label define acti_soc 1 "no" 0 "yes"
label values acti_soc acti_soc
```

```
rename var26 acti_sport
label variable acti_sport "has participated in other sports in city"
label define acti_sport 1 "no" 0 "yes"
label values acti_sport acti_sport
```

```
rename var27 acti_church
label variable acti_church "has participated in church activity in city"
label define acti_church 1 "no" 0 "yes"
label values acti_church acti_church
```

```
rename var28 acti_cult
label variable acti_cult "has participated in cultural activity in city"
label define acti_cult 1 "no" 0 "yes"
label values acti_cult acti_cult
```

```
rename var29 acti_odeco
label variable acti_odeco "has participated in ODECO activity in city"
label define acti_odeco 1 "no" 0 "yes"
label values acti_odeco acti_odeco
```

```
rename var30 acti_youth
label variable acti_youth "has participated in a youth activity in city"
label define acti_youth 1 "no" 0 "yes"
label values acti_youth acti_youth
```

```
rename var31 acti_afro
label variable acti_afro "has participated in afro-descendents activity in city"
label define acti_afro 1 "no" 0 "yes"
label values acti_afro acti_afro
```

```
rename var32 dev_hiv
label variable dev_hiv "has participated in an hiv/aids activity in city"
label define dev_hiv 1 "no" 0 "yes"
label values dev_hiv dev_hiv
```

```
rename var33 dev_fam
label variable dev_fam "has participated in a family planning activity in city"
label define dev_fam 1 "no" 0 "yes"
label values dev_fam dev_fam
```

```
rename var34 dev_esteem
label variable dev_esteem "has participated in a self-esteem activity in city"
label define dev_esteem 1 "no" 0 "yes"
label values dev_esteem dev_esteem
```

```
rename var35 dev_drugs
label variable dev_drugs "has participated in a drug prevention activity in city"
label define dev_drugs 1 "no" 0 "yes"
label values dev_drugs dev_drugs
```

```
rename var36 dev_human
label variable dev_human "has participated in a human rights activity in city"
label define dev_human 1 "no" 0 "yes"
label values dev_human dev_human
```

```
rename var37 dev_viol
label variable dev_viol "has participated in a dom. violence activity in city"
label define dev_viol 1 "no" 0 "yes"
label values dev_viol dev_viol
```

```
rename var38 dev_other
label variable dev_other "has participated in a other activities in city"
label define dev_other 1 "no" 0 "yes"
label values dev_other dev_other
```

```
rename var39 urban_acti
```

```
label variable urban_acti "believes there are sufficient activities for youth in city"
label define urban_acti 1 "no" 0 "yes"
label values urban_acti urban_acti
```

```
rename var40 urban_actiG
label variable urban_actiG "believes there are sufficient activities for
GARIFUNA youth in city"
label define urban_actiG 1 "no" 0 "yes"
label values urban_actiG urban_actiG
```

```
rename var41 ret_iriona
label variable ret_iriona "frequency of return visits to Iriona"
label define ret_iriona 0 "monthly" 1 "6-11 times per year"
2 "1-5 times per year" 3 "rarely" 4 "has not yet returned"
label values ret_iriona ret_iriona
```

```
rename var42 ret_iriona_perm
label variable ret_iriona_perm "has future plans to return to Iriona permanently"
label define ret_iriona_perm 1 "no" 0 "yes"
label values ret_iriona_perm ret_iriona_perm
```

```
rename var44 migri_life
label variable migri_life "believes migration has given them a better life"
label define migri_life 1 "no" 0 "yes"
label values migri_life migri_life
```

* STEP 3: BUILDING MODELS, RURAL

* A- run frequencies for univariate tables (used for table 2.1)

```
tab grade
tab age
tab sex
tab birthplace
tab birthplaceII
tab urban_migr
tab urban_goal
tab rural_goal
tab migr_local
tab migr_disch
tab migr_discs
tab migr_discw
tab migr_disco
tab migr_prep
tab part_church
```

```

tab part_cause
tab part_ssps
tab part_cisp
tab part_hiv
tab part_esteem
tab part_agri
tab part_race
tab part_comp
tab part_busi
tab part_sport
tab part_music
tab part_drugs
tab acti_youth
tab acti_adult
tab acti_child
tab acti_urbanI
tab dev_total
tab dev_total2

```

* B- run chi tests for bivariate tables (too small sample size, not used)

* ex: tab var1 var 2, column chi

* C- recode all yes no variables so that yes= 1 and no = 0

* Variables that are yes no= migr_disch migr_discs migr_discw migr_disco migr_prep
part_church part_cause part_ssps part_cisp dev_hiv dev_esteem dev_agri dev_race
dev_comp dev_busi dev_sport dev_music dev_drugs acti_youth acti_adult acti_child
acti_urbanI

recode migr_disch (0=1) (1=0)

recode migr_disch migr_discs migr_discw migr_disco migr_prep part_church
part_cause part_ssps part_cisp dev_hiv dev_esteem dev_agri dev_race dev_comp
dev_busi

dev_sport dev_music dev_drugs acti_youth acti_adult acti_child acti_urbanI (0=1) (1=0)

* this works, but then I have to relable everything as well, or it changes all of my results

* alternate syntax:

```

label define migr_disch 0 "no", modify
label define migr_disch 1 "yes", modify
label define migr_discs 0 "no", modify
label define migr_discs 1 "yes", modify
label define migr_discw 1 "yes", modify
label define migr_discw 0 "no", modify
label define migr_disco 0 "no", modify
label define migr_disco 1 "yes", modify
label define migr_prep 1 "yes", modify

```

```

label define migr_prep 0 "no", modify
label define part_church 0 "no", modify
label define part_church 1 "yes", modify
label define part_cause 1 "yes", modify
label define part_cause 0 "no", modify
label define part_ssps 0 "no", modify
label define part_ssps 1 "yes", modify
label define part_cisp 1 "yes", modify
label define part_cisp 0 "no", modify
label define dev_hiv 0 "no", modify
label define dev_hiv 1 "yes", modify
label define dev_esteem 1 "yes", modify
label define dev_esteem 0 "no", modify
label define dev_agri 0 "no", modify
label define dev_agri 1 "yes", modify
label define dev_race 1 "yes", modify
label define dev_race 0 "no", modify
label define dev_comp 0 "no", modify
label define dev_comp 1 "yes", modify
label define dev_busi 1 "yes", modify
label define dev_busi 0 "no", modify
label define dev_sport 0 "no", modify
label define dev_sport 1 "yes", modify
label define dev_music 1 "yes", modify
label define dev_music 0 "no", modify
label define dev_drugs 0 "no", modify
label define dev_drugs 1 "yes", modify
label define acti_youth 1 "yes", modify
label define acti_youth 0 "no", modify
label define acti_adult 0 "no", modify
label define acti_adult 1 "yes", modify
label define acti_child 1 "yes", modify
label define acti_child 0 "no", modify
label define acti_urbanI 0 "no", modify
label define acti_urbanI 1 "yes", modify

```

* For variables that are a yes, no unsure= urban_migr Yes=0 No=1 Unsure=2

```

recode urban_migr (0=1) (1=0)
label define urban_migr 1 "yes", modify
label define urban_migr 0 "no", modify

```

* D- determine syntax for creating a new variable that tabulates the number of dev activities per respondent:

```

gen dev_total2= part_church + part_cause+ part_ssps+ part_cisp+

```

dev_hiv+ dev_esteem+ dev_agri+ dev_race+ dev_comp+ dev_busi+
dev_sport+ dev_music+ dev_drugs
(2 missing values generated)

label variable dev_total2 `total of dev activities"

* E- run frequencies for variables with modifications and recodes (i.e. redo step 3.A,
reflected in table 2.1)

* STEP 4: BUILDING MODELS, URBAN

* A- run frequencies for univariate tables (used for table 2.2)

tab age
tab sex
tab education
tab birthplace
tab years_urb
tab local_other
tab local_otherII
tab live_spouse
tab live_child
tab live_fam
tab live_friend
tab live_boss
tab eco_help
tab eco_parent
tab eco_oseas
tab eco_other
tab employed
tab employ_class
tab stuyding
tab volunteer
tab acti_soc
tab acti_sport
tab acti_church
tab acti_cult
tab acti_odeco
tab acti_youth
tab acti_afro
tab dev_hiv
tab dev_fam
tab dev_esteem
tab dev_drugs

```
tab dev_human
tab dev_viol
tab dev_other
tab urban_acti
tab urban_actiG
tab ret_iriona
tab ret_iriona_perm
tab migri_life
tab dev_total
tab unemployed
tab work_school
tab dev_total2
tab sport_total
```

* B- run chi tests for bivariate tables (too small sample size, not used)

* ex: tab var1 var 2, column chi

* C- recode all yes no variables so that yes= 1 and no = 0

* Variables that are yes no= local_other live_spouse live_child live_fam live_friend
live_boss eco_help eco_parent eco_fam eco_oseas eco_other employed studying
volunteer acti_soc
acti_sport acti_church acti_cult acti_odeco acti_youth acti_afro dev_hiv dev_fam
dev_esteem
dev_drugs dev_human dev_viol dev_other urban_acti urban_actiG ret_iriona_perm
migri_life

```
recode local_other live_spouse live_child live_fam live_friend
live_boss eco_help eco_parent eco_fam eco_oseas eco_other employed studying
volunteer acti_soc
acti_sport acti_church acti_cult acti_odeco acti_youth acti_afro dev_hiv dev_fam
dev_esteem
dev_drugs dev_human dev_viol dev_other urban_acti urban_actiG ret_iriona_perm
migri_life (0=1)
(1=0)
```

* label define all recoded variables (Yes=1 No=0)

```
label define local_other 1 "yes", modify
label define local_other 0 "no", modify
label define live_spouse 0 "no", modify
label define live_spouse 1 "yes", modify
label define live_child 1 "yes", modify
label define live_child 0 "no", modify
label define live_fam 0 "no", modify
label define live_fam 1 "yes", modify
```

label define live_friend 1 "yes", modify
label define live_friend 0 "no", modify
label define live_boss 0 "no", modify
label define live_boss 1 "yes", modify
label define eco_help 1 "yes", modify
label define eco_help 0 "no", modify
label define eco_parent 0 "no", modify
label define eco_parent 1 "yes", modify
label define eco_fam 1 "yes", modify
label define eco_fam 0 "no", modify
label define eco_fam 0 "no", modify
label define eco_oseas 0 "no", modify
label define eco_oseas 1 "yes", modify
label define eco_other 1 "yes", modify
label define eco_other 0 "no", modify
label define employed 0 "no", modify
label define employed 1 "yes", modify
label define studying 1 "yes", modify
label define studying 0 "no", modify
label define volunteer 0 "no", modify
label define volunteer 1 "yes", modify
label define acti_soc 1 "yes", modify
label define acti_soc 0 "no", modify
label define acti_sport 0 "no", modify
label define acti_sport 1 "yes", modify
label define acti_church 1 "yes", modify
label define acti_church 0 "no", modify
label define acti_cult 0 "no", modify
label define acti_cult 1 "yes", modify
label define acti_odeco 1 "yes", modify
label define acti_odeco 0 "no", modify
label define acti_youth 0 "no", modify
label define acti_youth 1 "yes", modify
label define acti_afro 1 "yes", modify
label define acti_afro 0 "no", modify
label define dev_hiv 0 "no", modify
label define dev_hiv 1 "yes", modify
label define dev_fam 1 "yes", modify
label define dev_fam 0 "no", modify
label define dev_esteem 0 "no", modify
label define dev_esteem 1 "yes", modify
label define dev_drugs 1 "yes", modify
label define dev_drugs 0 "no", modify
label define dev_human 0 "no", modify
label define dev_human 1 "yes", modify
label define dev_viol 1 "yes", modify

```

label define dev_viol 0 "no", modify
label define dev_other 0 "no", modify
label define dev_other 1 "yes", modify
label define urban_acti 1 "yes", modify
label define urban_acti 0 "no", modify
label define urban_actiG 0 "no", modify
label define urban_actiG 1 "yes", modify
label define ret_iriona_perm 1 "yes", modify
label define ret_iriona_perm 0 "no", modify
label define migri_life 0 "no", modify
label define migri_life 1 "yes", modify

```

*D- create new variable for people who are not working and not studying

```

gen unemployed = 0
recode unemployed (0=1) if (employed == 0 & studying ==0)
label variable unemployed `no work no school'
label define unemployed 0 "no" 1 "yes"
label values unemployed unemployed

```

*E- create new variable for people who are studying and working

```

gen work_school = 0
recode work_school (0=1) if (employed == 1 & studying == 1)
label variable work_school `employed and studying'
label define work_school 0 "no" 1 "yes"
label values work_school work_school

```

*F- create new variable to total the number of dev activities they have participated in (URBAN and RURAL data sets)

```

gen dev_total= acti_soc+ acti_sport+ acti_church+ acti_cult+
acti_odeco+ acti_youth+ acti_afro+ dev_hiv+ dev_fam+ dev_esteem+ dev_drugs+
dev_viol+ dev_other
label variable dev_total `total of dev. activities'

```

*G- recode dev_total (0=0) (1/3=1) (4/13=2), gen (dev_total2)

```

tab dev_total2
label define dev_total2 0 "none" 1 "some" 2 "extensive"
label values dev_total2 dev_total2
codebook dev_total2

```

*H- create new variable for sport totals (soccer and other sports)

```

gen sport_total= acti_soc + acti_sport

```

*I- run frequencies for variables with modifications and recodes (i.e. redo step 4.A, reflected in table 2.2)

* STEP 5: CREATE TABLE 2.3

tab migri_life education
tab migri_life education, column

* STEP 6: CREATE TABLE 2.4

* RURAL:

tab part_church
tab part_church sex, column
tab part_cause
tab part_cause sex, column
tab part_ssps
tab part_ssps sex, column
tab part_cisp
tab part_cisp sex, column
tab dev_hiv
tab dev_hiv sex, column
tab dev_esteem
tab dev_esteem sex, column
tab dev_agri
tab dev_agri sex, column
tab dev_race
tab dev_race sex, column
tab dev_comp
tab dev_comp sex, column
tab dev_busi
tab dev_busi sex, column
tab dev_sport
tab dev_sport sex, column
tab dev_music
tab dev_music sex, column
tab dev_drugs
tab dev_drugs sex, column
tab dev_total2
tab dev_total2 sex, column

* URBAN

tab volunteer

tab volunteer sex, column
tab acti_church
tab acti_church sex, column
tab sport_total
tab sport_total sex, column
tab acti_cult
tab acti_cult sex, column
tab acti_odeco
tab acti_odeco sex, column
tab acti_youth
tab acti_youth sex, column
tab acti_afro
tab acti_afro sex, column
tab dev_fam
tab dev_fam sex, column
tab dev_esteem
tab dev_esteem sex, column
tab dev_drugs
tab dev_drugs sex, column
tab dev_human
tab dev_human sex, column
tab dev_viol
tab dev_viol sex, column
tab dev_total2
tab dev_total2 sex, column

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