PATHWAYS TO PURPOSE AMONG IMPOVERISHED YOUTH FROM THE GUATEMALA CITY DUMP COMMUNITY

Belle Liang[*], Allison White[**], Haley Rhodes[***], Rachel Strodel[****], Ellen Gutowski[**], Angela M. DeSilva Mousseau[*****] and Terese Jean Lund[******]

This study involves in-depth interviews with Guatemalan high school graduates (9 women, 8 men) who have participated in an education and mentoring program, and qualitative surveys with program staff members (14 female, 3 male) who have worked in this program as mentors and teachers. Using a directed content analysis approach, responses were thematically analyzed and categorized into four themes associated with youth purpose: 1) people; 2) prosocial benefits; 3) passion; and 4) propensity. Data suggest that purpose development for these youth are influenced by faith and family values, and may be impeded by poverty and social location. Findings inform research on the development of purpose in underrepresented youth, as well as provide insights for similar community programs.

***Keywords**: youth purpose, mentoring, underprivileged, qualitative, adolescents*

1. Introduction

Many Guatemalan youth and their families live in extreme poverty (Ramírez, Cetina, & Ávalos, 2009). Among the poorest of the poor are 30,000 people residing alongside the Guatemala City Dump (*hereafter 'Dump Community'*), subsisting on whatever they can scavenge from the dump for re-sale on the open market (Kroth, 2009). The Dump Community arose during the Civil War between 1970s and 1980s, as state and guerrilla armies battled over

[*] Counseling and Developmental Psychology Department, Boston College, USA ✉
[**] Department of Counseling and Developmental Psychology, Boston College, USA
[***] Center for Interdisciplinary Studies, Davidson College, USA
[****] Yale College, USA
[*****] Department of Education, Rivier University, USA
[******] Department of Psychology, Wingate University, USA

territories. People from rural communities fled to the capital to escape massacre, settling in the least desirable region of the city, the Dump Community. The city government has designated the region a "red zone" due to the prevalence of violence, drugs, and youth gangs. Most youth in this community lack the resources to attend school. In a survey of youths' expectations for the future, Guatemalan youth ranked second to last of 20 youth populations surveyed in Latin America (United Nations Development Program, 2013). Positive youth development (PYD) programs are needed to support these vulnerable youth (Ramírez et al., 2009) and strengthen their communities (Albuja & Aguilar Umaña, 2009).

From a community psychology (CP) perspective, community and individual capabilities are interwoven: social settings (e.g., neighborhoods, schools, social programs) can be modified to enhance individual and community capabilities. In particular, increasing formal education for youth is a most effective means for reducing community poverty and violence, and advancing socioeconomic development (Her Majesty's Treasury Department for International Development [HMT DFID], 2005). Unfortunately, the public school system serves only an estimated 20% of the country's children, and less than 20% graduate from high school in Guatemala overall (Kroth, 2009). Youth living in the Dump Community especially need education to gain access to employment opportunities, because the landfill – which serves as the primary source of livelihood for the community) – is expected to close once it reaches full capacity (Kroth, 2009).

These findings suggest the critical need for studies on factors associated with high school graduation in this impoverished region. Shoring up youths' future-oriented aspirations is linked to raising levels of academic achievement (Bronk, Finch, & Talib, 2010) and post high school success (Lent, Brown, & Hackett, 1994). These findings are consistent with research that suggests that adolescents who have a sense of purpose are more likely to be academically engaged (Damon, Menon, & Bronk, 2003). Youth purpose is defined as a stable and generalized intention to accomplish something that is both personally meaningful and contributes to the world beyond the self (Damon et al., 2003). As an organizing principle, purpose provides a vision or aspiration for the future that connects to present day-to-day life (Koshy & Mariano, 2011). When there is a sense of purpose, such as the aspiration to become skilled in a particular profession, a young person may have the motivation to take on the most challenging of tasks to meet his or her goals.

A combination of disadvantages has historically inhibited poor students' future aspirations. Students from schools in low socioeconomic status (SES) districts have limited exposure to educational opportunities partly due to the underfunding of their schools (Books, 2004; Kopkowski, 2005), as well as limited family resources (De La Rosa, 2006). Thus, social programs for low SES students provide mentoring and academic tutoring to enable youth to develop and achieve aspirations (Rodriguez, Rhodes, & Aguirre, 2015). For example, nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), such as Potter's House Association (PHA), have worked to support secondary school completion, post-secondary school success, and PYD in entire communities (see Methods for detailed description of PHA). A major goal of PHA is to empower youth to pursue their own goals, as well as to break the cycle of poverty in communities by finding work outside the slums and by serving as change agents in their communities. Yet, little research has examined *how* purpose develops among students from impoverished backgrounds.

2. Development of Purpose

Existing research converges on four influences (termed the "Four P's") on the development of youth purpose: 1) *people*, 2) *passion*, 3) *propensity*, and 4) *prosocial benefits* (Liang et al., 2017). *People* (i.e., human resources) foster purpose by engaging young people in discussions about what they hope to accomplish in life and helping them to find ways to act on related interests (Liang, Lund, Mousseau, & Spencer, 2016). These kinds of conversations enable youth to recognize "sparks" or interests (*passion).* Benson (2006) posited that all young people possess a "spark" that may serve as the foundation for a purpose (Bronk, 2013). Purpose can be cultivated through helping youth identify their skills/strengths and weaknesses (*propensity*) to ensure the fit between their abilities and a chosen purpose. Thus, interventions that help youth identify their strengths and weaknesses have been shown to increase participants' sense of direction and aspirations (Dik, Steger, Gibson, & Peisner, 2011). Lastly, purpose seems to be motivated by *prosocial benefits* – an intention to pursue a purpose that provides tangible benefits for themselves and others. Studies suggest that purpose is associated with an entrepreneurial spirit and intention to act in a way that contributes to the world beyond oneself (Bronk, 2013). Thus, it is important to encourage youth to identify the "pay-off" (i.e., significance or benefit) behind their activities and pursuits (Damon, 2009).

3. Purpose in Context

Research is needed on the Four P's relevance to diverse populations, taking into account sociocultural context (Liang et al., 2017). Bronfenbrenner's (1994) Systems theory suggests that development (including youth purpose development) is influenced by various systems. *Microsystem* refers to youths' immediate relationships and activities; *mesosystem* concerns links between different parts of this microsystem; *exosystem* relates to other people and places that youth may not interact directly with but that still have a significant impact on them; *macrosystem* covers the overarching pattern of micro-, meso-, and exosystems characteristic of a given culture, with particular reference to values and opportunity structures embedded in this broader system; *chronosystem* involves change or consistency in the youth over time. For example, civil war and violence in Guatemala may hinder purpose development for some youth, and motivate the pursuit of purpose for others. Moreover, additional cultural/ environmental influences on purpose development in this context may be *familismo* (Sabogal, Marin, Otero-Sabogal, Marin, & Perez-Stable, 1987; Díaz, 2012), and religious faith (Gooren, 2002).

Research suggests that families may heavily influence the educational and vocational aspirations of their youth (Ryff, 2003; Kiang, 2012). In Hispanic cultures, the concept of *familismo* refers to an obligation to family, the importance of family loyalty, and contribution to the family's wellbeing (Cauce & Domenech-Rodriguez, 2000; Ayón, Marsiglia, & Bermudez-Parsai, 2010). Students often sacrifice their education to support their families in times of crisis (Suarez-Orozco & Suarez-Orozco, 1995). Parents also serve as a model for future aspirations (Díaz, 2012). Moreover, youth often attain similar levels of education and occupational opportunities as their parents (Díaz, 2012).

Faith beliefs may also shape purpose among Guatemalan youth. Guatemalan culture is deeply embedded in Catholic-Christian beliefs (Walsh, 2003), which can empower families facing

various contextual challenges by giving them a sense of purpose, hope, and trust in divine providence. By some estimates, 50-60% of the Guatemalan population is Catholic, and 40% are Protestant and primarily evangelical (U.S. Department of State, Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor, 2005). In a study of entrepreneurs in Guatemala, Gooren (2002) describes how faith beliefs can shape individuals' aspirations to seek a better life for themselves, as well to contribute to the greater good.

4. The Current Study

Despite the challenges in the Dump Community, there are opportunities for change that may positively impact the development of youth purpose. Increasing foreign investment, emigration to more affluent countries, resulting remittances (Díaz, 2012), and gradual recovery from the 36-year armed conflict may open doors to greater social mobility among poor youth. Thus, this study focused on the development of purpose among youth who participated in PHA's Education and Mentoring program, and against all odds, graduated from high school. This study examines the fit of the Four P's theory of purpose development to this population (Liang et al., 2017). To add grounding in support of this theory, the study also includes the perspectives of mentors and staff who have worked to support participants' academic and vocational success. Findings may inform an understanding of youth purpose in impoverished communities globally, where new doors may be opening for education and work.

5. Methods

5.1. Participants

In this study, the defined cultural group (Berry, Poortinga, Segall, & Dasen, 1992) includes individuals who both live within the Dump Community and participated in the PHA program. Participants included 17 Guatemalan emerging adults (9 female, 8 male; $M_{age} = 21$; $Mdn_{age} = 21$). Ethnic/racial information was collected; however, this information did not serve as inclusion or exclusion criteria for this study. Participants all self-identified as Ladino/a – a heterogeneous ethnic group that includes the mixed Euro-indigenous population and families of Mayan descent who have adopted Ladino sociocultural values (Adams, 1994).

An extreme-groups design (Bronk, 2013) was used by including youth expected to be especially purposeful. Participants were selected according to the nomination criterion of having successfully graduated from high school. Because graduation is so rare in the Dump Community, and purpose is associated with academic achievement (Bronk et al., 2010), this study sought to understand purpose in a unique population that was expected to have a sense of purpose.

In addition to the graduates, 17 PHA staff (14 female, 3 male) voluntarily completed qualitative, open-ended surveys. Many of the staff had also grown up in the Dump Community, and thus shared the same socioeconomic and cultural background. As was the case with the participating students, ethnic/racial information was collected and did not serve as inclusion or exclusion criteria for this study. Staff participants all self-identified as Ladino/a. Each had at least two years of service in the PHA Education and Mentoring program. All participants

provided consent. The study was approved by the Boston College Institutional Review Board.

PHA is an NGO that has provided humanitarian relief for those living in the Dump Community for over 30 years (Potter's House Association, 2015). PHA services include nutrition, medical care, micro-enterprise financing, community support, family integration, and education and mentoring for youth. This study focuses on the youth participants of the education and mentoring program through which kindergarteners through high school aged students receive academic tutoring, conventional class-based instruction, an extended school day, a daily hot meal, spiritual support, and school supplies as needed. PHA staff builds in-depth mentoring relationships to support students in reaching specific goals and maintain close contact with students' parents/guardians, attempting to build a bridge between home and school. Through concrete support and youth purpose development, this program seeks to help students graduate from high school and pursue post-secondary training and education.

5.2. Procedure

Consistent with qualitative methods (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005), in-depth (Johnson, 2002), in-person, semi-structured (Seidman, 1991) interviews were conducted at PHA with each of the 17 graduates. The researchers conducted interviews through the help of a professional Guatemalan Spanish-English speaking translator. At the start of each interview, interviewers received permission to audio-record interviews and explained that the participants' responses and themes would be reported in aggregate form, identifying information would be removed, and codenames would be assigned to ensure anonymity.

The interview protocol, informed by youth purpose research (Liang et al., 2017) and program staff to ensure cultural relevancy, was used merely as a guide, enabling interviewers to follow freely the accounts of each participant. Youth were invited to reflect on the things that matter most to them and any *aspirations* toward, *active engagement* in, and *motivations* for purposeful goals. Specific questions included: What are your goals and dreams? Where do you see yourself in 5, 10, and 15 years? How do you define success?

For each of these questions, the interviewer probed into why these things matter to the student in order to discern the motivation and reasons behind the student's interest or potential purpose. The interview also raised questions about whether students were aware of any influences on their future aspirations and sense of purpose, what kinds of support had been provided to them, sources of stress, and views about their academic and vocational plans, interests, and obstacles. Open-ended questions were followed by additional prompts to further investigate the students' experiences. Audio-recorded interviews were transcribed using HyperTranscribe software. The transcriptions were then verified – a process that entailed listening to recordings an additional time and making corrections to the transcripts as needed.

For the qualitative survey portion of this study, all current PHA staff and teachers who either formerly worked or were currently working with the education and mentoring program submitted survey responses. Open-ended questions invited them to report on their observations of contributing factors to the development of purpose among youth served in this program. Specific questions included: What kinds of goals (short and long-term) do students have? What do you think stands in the way of students achieving their goals? What do you think is missing in the support that students receive from their families?... their school?... PHA? What do you wish that PHA could do differently to help students develop and pursue their purpose?

5.3. *Analysis*

A directed form of content analysis, which allows researchers to support and extend theories, was used to analyze the interviews (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). Given the study's focus on understanding how the Four P's theory of purpose development applies to this cultural population, the codebook initially included the original four themes (people, passion, propensity, prosocial benefits) (Liang et al., 2017). Consistent with directed content analysis coding approaches, the study also sought to uncover any unique factors that foster purpose in Guatemalan youth (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). At the beginning of the coding process, research team members read each interview transcript and survey response multiple times, while writing memos in the margins about emerging themes. Once members reached agreement on the applicability of the Four P's in describing participants' purpose development, interviews were coded using these four codes. Other mechanisms that might be contributing to participants' purpose development were also thoroughly considered. This process yielded subcodes to further elucidate the mechanisms by which the four broad constructs influence purpose development; specifically, three subcodes emerged under the *People parent* code: (1) emphasizing education, (2) developing skills, and (3) instilling hope. Despite participants' identification of multiple types of supportive adult figures, a *Family* code was created to reflect the particular salience of family members' influence on purpose development. This process also resulted in the adoption of a *Faith* code to describe the influence of religious or spiritual beliefs on multiple factors that foster the development of purpose. An *Obstacles* code was created to reflect challenging circumstances in students' lives that seemed to thwart purpose development. In the final phase of coding, researchers re-read the interviews and survey responses to ensure that the Four P's, the three subcodes under *People*, and three additional codes (*Family*, *Faith*, and *Obstacles*) were a close fit with the data. To conclude the analysis process, two research assistants – vis-a-vis a shadow coder approach – carefully checked the coding that two others had completed to confirm agreement among coders; all minor discrepancies in coding were resolved through collaborative discussion (Smagorinsky, 2008).

6. Reflexivity

As outside researchers, rather than insiders of the community, we examined our biases, subjective values, and positionality – a critical part of qualitative inquiry that ensures a study's integrity (Tracy, 2010). The authors each have extensive experience working with youth in a variety of capacities: one is a parent of an adolescent, and others have served as practitioners and researchers interacting with adolescents in the contexts of psychotherapy, religious youth groups, and other community organizations. Three are scholars in youth mentoring, PYD, and social justice issues. Indeed, a commitment to social justice inspired the study's focus on cultivating purpose among impoverished youth. As such, we sought to conduct research that honored the voices of youth, benefitted their community, and represented a non-hierarchical partnership. However, as researchers from the U.S., we enjoy certain privileges and benefits from such partnerships (e.g., publications, grants). Moreover, we intended to see youths' experiences

through their eyes, but in reality this was a challenge, since we carry with us our training, our culture, and other differences – despite our efforts to critically reflect upon these differences (Segall, Lonner, & Berry, 1998). Therefore, although we intended to represent youths' voices, the actual findings and interpretations would more accurately be considered a 'third voice'— co-constructed with our collaborators through an iterative process (Lykes, Terre Blance, & Hamber, 2003).

Moreover, as citizens of the U.S., we also recognized the importance of contextualizing this study in the history of U.S. political involvement in Guatemala. The U.S. authorized the C.I.A to overthrow the democratically elected leader of Guatemala (President Jacobo Arbenz) in 1954, which resulted in a string of dictatorships linked with bloodshed and poverty (Black, Jamail, & Chinchilla, 1984; Schlessinger, 2011). Given the history of U.S. interference in Guatemala, we were deeply cognizant of the privilege of being invited by this organization and community to work with them. At every step of this project, the researchers encouraged collaborators to share power and decision-making. Our collaborators initiated the request for this research study and raised the initial research questions about how youth develop a future-orientation and long-term aspirations. Together we designed the interview protocol, made arrangements for the data collection, and interpreted the findings. Moreover, we recognized the importance of guarding against U.S. cultural biases towards a strictly task-oriented approach, as opposed to the Latin American values of fostering a positive relationship – leading to a good process, and in turn, the best results (Sanchez-Burks, Nisbett, & Ybarra, 2000). Thus, we embraced our Guatemalan collaborators' social-emotional goals for the partnership, which involved establishing a trusting, solid relationship over several years, prior to the study, and a continuing relationship afterwards. This relationship also kept us from defaulting to ethnocentric judgments about the findings (i.e., basing them in U.S. cultural norms; Berry et al., 1992). For example, person-centered, ahistorical assumptions inform U.S.-based theories and treatment of vulnerable populations (Brabeck, Lykes, & Hershberg, 2011). But for Guatemalan youth, we recognized that fighting for a purpose may be motivated by a desire to redress not just personal or family trauma, but larger systemic-level trauma. Indeed, it is critical to understand the context of the historical and socio-political events that color the meaning that individuals make of their experiences.

7. Results

The coding process confirmed the four conceptually distinct, yet interrelated themes reflecting salient experiences of purpose shared by the graduates: (1) people; (2) passion; (3) prosocial benefits; (4) propensity. Each of these themes will be described below with exemplary quotes from both the graduates and staff of PHA (see Table 1).

7.1 People

Despite significant economic and social constraints that may have hindered purpose development and access to a variety of opportunities, all student participants reported feeling supported in some capacity by people who wanted them to achieve their goals. The three most frequently reported sources of support were parents, teachers, and other staff at PHA with whom youth developed mentoring relationships. Notably, in the participants' discussion of significant

adults who supported their purpose and goals, they described three major contributions: emphasis on education, practical skills development, and the provision of hope for the future.

Table 1. Youth Exemplar Quotes

Theme Example
People
"Her name is [Mentor 1], and the love I have for her is great. She was one of the person who showed me that I have a great value from God. There was a time when I didn't believe Him, even though I was having good grades. There was a time that I felt I wasn't able, that I didn't have the same value. It was like…I'm not sure if this was a stage of a teenager, I'm not sure. […] She started to tell me that she has seen something very special in me. She started to tell me that I didn't have to be sad with the problems".
Profitability
"It's rewarding to me to give back what I have been given and serve others, to serve the poor as I was because I don't consider myself poor anymore. I am the daughter of a king and therefore I am valuable".
Passion
"One of these dreams is to be a great communicator nationwide and internationally as well. Work in the most important TV channels or networks...When I did my supervised practice in school, from school. I had the opportunity of being on national TV. Maybe not in front of the cameras but I was behind cameras and I was very emotional about it. I loved it. I love what I have chosen as a career and this is what motivates me to believe that one day I'll be standing in front of a camera".
Propensity
"When I was in high school my classmates influenced me because they would tell me that I was good drawing or coloring and so they would come to me if they needed a drawing. They would say, "Could you please do this for me because you are good drawing?" Or other things like that. And this encouraged me and told me that I was able".
Faith
"This was key. It was what set me apart because maybe I had to stay up late or I didn't have any materials for doing my homework or other things but I think that with just the fact that of closing my eyes and my tribulation or when I felt bad I knew God would send the signal somehow and would tell me that I could not give up and that I would do great things".
Family
"I think that in my case, I have always said that I don't want to continually live here because ... Not because I don't like it. You know here I have my friends, but I feel like to give my family a different life, to change the way of living we have. I know that if we weren't poor, it doesn't mean that we need to die poor. I think that if we have that different mind, if we want to change our community, our way of living, we can do it".
Obstacles
"Last year I was offered a position in a TV station here, local TV. I went to the place and they looked at me, they looked at me, and they said that I didn't deserve a job like that. That I was filthy, he said, dirty. That, 'What was I thinking I could become? How dare I think that I could become a TV personality?' That day was a hard blow for me. I saw my dreams come to a full stop and it was very painful. I think this has prevented me from continuing to move forward and fight for what I want".

7.2 Emphasizing education

Supportive parents, teachers, and staff emphasized the importance of education in pursuing purpose beyond the landfill. A common finding was that parents encouraged their children to stay in school, despite the fact that the parents themselves had not completed education beyond elementary school. Nina said, “My father, when I was a child, he used to tell me, ‘Nina, you can do it. Don't think that you are unable, because you have the potential.’ He was a great example for me because he couldn't finish elementary school.” Parents typically were described as urging students to complete school as a means to achieve greater purpose than life in the Dump (e.g., “My dad… always emphasized that you have to go to school. The point that [my parents] made was, ‘I don't want you to have the same future.’” and “My dad would always tell me that studying was a good thing and that I would become a better person by studying… They didn't want me to have the same life that they had.”)

Similarly, most graduates expressed feeling extremely supported by their PHA teachers and mentors in their completion of high school, as these important people helped the graduates to see the link with education and the fulfillment of future purpose. The graduates who were most determined to pursue their purpose tended to identify one special teacher or staff person who had become a mentor – someone who did not only teach them, but pursued them with unconditional and tenacious caring. For example, Carlos described the way that two of his teachers’ consistently drew him back to school each time he felt ready to quit: “When I was in high school, they were very supportive to me because I had a hard time studying. I didn't want to continue my education. And they would encourage me, and they gave me a lot of advice and told me to continue”. At times, teachers and mentors shared personally about their own challenges in attending school and how they had overcome these: “I would explain what was going on [with my life], and then [my mentor] said that she had faced the same difficulties but she had pressed through… If I did the same thing, I would be able to continue in school regardless of what I had.” Moreover, these adults were described as persistent, even relentless in their efforts to keep the youth in school. For example, another student said:

> [My teacher would say]…my ability was greater than whatever I didn't have, and I could succeed. She insisted constantly, and she told me that she would always support me, and she, in fact, always supported me. So I kept in school until I decided that I was going to be successful, and I was successful.

7.3 Developing skills

The staff and teachers at PHA also provided significant instrumental support in developing the young person’s skills in areas relevant to pursuing their purpose. They were described as providing intensive, concrete help ranging from academic subject tutorials (e.g., “[my mentor] took much time to give me reading support”) to vocational skills development (e.g., “[my mentor] helped me draft my resume. She’s told me about what pages that I need to search or look for.”) And, for many interviewees, skills development seemed linked to increased confidence. For example, Jessica described being “taught about how to get experience for a job…how to stop being afraid of looking for a job. I am not afraid anymore”.

Staff survey responses reiterated this emphasis on skills development. Many staff shared the

view that personalized skills training, and modeling of these skills, were imperative. They provided examples of ways they wished to be even “more involved [with] facilitating connections between youth and companies and giving students more job-related experiences and practical skills”. A staff respondent suggested, “taking students to visit companies where they can see for themselves what the work environment is all about…and seeking to find them jobs during vacation time two years before they graduate.”

7.4 Instilling hope

Participants uniformly emphasized the importance of “borrowing hope” from adults who expressed their belief in these young people’s potential to transcend their circumstances. Hope was described as critical in light of the life-sized challenges they faced. Indeed, they cited various examples of feeling hindered in their access to social, economic, and educational opportunities given their residency in the Dump Community. Thirteen out of the 15 participants reported financial concerns as one of the most salient barriers that stood in the way of pursuing purposeful goals. For example, Carlos said that attending school was an economic strain for his family because it required “lots of materials, and riding the bus, for example… We had to pay the bus fare, and sometimes my mom didn’t have the money”. Similarly, Alessandra, said, “money is an obstacle, money and transportation”. A few graduates felt forced to give up the pursuit of higher education or to take time off during their primary and secondary education because they needed to support their children or their families. For example, Andrea gave birth shortly after graduation: “I had my baby, and I needed to work, and the job I had was a full time, even on Saturdays, and I had to look for someone who will care after my baby so that I could work and have money”. Indeed, findings from staff surveys suggested that it was typical for families living in Dump Community to discourage their children from pursuing purposes outside of supporting the family (e.g., “some parents want their children to work and support the family, rather than attend school”, “the emotional burden and lack of resources creates in [the students] the impression that they have to support their family financially. When they study, they see themselves as a financial burden to their parents”).

Moreover, participants described disheartening and shaming experiences of prejudice and discrimination by people outside the Dump. They reported feeling stigmatized because of their addresses in the red zone. Izabella said, “People block us because of the place where we live…‘No, no, no. I'm not going to hire you because you live in a marginalized area,’ or, ‘There's nothing for you’”. Julio described a specific instance of discrimination that severely shamed him and damaged his confidence:

> Last year I was offered a position in a TV station here, local TV. I went to the place, and they looked at me… and they said that I didn't deserve a job like that. [They said] that I was filthy, dirty… I saw my dreams come to a full stop, and it was very painful. I think this has prevented me from continuing to move forward and fight for what I want.

Many participants emphasized how parents and PHA staff and mentors counteracted these messages from people outside the dump by strong affirmations of their abilities to overcome their current circumstances and fulfill higher purposes: “I don’t want you to work in the dump.

You are smart, so stay in school… ” and “You can do better than me, leave the dump and get a good job one day…”. Teachers and staff also played a critical role in mentoring youth to believe in a better future. For example, Ana said about PHA, “It helps me a lot. I've found teachers that believe in me, believe in my potential… They helped me a lot to discover my talents, and also share my dreams and have people to believe in me and help me in many, many ways”.

The majority of youth recounted how adults instilled hope in them through a focus on faith that helped them transcend daily challenges. For example, Jessica described the instillation of hope by PHA staff this way: “They tell me about God, and this helped us to stay out of drugs, stay out of alcohol, and to avoid bad things that you see around here very often”. David provided an example of parents’ role in instilling hope through faith as well: “my mother, she's always encouraged us to believe in God, to have faith in God, that [God] moves mountains for us to do things”. Indeed, one of the most significant sources of hope to counteract shame was constant affirmation from PHA staff and mentors of youths’ deep and intrinsic personal worth: “people think we are trash because we work in the garbage dump, but [PHA staff] tell us we are treasures in God’s eyes”.

7.5 Passion

A “spark” or passion for a particular field of study and vocation also seemed to be a salient characteristic in the development of purpose. All but two graduates in this sample described having a personal spark or passion for a future goal toward which they were working. Nina described how she developed this passion:

> My biggest dream has been a speaker. I'm shy, but I want to speak in front of the people and share about me, and share about how God has changed my heart and my life, even though I lost my father figure. I want to be a speaker because by speaking it's like an action. By telling others that everything is possible, that you can do everything you want.

Izabella talked about her love of teaching: “I think that I have to study to be able to have a credential as a teacher, because this is what I love doing, teaching. Giving a little bit of the many things I have received. I don't want to give a little, I want to give a lot”. Relatedly, Felipe talked about his passion for using art to engage young people as a culmination of his identification with “mischievous youth” and his love of art: “I want to study visual arts and become a painter or a sculptor… Since I was little, I always liked to draw, I like to draw a lot, it's what I would do everyday”.

7.6 Prosocial Benefits

An other-oriented purpose in which graduates described aspirations that benefited their families, people within their communities, or the larger society, was nearly universal within this sample. Thirteen of the interviewees expressed their wish to improve the lives of their parents and families. Julio wanted to work in the television industry, both because of his passion for television and the desire to make his mother’s future better. Modesto, a budding chemical

biologist, explained his family-oriented reasons for purpose: “I wanted to be better in life. I wanted to advance and progress in life and help my parents”. In addition to her passion for marketing, Nina wanted to pursue this purpose because “I don't want to continually live here because... I feel like to give my family a different life, to change the way of living we have. I know that if we were poor, it doesn't mean that we need to die poor”.

Indeed, many interviewees also expressed the desire to better the conditions of their communities or inspire future generations to pursue education. For example, Tania described her purpose to work in business as the culmination of both personal interests and the desire to contribute to the lives of others (“I want children who come after me, the youngest one not to just look at me but to look at others as well so that we can be real models for them to press on”). For many of these young people, the intention to help others in need seemed to be fueled by compassion that had come from personal hardship. For example, Pilar explained her purpose to become a nurse this way:

> Because I have seen great need in people. Sometimes they are told information, and they follow grandmother's advice, and they get scared with the information they get. But if you look at it from a medical perspective, it's a different situation so we can help the mindset of people. In telling them what they really have, and we can help them that way.

Moreover, the desire to help others was often rooted in a spiritual commitment to “give back to God” all they felt they had received from God. For example, Andrea, who was working at PHA during the summers explained, “When you work here in Potter's House, you need to have the gift of serving others and not just doing the job for having a job and getting paid. Instead… serving God because Potter's House, as they say, it's a God idea”. Julio saw his television career as a way to bring the hope that comes from faith and God to a larger society: “I think that TV and radio are a way to continue preaching the word of God to many [in many] places who still haven't heard about him”. Similarly, Izabella described why she found it meaningful to work with young people: “It's rewarding to me to give back what I have been given and serve others, to serve the poor as I was because I don't consider myself poor anymore. I am the daughter of a king [i.e., a child of God], and therefore I am valuable”.

7.7 Propensity

Compared to people, passion, and prosocial benefits, fewer participants identified a propensity for their purpose based on skills, personality, or background. Six out of the 15 participants described believing that their purpose or chosen vocation was a good fit for their skills or personality. In several of these cases, respondents described how they came to see their propensity for a purpose through successful or gratifying experiences doing something they did not think they could do. For example, Jose described himself as having a shy personality, but then discovering his voice through his work making home visits to needy families throughout the Dump Community. After practicing speaking and praying with these families, he realized he had the propensity for his purpose, (e.g., “*words came to me and that it was a good experience, and I realized I could do it.*”)

Similarly, Ana, who works with families in the sponsorship department of PHA, described her

aspiration to join the PHA staff after college because she believed it to be a good match for her disposition and skills: "I like to serve. I feel like I'm a very good listener. With my friends, they always come and talk to me". Although a number of other interviewees provided general descriptions of their propensity for their chosen purpose, (e.g., "I'm very smart" and "I can do it"), few provided a rationale or evidence for how their purpose or aspiration was specifically a match for their skills and strengths. Moreover, there was not much evidence that mentor figures such a teachers, staff, and parents had explicitly helped youth to identify their propensity for a particular purpose or goal. Instead, graduates described having to choose a major early during high school, and making these determinations mostly based on passion/interest, rather than propensity.

Staff responses provided some clues about the lack of emphasis on propensity. In particular, they uniformly echoed the reality of youth being made to believe that skills and abilities will not enable them to get jobs. (e.g., one staff member said, "The main barrier is discrimination and the paradigm that people have for this place. It is considered a red zone in the country, and few dare to hire people from red zones"). As a result of these and other defeatist messages, many staff also noted that youths' mindset (e.g., poor motivation, self-esteem, and self-efficacy) played a role in developing skills and pursuing purpose. A number of the staff observed dwindling hopes for the future, even among students who demonstrated initial motivation. They attributed this shift in mindset to a combination of youths' difficult circumstances and lofty aspirations, which made realizing their goals challenging. A staff member said: "They do not have attainable goals. This only causes frustration in them, and they choose to stop setting goals for themselves."

Staff recommendations for improving the PHA program included increasing the identification and development of students' skills that would enable students to form goals they were better equipped to pursue, or that they could succeed in "more realistically." Although interviewees did describe at length the skills development that important mentors provided for them, what seemed missing was help identifying and developing individual students' pre-existing skills and strengths that would predispose them to be a better fit for a purpose.

8. Discussion

This study seeks to extend research on community empowerment and youth purpose in extremely impoverished communities outside the U.S., where youth often have trouble imagining a purpose and future beyond their current circumstances. More specifically, we asked: how do theories of youth purpose development, namely the Four P's theory (Liang et al., 2017), apply to some of the most underprivileged youth in Guatemala? Given that purpose is considered a source of resiliency (Benson, 2006; Damon et al., 2003), and that PHA aims to increase prospects of young people living in poverty, the goal of this study was to investigate how those who successfully graduate from high school develop purpose. As anticipated, findings from this study reveal that the Four P's theory helps to explain much about the development of purpose for youth in Guatemala. Findings also suggest that sociocultural context factors (i.e., environmental influences, family, faith, stigma, discrimination) beyond those covered in the Four P's model contribute to Guatemalan youth purpose development.

Most graduates described the importance of three of the four factors: relationships that empowered them to pursue their purpose (people), benefits and beneficiaries of the purpose

(prosocial benefits), and an abiding interest in or zest for activities or things associated with a purpose (passion). Interestingly, although previous research has suggested that the fit between one's skills/strengths and purpose (propensity) is a defining factor in purpose development, the current interviewees emphasized this factor less than the others. Staff responses revealed that, rather than interpret this omission as an indication that propensity is irrelevant to fostering purpose, propensity may represent one area for improvement within the education and mentoring program. Familial factors, especially due to the dominant role of *familismo*, and faith were overarching influences in purpose development.

Graduates all described how significant human resources (i.e., parents, teachers, mentors) contributed to their sense of purpose by *emphasizing education*, *developing skills*, and *instilling hope* for a better future. It is noteworthy that each of the interviewees reported that their parents affirmed that they work hard in school even though it was typical for parents to have completed little formal education. Given literature that supports the connection between parental support and academic achievement among urban school students, it is unsurprising that these students demonstrated higher educational attainment (Jeynes, 2007). Moreover, these graduates explained how mentors/teachers urged them to pursue education, no matter how difficult their circumstances, helped them develop practical skills, and instilled hope by reminding them that they were capable of "great purposes." Indeed, hope has been linked to career exploration among "at-risk" adolescents (Hirschi, Abessolo, & Froidevaux, 2015).

Graduates also evidenced an other-centered purpose – an intention to affect change in their families and communities. Our findings are supported by empirical work that suggests that those who have underprivileged backgrounds, but relatively high educational attainment, report higher levels of purpose, especially family-oriented purposes (Ryff, 2003). The prevalence of family-oriented purposes could, in part, be related to the importance of *familismo* and contributing to the family unit within Latino culture. Besides contributing to their families, youth expressed strong desires to help other youth in their communities. One highly notable characteristic of participants' expressed desires to redress systemic-level trauma was an emphasis on hope and restoration, rather than resentment and retaliation for injustices they have suffered. These findings seem counter to what research evidence would predict for those raised in a context of abuse, neglect, and deprivation—such as our study participants who have been oppressed on historical, systemic levels and micro-levels (Van Dyke & Elias, 2008). Such youth would be expected to harbor resentment, rebel against adult helpers, and develop learned helplessness, in a way that would hinder the pursuit of future-oriented goals and aspirations. Yet, our results are consistent with research that finds a strong sense of hope and forgiveness among those evidencing higher levels of religiosity (Van Dyke & Elias, 2008). Indeed, these findings are consistent with literature that suggests that religious beliefs, particularly Christian faith, emphasize working toward beyond-the-self aims (Emmons, 2005; Gooren, 2002). Moreover, our findings suggest that by caring for these students, mentors may have role-modeled for them compassion and willingness to serve those in need.

Passion and "sparks" often motivated youth in their pursuit of a particular purpose. Previous literature has suggested that when youth have "sparks" that are identified and nurtured by supportive mentors, they are more likely to feel empowered to pursue their interests and contribute to the larger society, regardless of their race, gender, or SES (Scales, Benson, & Roehlkepartain, 2011). While mentors and teachers worked to help youth develop skills relevant to their chosen purpose, our findings suggested that there was a relative lack of emphasis on the identification of students' pre-existing skills and strengths in order to help them find a purpose

for which they may be especially well-suited and equipped to pursue. As a result, graduates of the program may struggle to fulfill their purpose. Program staff may do well to focus more on scaffolding youths' abilities and guiding them to pursue aspirations that are a good fit for them.

Although these graduates reported numerous factors that promoted their purpose development, our findings also revealed specific obstacles. First, they emphasized that financial restraints at times hindered them from pursuing future-oriented aspirations beyond remaining in the Dump Community. Second, they also described the stigma of living in this community. Indeed, social class, as well as the prejudice that results from being part of a marginalized group, often has detrimental effects on stigmatized individuals (Allison, 1998). Stigma can lead to discrimination against certain individuals in the areas of employment, housing, education, and healthcare, and it has been linked to social isolation, low self-esteem and self-efficacy, and a reduction in individuals' adaptive resources (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1986; Hackett & Byars, 1996).

Graduates' awareness of prejudices against them and uncertainty about whether education would enable them to obtain jobs outside the garbage dump were also obstacles to the development of youth purpose. Relatedly, staff noted that as a result of systemic barriers, youth in this community evinced a self-defeating mindset and approach toward future-oriented aspirations. Self-efficacy has consistently been linked to the pursuit of career aspirations (Bandura, Barbaranelli, Caprara, & Pastorelli, 2001). Even these young people who had been successful in graduating from high school admitted that at times a negative mindset about their capabilities to overcome life circumstances dampened their motivation to pursue their dreams.

8.1 Purpose Development in Context

In this vein, the findings revealed the critical role that environmental systems (i.e., micro-, meso-, exo-, macro-. and chronosystems; Bronfenbrenner, 1994) play in purpose development for these youth. Consistent with the Four P's theory (Liang et al., 2017), participants highlighted many people (e.g., parents, teachers, mentors) within their microsystems that profoundly impacted their purpose development. Moreover, this study underscored the significant influence that exosystem and macrosystem influences had on youth purpose development. For example, religion and faith beliefs as well as *familismo* seemed to help propel youth toward their purpose. That is, these aspects of the macrosystem had a direct and positive impact on purpose development. On the other hand, the stigma and discrimination associated with their community/neighborhood and social class had a detrimental impact on purpose development. Besides the obvious direct effect of not being offered opportunities for jobs due to discrimination, these exosystem influences seemed to also have an indirect effect through their detrimental impact on youths' self-efficacy, which in turn impeded purpose development.

8.2 Limitations and Future Research

It is important to note that the study findings are descriptive in nature and are derived from a small sample drawn from a particular context, namely a group of high school graduates who had participated in the PHA program. Caution should be taken when considering how these findings can be applied to underprivileged youth more broadly, especially in light of the critical role environmental influences have on purpose development. As such, youth from diverse cultures

and areas of the world may vary in their experiences of purpose development simply by virtue of the specific people and circumstances that make up their ecological systems. While the participants in this study may differ in many ways from disadvantaged youth all over the world, they likely share some similarities (e.g., multiple risks and experiences with discrimination) that bring relevance to our results for other populations. In addition, the open-ended survey responses were obtained from PHA program staff who focused their responses on all youth served in the program, not just the sample of graduates interviewed for this study. Future longitudinal research following a sample of students beyond high school graduation is necessary to understand the characteristics of youth who succeed in achieving their future-oriented purposes.

Despite these limitations, this study makes an important contribution by being among the first to use a qualitative approach to explore how purpose develops among poor youth living in an impoverished community. Previous purpose research has predominantly focused on relatively well-adjusted, ethnically and racially homogeneous, college-aged populations in North America. Thus, the findings here give voice to a unique sample of youth who are being aided in their development of purpose. This study also illuminates the ways in which programs designed to serve underprivileged youth may address their common obstacles, and leverage primary motivators, to cultivate purpose. In both cases, it appears that faith and family were the primary levers for developing purpose, demonstrating how these can profoundly influence purpose in the face of severe life challenges. Future research should elucidate factors associated with youth purpose and high school completion in other countries and significantly impoverished areas.

8.3 Practical Implications

The findings carry practical implications for programs designed to foster PYD across cultures. Indeed, such programs would do well to incorporate family and faith emphases – especially in regions of the world where religious beliefs are particularly salient to individuals' lived experiences. For example, programs can work with youth to consider whether and how family and faith may serve as resources and may influence their values and choices relevant to their purpose and to their passions, propensities, people resources, and prosocial motivations. Moreover, our findings suggest that the PHA program may do well to help youth consider their skills and strengths in the process of choosing a realistic goal/purpose to work toward. Indeed, the absence of this fit may contribute to the low sense of self-efficacy consistently cited as an obstacle to the development of purpose.

In addition to these micro and family level interventions, participants emphasized the devastating effects of stigmatization and discrimination in their lives and the obstacles these experiences posed to fulfilling purposeful goals. Systemic interventions at the exo- and macrosystem levels, including programs raising awareness about the stigmatization and discrimination of marginalized youth, are needed (Bronfenbrenner, 1994). Moreover, programs should simultaneously arm youth against the negative effects of stigmatization and discrimination by fostering increased resiliency and resources among youth. To counteract the challenges of living in communities that carry such prejudice and stigma, programs may especially target the development of youth self-efficacy and positive sense of self, while addressing the shame and disempowerment associated with such treatment (Vilet, 2009). Youth can be taught to overcome shame through shifting tendencies from self-blame and dwelling on the past toward focusing on taking responsibility for solutions that will move them into the

future. Meanwhile, it is important that youth are not only empowered to take action, but that opportunities for them to act on are made available. For example, programs would do well to work on creating inroads with a few small businesses, corporations, or other organizations that would be willing to form mentored internship opportunities for these youth. Together, they would forge relationships between work settings and disadvantaged communities that are carefully designed to be mutually beneficial, to increase youth agency and hope for the future, and to ultimately change stereotypes and stigma through the success of these partnerships.

9. Conclusions

Among these emerging adults who successfully graduate from high school –a rare feat in the context of a community plagued by low educational attainment –*people*, *passion*, and *prosocial benefits* emerged as prominent themes impacting the development of purpose. In other words, in the presence of supportive relationships, passion, and a compelling sense of the benefits associated with their goals –and through the influence of faith and family –these young people were able to develop a sense of future-oriented purpose that may be associated with their academic achievement. Indeed, PHA may serve as a model for community change through promoting purpose and PYD even among the most impoverished youth.

Acknowledgements

This investigation was supported by funding to the first author from the Boston College Collaborative Fellows Grant. We gratefully acknowledge Margarita de Rivas, Hector Rivas, Anabella de Vides, students and other staff at the Potter's House Association, along with our research assistants, for their critical contributions and collaboration.

References

Adams, R. N. (1994). Guatemalan ladinization and history. *The Americas*, *50*(4), 527-543.

Albuja, S. & Aguilar Umaña, I. (2009). Gang violence and forced displacement in Central America. *Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre & Interpeace*. Retrieved from http://www.internal-displacement.org/8025708F004CE90B/%28httpDocuments%29/2D76EE3DF8345686C125799900448840/$file/gang-violence-andforced-displacement-central-america-2009.pdf

Allison, K. W. (1998). Stress and oppressed social category membership. In J. K. Swim & C. Stangor (Eds.), *Prejudice: The target's perspective* (pp. 145-170). San Diego, CA: Academic Press.

Ayón, C., Marsiglia, F. F., & Bermudez-Parsai, M. (2010). Latino family mental health: Exploring the role of discrimination and familismo. *Journal of Community Psychology*, *38*(6), 742–756. doi: 10.1002/jcop.20392

Bandura, A., Barbaranelli, C., Caprara, G. V., & Pastorelli, C. (2001). Self-efficacy beliefs as shapers of children's aspirations and career trajectories. *Child Development*, *72*, 187-206. doi: 10.1111/1467-8624.00273

Benson, P. L. (2006). *All kids are our kids: What communities must do to raise caring and responsible children and adolescents.* (2nd Ed). San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Berry, J., Poortinga, Y. H., Segall, M. H., & Dasen, P. R. (1992). *Cross-cultural psychology: Research and applications*. Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press.

Black, G., Jamail, M., & Chinchilla, N. (1984). *Garrison Guatemala*. New York, NY: Monthly Review Press.

Books, S. (2004). *Poverty and schooling in the U.S.: Contexts and Consequences.* New York, NY: Routledge.

Brabeck, K. M., Lykes, M. B., & Hershberg, R. (2011). Framing immigration to and deportation from the United States: Guatemalan and Salvadoran families make meaning of their experiences. *Community, Work and Family*, *14*(3), 275-296. doi: 10.1080/13668803.2010.520840

Bronfenbrenner, U. (1994). Ecological models of human development. In *International Encyclopedia of Education* (2nd Ed. Vol. 3, pp. 1643-1647). Oxford: Elsevier.

Bronk, K. C. (2013). *Purpose in life: A critical component of optimal youth development*. New York, NY: Springer Science & Business Media.

Bronk, K. C., Finch, W. H., & Talib, T. L. (2010). Purpose in life among high ability adolescents. *High Ability Studies*, *21*(2), 133-145. doi:10.1080/13598139.2010.525339

Cauce, A. M., & Domenech-Rodriguez, M. (2000). Latino families: Myths and realities. In J. M. Contreras, K. A. Kerns, & A. M. Neal-Barnett (Eds.). *Latino children and families in the United States* (pp. 3-25). Westport, CT: Praeger.

Damon, W. (2009). The why question: Teachers can instill a sense of purpose. *Education Next*, *9*(3). Retrieved from http://educationnext.org/the-why-question-2

Damon, W., Menon, J., & Bronk, K. C. (2003). The development of purpose during adolescence. *Applied Developmental Science*, *7*(3), 119-128.

De La Rosa, M. L. (2006). Is opportunity knocking? Low-income students' perceptions of college and financial aid. *American Behavioral Scientist*, *49*(12), 1670-1686. doi: 10.1177/0002764206289139

Díaz, G. (2012). Social stratification and mobility in Guatemala. *Cepal Review, 107.* Retrieved from http://www.cepal.org/publicaciones/xml/5/48665/RVI107Diaz.pdf

Dik, B. J., Steger, M. F., Gibson, A., & Peisner, W. (2011). Make your work matter: Development and pilot evaluations of a purpose-centered career education intervention. *New Directions for Youth Development*, *132*, 59-73. doi: 10.1002/yd.428

Dovidio, J. F., & Gaertner, S. L. (Eds.). (1986). *Prejudice, discrimination, and racism*. Orlando, FL: Academic Press.

Emmons, R. A. (2005). Striving for the sacred: Personal goals, life meaning, and religion. *Journal of Social Issues*, *61*(4), 731-745. doi: 10.1111/j.1540-4560.2005.00429.x

Gooren, H. (2002). Catholic and non-Catholic theologies of liberation: Poverty, self-improvement, and ethics among small-scale entrepreneurs in Guatemala City. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion, 41*(1), 29-45. doi: 10.1111/1468-5906.00098

Hackett, G., & Byars, A. M. (1996). Social cognitive theory and the career development of African American women. *The Career Development Quarterly*, *44*(4), 322-340. doi: 10.1002/j.2161-0045.1996.tb00449.x

Her Majesty's Treasury Department for International Development (2005). *From commitment to action: Human development and growth*. London: UK. Retrieved from http://www.fasid.or.jp/_files/seminar_detail/H17/135-4.pdf

Hirschi, A., Abessolo, M., & Froidevaux, A. (2015). Hope as a resource for career exploration: Examining incremental and cross-lagged effects. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, *86*, 38-47. doi: 10.1016/j.jvb.2014.10.006

Hsieh, H., & Shannon, S. E. (2005). Three approaches to qualitative content analysis. *Qualitative Health Research*, *15*(9), 1277-1288. doi: 10.1177/1049732305276687

Jeynes, W. H. (2007). The relationship between parental involvement and urban secondary school achievement: A meta-analysis. *Urban Education*, *42*(1), 82-110. doi: doi.org/10.1177/0042085906293818

Johnson, J. M. (2002). In-depth interviewing. In J. F. Gubrium & J. A. Holstein (Eds.), *Handbook of interview research: Context and method,* (pp. 103-119). New York, NY: Sage Publications.

Kiang, L. (2012). Deriving daily purpose through daily events and role fulfillment among Asian American youth. *Journal of Research on Adolescence*, *22*(1), 185-198. doi: 10.1111/j.1532-7795.2011.00767.x

Kopkowski, C. (2008). Why they leave. *NEA Today*, *26*(7), 21-25. Retrieved from http://www.nea.org/home/12630.htm

Koshy, S. I., & Mariano, J. M. (2011). Promoting youth purpose: A review of the literature. *New Directions for Youth Development*, *2011*(132), 13-29. doi: 10.1002/yd.425

Kroth, G. (2009). *The Guatemalan poor and its garbage dump education system*. Washington, DC: Council on Hemispheric Affairs. Retrieved from http://www.coha.org/the-poor-and-their-struggling-education-system/

Lent, R. W., Brown, S. D., & Hackett, G. (1994). Toward a unifying social cognitive theory of career and academic interest, choice, and performance. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, *45*(1), 79-122. doi: doi.org/10.1006/jvbe.1994.1027

Liang, B., & Ketcham, S. G. (in press). Emerging adults' perceptions of their development of faith-related purpose. *Psychology of Religion and Spirituality.* doi: 10.1007/s10804-013-9169-3

Liang, B., Lund, T. J., Mousseau, A. M. D., & Spencer, R. (2016). The mediating role of engagement in mentoring relationships and self-esteem among affluent adolescent girls. *Psychology in the Schools, 53*(8), 848-860. doi: 10.1002/pits.21949

Liang, B., White, A., Mousseau, A., Hasse, A., Knight, L., Berado, D., & Lund, T. (2017). The four p's of purpose among College Bound students: People, propensity, passion, prosocial benefits. *Journal of Positive Psychology, 12*(3), 281-294. doi: 10.1080/17439760.2016.1225118

Lykes, M. B., Terre Blanche, M., & Hamber, B. (2003). Narrating survival and change in Guatemala and South Africa: The politics of representation and a liberatory community psychology. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, *31*(1-2), 79-90. doi: 10.1023/A:1023074620506

Mariano, J. M., & Damon, W. (2008). The role of spirituality and religious faith in supporting purpose in adolescence. In R. M. Lerner, R. W. Roeser, & E. Phelps (Eds.) *Positive Youth*

Development and Spirituality: From Theory to Research (pp. 210-230). West Conshohocken, PA: Templeton Foundation Press.
Potter's House Association (2015). *Potter's House Association organization website.* Retrieved from http://pottershouse.org.gt
Ramírez, L., Cetina, G., & Ávalos, M. (2009). Violencia Juvenil, Maras y Pandillas en Guatemala. Informe para la discusión. [Juvenile Violence, Mobs, and Gangs in Guatemala. Discussion report]. In *Interpeace and Políticas Públicas para Prevenir la Violencia Juvenil (POLJUVE) Guatemala [Public Policies for Juvenile Violence Prevention, Guatemala]*. Retrieved from http://interpeace-lao.org/poljuve/inicio
Rodriguez, E., Rhodes, K., & Aguirre, G. (2015). Intervention for high school Latino students in preparing for college: Steps for consideration. *Journal of Hispanic Higher Education*, *14*(3), 207-222. doi:10.1177/1538192714551369
Ryff, C. D. (2003). Corners of myopia in the positive psychology parade. *Psychological Inquiry*, *14*(2),153-159.
Sabogal, F. Marin, G. Otero-Sabogal, R. Marin, B. V. & Perez-Stable, E. J. (1987). Hispanic Familism and acculturation: What changes and what doesn't? *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*, *9*(4), 397-412. doi: 10.1177/07399863870094003
Sanchez-Burks, J., Nisbett, R. E., & Ybarra, O. (2000). Cultural styles, relationship schemas, and prejudice against out-groups. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *79*, 174-189. doi: 10.1037//0022-3514.79.2.174
Scales, P., Benson, P., & Roehlkepartain, E. (2011). Adolescent thriving: The role of sparks, relationships, and empowerment. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, *40*(3), 263-277. doi: 10.1007/s10964-010-9578-6
Segall, M. H., Lonner, W. J., & Berry, J. W. (1998). Cross-cultural psychology as a scholarly discipline: On the flowering of culture in behavioral research. *American Psychologist*, *53*(10), 1101-1110.
Seidman, (1991). *Interviewing as qualitative research: A guide for researchers in education and the social sciences*. New York, NY: Teachers College Press.
Schlesinger, S. (2011, June 4). Ghosts of Guatemala's past. *New York Times*, pp. A21.
Smagorinsky, P. (2008). The method section as conceptual epicenter in constructing social science research reports. *Written Communication*, *25*(3), 389-411. doi: 10.1177/0741088308317815
Suarez-Orozco, C., & Suárez-Orozco, M. M. (1995). *Transformations: Immigration, family life, and achievement motivation among Latino adolescents*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
Tracy, S. J. (2010). Qualitative quality: Eight "big-tent" criteria for excellent qualitative research. *Qualitative Inquiry*, *16*(10), 837-851. doi: 10.1177/1077800410383121
United Nations Development Program (July 22, 2013). *Primera Encuesta Iberamericano de la Juventud.* Retrieved from http://www.undp.org/content/dam/undp/library/Democratic%20Governance/Spanish/PNUD_Encuesta%20Iberoamericana%20de%20Juventudes_%20El%20Futuro%20Ya%20L lego_Julio2013.pdf
U.S. Department of State, Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor (2005). *Guatemala International Religious Freedom Report*, *2005.* Washington, D.C. Retrieved from http://www.state.gov/j/drl/rls/irf/2005/51641.htm

Van Dyke, C. J. & Elias, M. (2008). How expressions of forgiveness, purpose, and religiosity relate to emotional intelligence and self-concept in urban fifth-grade students. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, *78*(4), 481-93. doi: 10.1037/a0014451

Walsh, F. (2003). *Spiritual resources in family therapy*. New York, NY: The Guilford Press.