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A GANAR ALLIANCE IMPACT EVALUATION BASELINE REPORT GUATEMALA

February 2016 (revised May 2018)

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A GANAR ALLIANCE IMPACT EVALUATION

SUMMATIVE BASELINE REPORT

Guatemala

February 2016 (Revised May 2018)

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DISCLAIMER

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ACRONYMS

CI	Children International
CO	Coordinating Organization
CV	Curriculum Vitae
DAP	Developmental Assets Profile
EDC	Education Development Center
ESA	Economía, Sociedad, Ambiente, Ingeniería Consultores
FP	Fundacion Paiz
GC	Grupo Ceiba
GEM	Gender Equitable Men
GEI	Gender Equitable Index
H ₀	Hypothesis
IDB	Inter-American Development Bank
IE	Impact Evaluation
INE	Instituto Nacional de Estadística
IO	Implementing Organization
IT	Information Technology
LAC	Latin American and the Caribbean
MDES	Minimum Detectible Effect Size
MIF	Multi-Lateral Investment Fund
PCA	Principal Component Analysis
RCT	Randomized Control Trial
SI	Social Impact, Inc.

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The A Ganar Alliance impact evaluations (IEs) are two interrelated studies designed to assess the effectiveness of a USAID-funded A Ganar sport-for-development program. The evaluations, implemented in Honduras and Guatemala, utilize a mixed-methods randomized control trial (RCT) methodology designed to (1) estimate program impact across a wide range of outcome measures, (2) probe the mechanisms of change particularly as they relate to the program theory of change, and (3) explore the lived experiences of beneficiaries. Implementing a multi-country study allows for comparison of outcomes across different contexts, which in turn increases the external validity (i.e. generalizability) of evaluation findings.

Given the unproven, innovative nature of the A Ganar program, the studies are designed to answer a ‘proof-of-concept’ question:

“To what extent does participation in and completion of the A Ganar program increase the likelihood that youth will obtain and maintain jobs, return to school, start their own business or reduce risky behavior?”

A secondary evaluation question relates to the role of sport in driving observed impacts:

“Does the use of sports in A Ganar increase the retention rate, job insertion rate, entrepreneurship, and effectiveness of the program to teach life skills, language, math, IT and other complimentary activities?”

While it was not possible to empirically answer this question in Honduras,¹ the Guatemala evaluation utilizes an additional comparison group to assess the marginal effect of sport in mediating outcomes of interest (for more detail, see the Guatemala Design Report). This report summarizes the evaluation background, purpose and methodology before systematically reporting baseline findings from Guatemala.

EVALUATION OBJECTIVES

In order to strengthen the evidence base around the effect of youth workforce development programming, USAID capitalized on an expansion of the A Ganar program in the Caribbean and Central America by including a five-year IE into the Honduras and Guatemala programs. The studies are the first USAID-funded IEs of youth-focused workforce development programming. Evaluation findings will inform program improvements and contribute to the evidence base of youth workforce development programming.

EVALUATION DESIGN

The rigorous five-year RCT will test the A Ganar theory of change; namely that the integrated four-phase sport-mediated program leads to increases in employability, entrepreneurship, and re-entry into the formal education system. Secondly, the RCT will test whether the inclusion of sports in the program increases these benefits. This is done by comparing three groups of youth: those participating in A Ganar, those participating in a similar nonsports-based workforce development program, and a control group. The target population for the intervention is at-risk youth aged 17-24 and living within the catchment area of two local A Ganar Implementing Organizations (IOs), Fundcaion Paiz (FP) and Children International (CI), in and around Guatemala City. Although both IOs include youth in each of

¹ Quantifying and attributing the impact of sport necessitates a comparison not only between A Ganar participants and a control group, but between A Ganar participants that had access to the sports component of the intervention, and A Ganar participants that did not. This distinction was made in Guatemala, though not in Honduras, so it is a focus of the current report.

the three groups (sport, nonsport, and control), the nonsport program for each IO is slightly different. The study will track 1,209 youth across six cohorts (including two pilot cohorts described below), with each respondent surveyed at three distinct times: a baseline before the program begins, an immediate post-program follow-up, and a longer-term follow-up 18 months after program completion.

As Partners of the Americas was implementing A Ganar for the first time in Guatemala, programming began with a pilot cohort to ensure that local coordinating and implementing entities were ready to bring the program to scale. The evaluation is taking advantage of this process by tracking pilot cohort youth in order to calibrate survey instruments, data collection protocols, and communication between the implementing organization and the evaluation team. The data will not, however, be used in calculating impact estimates.

KEY FINDINGS

Demographics

Respondents ranged in age from 13 to 26 years old (mean = 18), with females tending to be half a year older. FP youth were, on average, younger than CI youth and more likely to be younger than the target age range (17 to 24). In total, 27 percent of the sample fell outside of the target range (26 percent were too young and 1 percent were too old). Almost all of the youth that were too young fell under FP, and all of the youth that were too old fell under CI. FP youth were younger due to a lower age band requirement in the fixed obligation grant the organization held with USAID/Guatemala to facilitate a nonsport comparison program.

Rates of childrearing among the sample were low: only one in ten youth had a child and most were not expecting at the time of the survey. This phenomenon was compounded with relatively low rates of stable relationships: more than a third of respondents with children were single. The data suggest that teenage pregnancy among the target population was fairly common: youth reported having their first child from 14 to 23 years old (mean = 17.4). Among all female participants, 13% had their first child under the age of 20. This is much higher than the national average, which was 8% for women between the ages of 15 and 19 in 2015.² Of the women with children, 18 percent had had their first before reaching the age of 16. By contrast, rate of reported teenage parenthood was much lower for the male participants, by approximately 1 percent.

Sport

Females were found, on average, to engage in sport much less frequently than males: girls were 37 percentage points less likely to play sport and played, on average, two fewer days per week than males.

Socio-Economic Status

Comparison of household living conditions indicates that A Ganar youth are, on average, less affluent than the comparable urban Guatemalan population. Given the programmatic focus of serving economically disadvantaged youth, this finding indicates successful targeting on this measure. On average, A Ganar youth were more likely to live in makeshift homes or homes with laminated metal roofs. A Ganar youth had rates of asset ownership that were similar to or very slightly higher than the Guatemalan population overall. In this regard, program targeting was more successful among the FP cohorts than the CI cohorts. FP youth, on average, owned less assets, and were less educated, less likely to be employed at baseline, and less likely to own a business. With respect to asset ownership, A Ganar youth overall displayed similar characteristics to the urban population.

² World Bank Data (2015). Adolescent fertility rate (births per 1,000 women ages 15-19).

Education

A Ganar youth represent a wide diversity of educational attainment, ranging from not having completed a single year of formal education to being well into their university studies. When compared to the urban population as a whole, A Ganar youth demonstrated a significantly higher rate of basic education; the proportion of respondents having completed secondary school was 27 percentage points higher than that of the population. However, the proportion of youth that have gone on to university and higher education was significantly lower than the urban population. In this regard, the youth from CI had significantly higher education than the youth of FP. While education levels among FP were lower than the national average, those among CI were higher. Additionally, there was an expressed desire for education among A Ganar youth, though economic hardship appears to be a significant barrier for the youth to actualize their dreams.

Employment

Most A Ganar youth (68 percent) had worked at some point in the past, though only 20 percent were employed at baseline. Compared to the population, A Ganar youth were far less likely to be employed, and they reported receiving, on average, lower wages. Males were more likely to currently have a job, begin work at an earlier age, and more likely to have begun working before reaching the minimum working age. Among participants who had worked, females made on average slightly higher wages than males.

Entrepreneurship

Less than one in ten respondents reported having a business at some point in their lives, with females participating at a higher frequency. Of the 87 individuals who had owned a business, about half were in operation at the time of the interview.

Risk Behavior

Baseline findings suggest that consumption of alcohol, unprotected sex, drug usage and fighting were the most common risk behaviors. Participation in risky behavior was generally low, with rates estimated to be below 15% in all categories. Respondents from FP reported higher rates of participation in most of the risk behaviors except incarceration, gang activity, and involvement in a crime, where respondents in both implementing organizations had similar proportions of participating youth.

Professional Capabilities

Youth rated themselves highly on all eight technical competencies (more than half of respondents feeling sure or very sure). Of the eight competencies, respondents gave 'soft skills' (e.g. dressing professionally, interacting with peers, etc.) higher ratings, suggesting that the program could yield larger dividends by focusing on 'hard skills' (e.g. writing a CV, using a computer, starting a business, etc.). Males rated themselves higher on the following capabilities: using a computer and dressing professionally. Females rated themselves higher on the following capabilities: writing a CV, interviewing, seeking a job, and interacting with their peers. In terms of interacting with a supervisor and starting a business, both sexes were similarly confident. While the data clearly indicate that there are some differences between male and female performance in some scores, the measurements are self-reported and may carry with them response bias if the sexes respond in a systematically different manner. For example, there may be systematic differences between the sexes in terms of perception or self-confidence rather than in terms of competency. In future reports, SI will investigate how the program instructors perceived the youth's skills and whether they found any differences based on gender. This will provide a more objective gauge on the actual professional capabilities.

Self-Esteem

The vast majority of A Ganar youth demonstrated healthy self-esteem (only three percent of respondents scored in the low self-esteem range of the Rosenberg scale), with little difference between the sexes. This relatively high degree of self-esteem is somewhat surprising for the program's target group, yet is consistent with relatively positive responses on gender roles and development assets, as described below.

Gender Equity

A Ganar youth demonstrated gender scores in the 'moderate-to-high equity' range, with males scoring, on average, slightly higher than females. Regardless of sex, there was strong consensus that men play a valuable role in the life of a child and that violence of any type should not be permitted under any circumstance. Lastly, a large majority of respondents across both sexes either agreed or strongly agreed with the statement that "it is ok for women to play sports."

Developmental Assets

A Ganar youth scored relatively high in the aggregate measure of developmental assets: the total DAP score of 42.4 is considered on the low range of "good" scores. Strong support was evidenced for both internal (e.g. constructive use of time) and external (e.g. support systems) measures. There were no large sex-disaggregated differences in DAP scores.

Evaluation Validity

Although the sport, nonsport, and control groups were randomly assigned, and should therefore demonstrate balance in baseline characteristics between groups (thus eliminating selection bias), random assignment can, by chance, yield unbalanced groups. In comparing the three groups along 21 key baseline characteristics, we found only one significant difference between the groups: the age at which individuals first started working. This is a key outcome measure for the evaluation, and econometric means will be used to control for differences in baseline status to derive valid impact estimates.

The youth programs had significant design differences, both in terms of differences between the CI and FP nonsports programs and between the sport and nonsports programs for each IO. Between the CI and FP nonsports programs, we identified differences in sequencing of phases, treatment intensity, program duration, and technical skills trained. Comparing the sports and nonsports programs for each IO, we found differences in program duration and intensity.

KEY CONCLUSIONS

Overall, the program targeting for A Ganar was quite successful in terms of reaching at-risk youth that met the stated eligibility criteria. Between the two IOs, however, FP was more successful in targeting low-income youth, while CI was more successful in targeting youth in the correct age group. The cohorts under FP had significantly lower socio-economic status than those under CI. These youths owned less assets, and were less educated, less likely to be employed at baseline, and less likely to own a business. The youth of FP were on average two years younger than the youth of CI, and they were more likely to be younger than 17, due to a lower age band requirement in the fixed obligation grant that FP held with USAID/Guatemala.

With females comprising 56 percent of the sample, there was a slight gender imbalance across the cohorts. This demonstrates an important finding. Although females were found to be less likely to play sports, their overrepresentation in the program indicates that the sport-based nature of A Ganar does not dissuade female participation.

Although there were demographic and programmatic differences between the two IOs, this does not threaten the integrity of the analysis, because there generally weren't systematic differences between the

treatment, comparison, and control groups under each of the IOs (with the exception of age at first job as described above). For this reason, the comparison of youth in the sports program, nonsports program, and control group is still valid since the groups had similar characteristics at baseline. Given the programmatic differences between the sport and nonsport programs, we will conduct additional data collection and analysis to document these differences and incorporate this information into follow-up analysis. In order to maintain this valid comparison, ongoing analysis will primarily focus on the differences between the three groups under each of their respective IOs.

INTRODUCTION

PURPOSE

The **A Ganar Alliance Impact Evaluation Baseline Report** documents a longitudinal mixed-methods randomized control trial (RCT) that studies the efficacy of A Ganar, a USAID-funded regional workforce development program, in Honduras and Guatemala. The study is being implemented by Social Impact, Inc. in cooperation with local data collection partners *ESA Consultores Internacional* (ESA) in Honduras and *Centro de Investigaciones Económicas Nacionales* (CIEN) in Guatemala between 2011 – 2018. This document is the second in a series of reports from the A Ganar Alliance Impact Evaluation. This report summarizes the evaluation background, purpose and methodology and baseline findings from the Guatemala study. The introductory sections will place the descriptive analysis in the broader context of both the impact evaluation (IE) and the A Ganar program.

EVALUATION OBJECTIVES

A Ganar¹ is a sports-based youth workforce development program implemented by Partners of the Americas. The program began in 2004 as a Multilateral Investment Fund (MIF) and Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) funded pilot in Ecuador, Uruguay, and Brazil. With additional support from the MIF (\$3.6 million), the Nike Foundation (\$2 million), and USAID (\$8.9 million), the A Ganar Alliance was formed and expanded programming to 19 countries. The Alliance trained over 16,000 youth in Argentina, Barbados, Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Dominica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Jamaica, Mexico, Panama, St. Kitts and Nevis, St. Vincent and the Grenadines, Suriname, Trinidad and Tobago, and Uruguay. USAID supported A Ganar from September 2009 – September 2015 in eight countries in the Caribbean and Central America², providing training for over 6,000 youth.

When the A Ganar program began, early results indicated positive outcomes. According to a MIF/IDB-funded performance evaluation in 2010, 77 percent of participants graduated, and 65 percent of graduates found formal employment, started a business, or returned to school within one year of graduation. These results were encouraging, particularly given the high rates of out-of-school youth unemployment in the region. However, without the ability to compare these outcomes against a comparable group of non-recipients (counterfactual), it was impossible to attribute changes to participation in the A Ganar program.

Following the publication of its Evaluation Policy in January 2011³, USAID sought to strengthen the evidence base around the effect of youth workforce development programming, and the A Ganar program in particular. USAID/Washington took advantage of a \$7.5 million⁴ expansion of the A Ganar program in the Caribbean and Central America and integrated an impact evaluation into programming in Honduras and Guatemala. The evaluation is designed to provide actionable findings, conclusions, and recommendations that will feed directly into Agency learning and program design. These empirical findings will serve both to improve program performance and to increase the evidence base for what works (and why) in youth workforce development programming.

¹ “To win” or “to earn” in Spanish.

² USAID-funded countries include Jamaica, Dominican Republic, Dominica, St. Kitts & Nevis, St. Vincent & Grenadines, Suriname, Honduras and Guatemala

³ http://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf_docs/Pdacq800.pdf

⁴ USAID funded a \$1.4 million pilot in 2009 and then funded a \$7.5 million expansion from 2011-2015, totaling a \$8.9 million cooperative agreement.

PROGRAM BACKGROUND

A Ganar is a 7 – 9 month training program that combats the serious problem of youth unemployment in the region by utilizing soccer and other team sports to help at-risk youth succeed in the workforce. The methodology takes participants through four integrated phases: sport-based field and classroom employability training, market-driven technical training, internships/apprenticeships, and follow-on activities. These phases are presented below in Figure 1.

Figure 1: A Ganar Phases



- **Phase 1** is an 80 - 100 hour “**From Sports Skills to Employability Skills**” course which mixes sports field and classroom activities to develop competencies in Teamwork, Communication, Discipline, Respect, a Focus on Results, and Continual Self- Improvement.
- **Phase 2** features at least 150 hours of **Market-Driven Vocational Technical Skills** training in which youth apply their employability skills to a specific technical career. The 150 hours include at least 30 hours of specific entrepreneurship training.
- In **Phase 3** youth gain **Practical Experience** through at least 40 hours of internships, apprenticeships or other activities.
- Youth are **Mentored** throughout the program by local professionals who volunteer their time to work with small groups. Mentors are recruited with support of Partners of the Americas’ extensive volunteer network in each country.
- In addition, each youth will complete a **Service Learning Project**. These projects give youth the opportunity to volunteer in their community, learn about local issues, practice leadership and job skills and aid other youth.
- In the **Follow-On program**, youth are given additional career counseling and have opportunities to meet with their peers to discuss challenges and new opportunities.

The primary objective of the program is to help participants find jobs. Secondary objectives include facilitating participants' return to the formal education system and/or starting a business. While education and entrepreneurship objectives were captured in performance indicators as positive outcomes, the A Ganar curriculum included a very brief training on business ownership and did not have any explicit activities related to formal education. This is in keeping with USAID's mandate that the program focus primarily on employment but also capture other aspects of positive youth engagement.

A Ganar uses sport in two complementary ways. First, sport is leveraged as an incentivizing force, engaging and retaining participants that may not have otherwise applied or stayed with a traditional workforce development program. Second, and more importantly, by increasing the relevance of lessons, sport is used as a tool for the transmission of employability skills. Partners of the Americas believes that youth are more engaged and have a deeper comprehension when using physical play and relatable examples. As sport is one of the most popular activities and subject matters for youth in LAC, integrating sport into programming provides rich opportunities to discuss the value of teamwork and communication, the consequences of not following rules or respecting others, how persons show creativity and solve problems, how males and females interact in group activities, and other transferable skills.

The training is offered to eligible youth that apply for the program. Local implementing partners advertise the A Ganar program and screen applicants on four eligibility criteria. First, youth have to meet country-specific age criteria (16 – 24 in Guatemala, 17 – 24 in Honduras). Second, youth had to be assessed as being 'at-risk' by implementing partner staff. Partners of the Americas considers youth to be at-risk if they meet one or more of the following characteristics:

1. Come from socially or economically-disadvantaged households or communities
2. Are school dropouts, are one and/or more years behind in school, or are not employed
3. Belong to communities plagued by high levels of drug use and/or trafficking, youth violence, or youth gangs

It is important to recognize that all youth recruited for the program come from areas of high crime and violence, as this context shapes their opportunities and experiences. Although the homicide rate has declined in recent years, in 2016 the rate was 27.3 per 100,000, making Guatemala one of most dangerous countries in Latin America (Guatemala National Civilian Police, 2017).

Third, youth had to have enough time and motivation to participate in the program. In addition to these criteria, youth with a minimum competency level in reading, math, and communication skills were preferred. Lastly, Partners of the Americas strived for gender equity in selecting participants, but prioritized applicant need over ensuring gender parity.

EVALUATION DESIGN

The extent to which A Ganar's program hypotheses holds true will be tested through two complementary five-year randomized control trials (RCT) IE in Honduras and Guatemala. By comparing randomly assigned sports participants (treatment), nonsports participants (comparison), and non-participants (control), the evaluation will enable both a quantitative and qualitative investigation of the A Ganar mechanisms of change, both intermediate and final outcomes, and differential impacts among participant groups. The multi-country nature of the study will serve to increase the external validity (i.e. generalizability) of evaluation findings by allowing for comparison of outcomes across different contexts. The studies differ primarily in the fact that the Honduras IE is designed to estimate program impact, while the Guatemala IE will assess both program impact and the role of sport in mediating outcomes of interest. The evaluation was originally designed to answer two primary research questions:

Question 1: Proof of Concept

To what extent does participation in and completion of the A Ganar program increase the likelihood that youth will obtain and maintain jobs, return to school, start their own business or reduce risky behavior?

In addition to measuring changes in these primary outcomes, the evaluation is designed to answer the following two sub-questions:

- i. On what factors do those impacts depend, and what is the likely range of impacts, given uncertainty?
- ii. What are the pathways through which impacts were created?

Question 1 will be investigated through a multi-cohort RCT, triangulated and augmented with robust qualitative data collection. Impact will be estimated through the testing of the following research hypothesis (stated as the null hypothesis):

H₀: A Ganar participants will be just as likely to obtain and maintain jobs, return to school, start their own business or reduce risky behavior as their non-participating peers.

Question 2: Role of Sport

Does the use of sports in A Ganar increase the retention rate, job insertion rate, entrepreneurship and effectiveness of the program to teach life skills, language, math, information technology (IT) and other complimentary activities?

In order to answer this question, it is necessary to estimate, as closely as possible, the counterfactual, or how the A Ganar program would function without sports. Through discussions with Partners of the Americas, it was determined that A Ganar could not be implemented without sports, given how central it is to the program's structure and design. However, in Guatemala the local implementers of A Ganar have been implementing more traditional youth workforce development programs without sports with a similar target group. Accordingly, slightly modified versions of these programs (to make them as similar as possible to A Ganar without sports) will be used as comparisons. The ability to track program participants in three distinct groups: A Ganar, A Ganar comparison without sports, and a pure control group, allows the evaluation to isolate the effect of sports on outcomes over time.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The A Ganar IE's are mixed-method RCTs designed to leverage the strengths of qualitative and quantitative data collection and analytical techniques. The RCT will attempt to measure changes in

development outcomes directly attributable to participation in the A Ganar or A Ganar comparison program by comparing changes in randomly assigned treatment and control groups. Experimental designs, where eligible units are randomly assigned into treatment and control groups, are the most rigorous impact evaluation method, in that they “provide the strongest evidence of a relationship between the intervention under study and the outcome measured.”⁵ To prevent selection bias, only pre-screened applicant lists serve as a sampling frame. Youth who meet program eligibility requirements (being between 17-24 years of age⁶ and being “at-risk”, and having sufficient basic skills⁷) are interviewed by the IOs to verify information and ensure youth have time and motivation to participate in the program. These eligible youth are then randomly assigned (stratified by sex and interviewed-assessed motivation level) to either the A Ganar (treatment), nonsports (comparison), or control groups. Baseline data are then collected from all youth in each group, as shown in Figure 2.

Not including the pilot cohorts, the program was implemented by two organizations, Children International (CI) and Fundacion Paiz (FP). Each IO recruited applicants, who were then randomly assigned to treatment, comparison, and control groups. There were a few major differences between the programs implemented by FP and CI. The first is that while the CI program focuses on work skills, the FP program focuses on art. Secondly, the FP program was significantly longer in duration than the CI program (approximately 9 months versus 19 months). Lastly, the two implementers offered different types of vocational training both in terms of subject and duration.

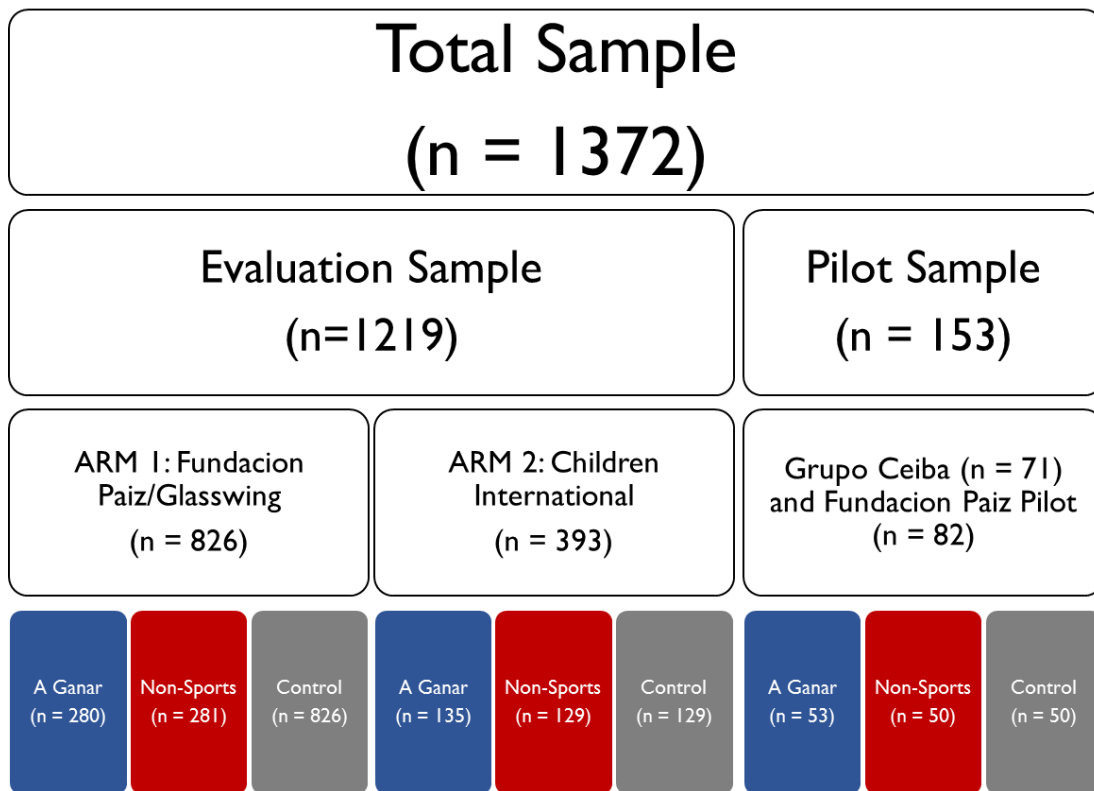
Since the evaluation is between the sports, nonsports, and control groups under each of the IOs, and not between the IOs, the differences between FP and CI do not threaten the internal validity of the study. What is important is that the sports and nonsports programs are as similar as possible with the exception of the use of sports. This allows for assessment of the impact of the sports component of the particular program. The design differences between the sport and nonsports groups were minimal. Under both IOs, the sports component was managed by a contracting organization, Glasswing. Under FP and CI, the comparison program design included life skills, technical training, internship programs, and job placement, designed to be the same for both sports and nonsports groups under their respective IOs.

⁵ USAID Evaluation Policy, Page 2. January 2011

⁶ Although this was the stated age eligibility range, some youth outside of that range were included.

⁷ Basic reading, math, and communication skills are required to be able to successfully participate in project activities.

Figure 2: Evaluation Design



Based on the design, the only major difference, outside of sports, between the treatment and comparison groups was the duration and intensity of the programs, with the nonsports program being longer than the sports program for FP and shorter for CI. Since differences between the sport and nonsport program could affect the ability to estimate the impact of sports, we will conduct an additional study to identify differences in implementation to inform followup data collection and analysis.

Qualitative data will be collected from a subsample of the study population, serving the following functions:

- Supplement and triangulate the quantitative data
- Identify unintended effects
- More comprehensively capture some of the more difficult to measure concepts, including gender roles and outcomes
- Explore mechanisms of—and obstacles to—change
- Probe the “value added” of sports

MEASUREMENT

Measurement of key outcomes, important covariates and demographic variables, will occur principally through surveys, supplemented through qualitative interviews. Data will be collected from multiple cohorts, each surveyed at three distinct times: (1) a baseline completed within 2 weeks of the final

application interview, (2) an immediate post-program follow-up occurring 10 months after the start of the program, and (3) an endline occurring 18 months after program completion. The baseline survey includes the following modules and measurement approaches:

- *Introduction and Meta-Data:* Participants are read an introduction to the evaluation and survey with a standard protocol for obtaining informed consent. This dialog clearly notes that participation is voluntary and that respondents may quit the survey at any time without any penalty. Meta-data was collected to track details of survey administration useful for performing data quality checks.
- *Identifiers and Demographics:* To ensure confidentiality of responses, all identifying information is collected in an independent module that is removed upon survey completion. Identifying information is entered separately from the rest of the survey and is linked by a unique respondent ID, which is recorded on each page of the survey. Extensive contact information is collected, including multiple telephone numbers, email addresses and contacts for friends and family, to facilitate relocation of respondents for follow-up surveys. Demographic information on age, gender, civil status, household composition and assets are also used as covariates to explain intermediate and final outcomes and improve precision of statistical tests.
- *Education and Training:* This section collects data on respondents' education level, school enrolment and attendance, educational aspirations, type of school attended and, when applicable, reasons for not being enrolled. Data are also collected on participation in training programs outside of school.
- *Employment and Entrepreneurship:* A host of questions is asked about current and previous employment and entrepreneurship history, including items designed to assess quality (e.g. wages, contract type, hours, and benefits) and quantity.
- *Gender Roles:* A modified version of the Gender Equitable Men (GEM) scale is used to assess perspectives on gender roles and attitudes.⁸ Building on fieldwork in Honduras conducted by CARE (with funding from USAID), the GEM was further modified for this study. The final tool is comprised of 25 statements rated on a five-point Likert scale.
- *Life Skills:* Given the complex and multi-faceted nature of this concept, the study uses two complementary measures to capture the concept:
 - The principal measure is Search Institute's Developmental Assets Profile (DAP), a robust and field-tested tool capable of measuring positive outcomes across eight asset categories. Respondents are asked 58 questions from a contextualized version of the tool. Questions are designed to gauge the extent to which respondents have support systems and internal agency, which through extensive studies over more than 20 years, including those using the DAP, have been found to predict educational and life outcomes. Respondents are asked to provide an answer as to the frequency or intensity with which they feel about each question using a four-point Likert scale.

⁸ This tool was derived from the Gender Equitable Index (GEI) originally developed in Brazil and replicated in India, Ethiopia, Kenya and Nicaragua: Pulerwitz, Julie and Gary Barker. 2008. "Measuring attitudes toward gender norms among young men in Brazil: Development and psychometric evaluation of the GEM Scale," *Men and Masculinities* 10: 322–338.

- Supplementing the DAP is the Rosenberg Self-Esteem scale, a field-tested measure of self-esteem and social belonging. In addition to the original ten items, the module consisted of four custom items designed to assess relationships with friends and the community. Questions were phrased both positively (for example, “Are you satisfied with yourself?”), and negatively (for example, “Do you sometimes feel that not all is well?”), with all responses based on a five-point Likert scale.
- *Technical Skills:* Rather than directly measuring technical skills, the study measures self-reported confidence in key employment related competencies. Self-reported confidence, while possibly differing from direct skills, is an important, related intermediate outcome. These technical skills are further probed through qualitative case studies. Interviews with participants, facilitators, mentors and employers explore the types of skills gained or improved, which skills could have been transmitted more effectively and what skills are most valued by employers.
- *Risk Behaviors:* Given the sensitivity of measuring participation in risky or taboo behaviors, we use two techniques to protect the anonymity of responses during the survey process. First, we ask respondents about their peers’ participation in these activities (fighting, drugs, gangs, unprotected sex). Additionally, we use randomized responses to measure their own participation in these same activities. To maintain confidentiality, respondents are asked to roll a die without showing the roll to the surveyor. If they roll a one, they should answer yes (forced yes) and if a six they should answer no (forced no), regardless of their true response. If they roll any other number, they should answer truthfully. Surveyors will explain that through this ‘game’, surveyors will never know if they are answering truthfully about themselves or not, so they should not feel pressure to respond a certain way. While we will not be able to trace individual responses, we are able to estimate the prevalence in the sample of respondents or the differential prevalence between treatment and control groups. Annex B provides a more comprehensive discussion of randomized response, including a bibliography of published journal articles using the technique.

SAMPLING

The Guatemala evaluation is designed to track over 1,300 youth over the 5-year study period. Due to capacity constraints on the part of local implementers as well as a desire on the part of all evaluation stakeholders to phase the large number of necessary participants, youth were organized into six cohorts spaced spaced out across one year. Cohorts were hosted by a total of three IOs: Grupo Ceiba (GC), Children International (CI), and Fundacion Paiz (FP). The two pilot cohorts consisted of one GC cohort and one FP cohort. The non-pilot cohorts included in the analysis in the current report included two CI cohorts and two FP cohorts.

The evaluation team will attempt to survey each youth at three discrete points over a 2.5 year period: baseline (T=0), immediate post-program completion (T=9 months), and long-term follow-up to gauge benefit sustainability (T=27 months).

Youth Recruitment and Assignment

Partners of the Americas defines programmatic eligibility through three criteria. Applicants must be at-risk, aged 17-24, and living within the catchment area of one of the implementing organizations (IOs). As previously discussed, ‘risk’ is defined as a multifaceted construct encompassing socio-economic status, educational attainment, employment, and proximity to high-crime areas. Screening for these criteria was conducted by IOs through a multi-stage application review process. Each organization was required to

recruit four times as many applicants as training spots within their catchment communities, with the oversample accounting for control youth, ineligible youth, and pre-program dropouts.⁹

Upon receipt of screened applicant lists, the evaluation team conducted individual-level randomized assignment using Stata statistical software package (for larger IOs training multiple classes, assignment was performed separately for each class). Randomization was stratified by sex and IO-rated motivation level, to improve balance and facilitate sub-group analysis. Inclusion of motivation as a blocking variable is intended to test the implementers' ability to predict programmatic success (i.e. can IOs determine, a priori, which youth will be most successful through the training).¹⁰ In response to concerns from implementers that key youth may be excluded due to the probabilistic selection, each IO was allowed to select up to 3 direct-participant youths who would bypass random assignment and automatically be offered a place in the program. These youths were not surveyed and are not be considered part of the evaluation sample.

Eligible youth were asked to participate in the study, with baseline surveys administered to a total of 1,362 respondents (465 treatment, 440 comparison, and 457 control). Additionally, 58 of these youths were selected, using a stratified purposive sampling approach, to participate in a qualitative interview. The qualitative sample overview, in Annex C, provides a brief summary of the eighteen youth selected for in-depth interviews.

Table 1: Sample, by IO and cohort

	<u>Sample Size</u>		<u>Program Dates</u>	
	Quantitative	Qualitative	Start	End
Grupo Ceiba Pilot	71	8	Jun - 13	Apr - 14
Fundacion Paiz Pilot	82	9	Jan - 14	Sep - 15
Fundacion Paiz 1	404	17	Mar - 14	Oct - 15
Fundacion Paiz 2	420	18	Jun - 14	Oct - 15
Children International 1	185	18	Jan - 14	Jul - 14
Children International 2	200	18	Jun - 14	May - 15
TOTAL	1,362	88		

⁹ Taking contractual requirements as a starting point, the evaluation team accounted for control youth by doubling the number of required trainees for every given IO. This number was again doubled to account for applicants who will not meet eligibility criteria (expected value ~25%), and who either could not be contacted or withdraw from the program before training begun (expected value ~20%).

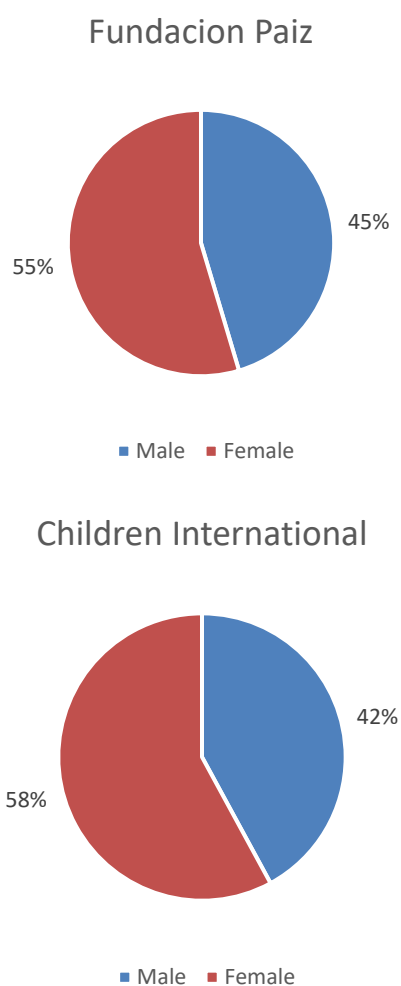
¹⁰ IOs rate applicants on how motivated they are to participate in the program using a 3-point scale.

BASELINE FINDINGS

DEMOGRAPHICS

A Ganar strives for gender parity in participation rates. Across all the cohorts, 56 percent of the sample was female. The two implementing organizations, Fundacion Paiz (FP) and Children International (CI), generally had similar sex composition of youth participants. FP had 3 percentage points more males compared to CI. Females comprised a larger proportion of the participants within both implementing organizations (Figure 3).

Figure 3: Sex by IO

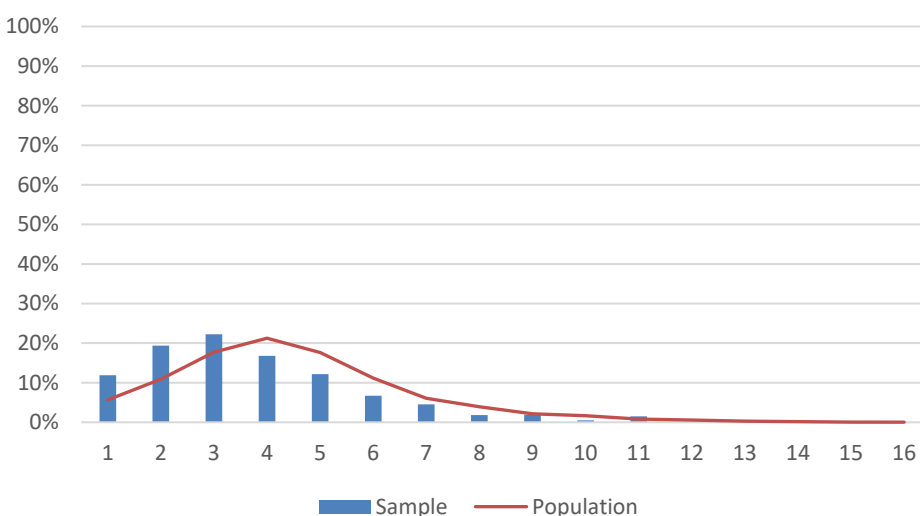


Respondents ranged from 13 to 26 years old (mean = 18). With regard to civil status, the vast majority of respondents (93 percent) reported being single. The majority of participants did not have any children (91 percent) and were not expecting a child (98 percent). Of the participants who did have children, 38 percent were single and 94 percent were female. The age at which youth reported their first child ranged from 14 to 23 years old (mean = 17.5).

Household Composition

The majority of household heads were parents (79 percent), with other relatives representing the majority of the rest. Two percent listed themselves as the household head. Female respondents were 7 percentage points more likely to report being the household head compared to male respondents. Household heads ranged from 17 to 98 years old (mean = 46). About 38 percent of household heads completed at least primary school, while 21 percent finished at least middle school. Only 4 percent completed highschool. The sample had, on average, close to one less household member than the population overall (3.7 compared with 4.5).

Figure 4: Household size within A Ganar Sample and Guatemala Population



Conclusions

A little over a quarter of the sample (27 percent) fell outside the stated eligibility age range of 17 to 24: 360 youth were too young, while 11 were too old. The vast majority of these youths were in the FP cohorts and not the CI cohorts (38 percent versus less than 1 percent), due to a lower age band requirement in the fixed obligation grant that FP held with USAID/Guatemala.

SPORTS

Females were found, on average, to engage in sports much less frequently than males: girls were 37 percentage points less likely to engage in sport and played, on average, two fewer days a week than males. However, the overrepresentation of female participants discussed above indicates that the physical nature of the program does not dissuade female participation.

In the qualitative interviews, many of the male participants mentioned that they like to play sports in their free time, specifically soccer, but it does not seem to be a significant part of their lives as it is more of a social activity that they engage in from time to time with friends in their neighborhoods.

Figure 5: Participation in sports, by sex

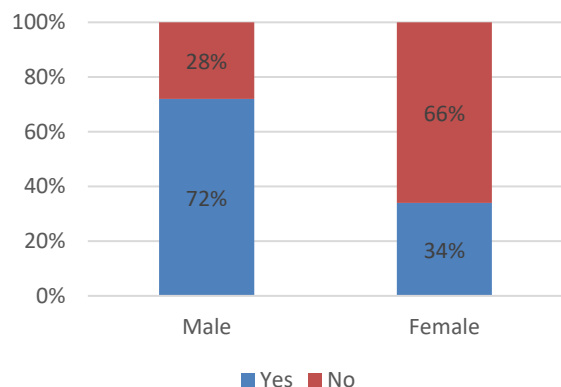
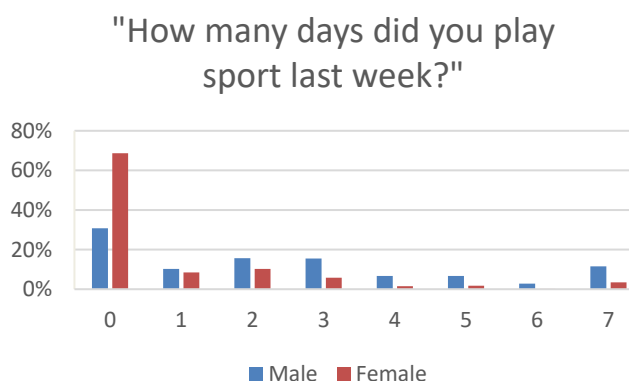


Figure 6: Number of days playing sports (last week), by sex



Conclusions

Participation rates in sport were found to vary significantly between males and females: males were almost 37 percentage points more likely to play sports. With the female application rate exceeding males by 11 percent, this imbalance did not seem to have a discernable effect on enrollment. As such, there is no indication that the sport focus of A Ganar dissuades female applicants.

HOUSEHOLD WEALTH

Household wealth will be an important outcome in its own right as well as a control variable for holding socio-economic status constant in calculating impact estimates. Given its importance for the evaluation, the construct was measured using two complementary methods: household living conditions and ownership of common household assets.¹¹

Participants in the sample are ten percentage points more likely to live in makeshift homes or have roofs made of laminated metal than the typical urban Guatemalan household.

Household Living Conditions

The vast majority of youth (80 percent) reported living in formal houses, with most of the remainder in makeshift homes (12 percent) and apartments (5 percent). The majority of respondents lived in dwellings of four to five rooms (mean = 4.8), with cement floors (56 percent), lamina metallic roofs (71 percent), and walls made of cement blocks (77 percent).

Household Material Assets

In addition to housing conditions, respondents were asked about ownership of 16 common household assets and services. Clear majorities reported having piped water, electrical lighting, cell phones, stoves, and television. Conversely, the least prevalent assets, in ranked order, were air conditioning (less than 1 percent), motorcycle (14 percent), internet (19 percent), and car (19 percent). With respect to the population of urban Guatemalan households, A Ganar youth reported similar rates of asset ownership

¹¹ Questions were asked about household income in the Pilot Cohort baseline, but the resulting data was questionable with regard to reliability and accuracy. Accordingly, the evaluation team dropped the questions from the Cohort 1 and Cohort 2 survey.

with higher rates for telephone and cellphone ownership. The graphs below illustrate the rates of asset ownership between the two IOs (Figure 7) and between A Ganar youth and the population (Figure 8).

Figure 7: Household material assets, percent reporting ownership/access, between two implementers

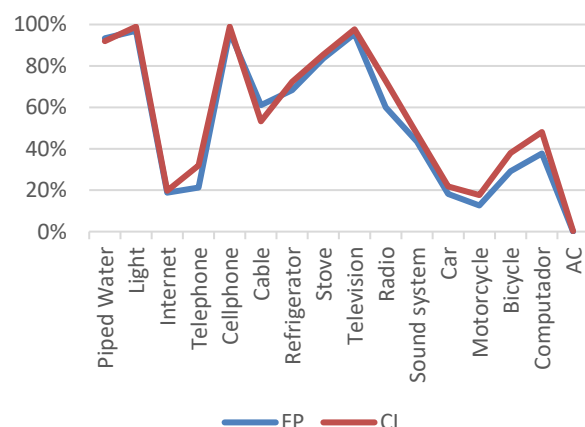
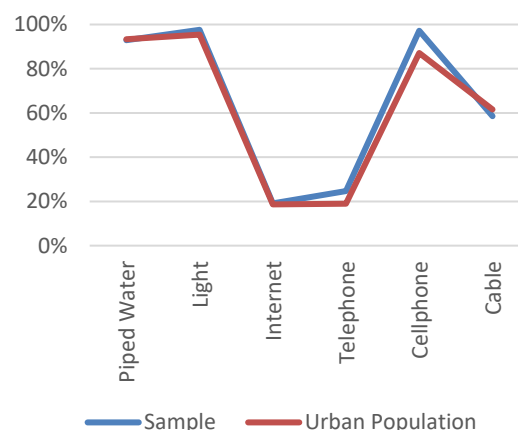


Figure 8: Household material assets, percent reporting ownership/access, between A Ganar youth and the population¹²



Access to computers and the internet is an important mediating factor for each of the three final outcomes. As such, it will be analyzed separately from the rest of the household assets. Although 41 percent of respondents had access to computers, only 19 percent had access to the internet in their home. Half of those who had access, accessed the internet at least once a week but not every week, and one in four accessed it at least once per day. Males were three percentage points more likely to have access to the internet in their homes and five percentage points more likely to access it at least once a day. The likelihood of home access to the internet was the same for both the sample and the urban population (19 percent).

Moving beyond summary statistics of asset ownership/access, the evaluation team used the data as inputs for a more sophisticated approach to proxy household wealth. In order to construct a single metric, we aggregated ownership information for 15 assets and attached weights to differentiate common and luxury items. In lieu of assigning these weights judgmentally, the evaluation team used the Principal Component Analysis (PCA) method to calculate one factor score that describes the most variability in asset ownership. This measure, while devoid of intrinsic meaning, allows for sub-group analysis (i.e. the scores of a PCA should only be used relationally, exploring differences across groups).¹³

¹² The DHS instrument did not include cable television, sound system or internet items in the asset module.

¹³ Following Filmer and Pritchett (2001), we construct a wealth index A for each individual i:

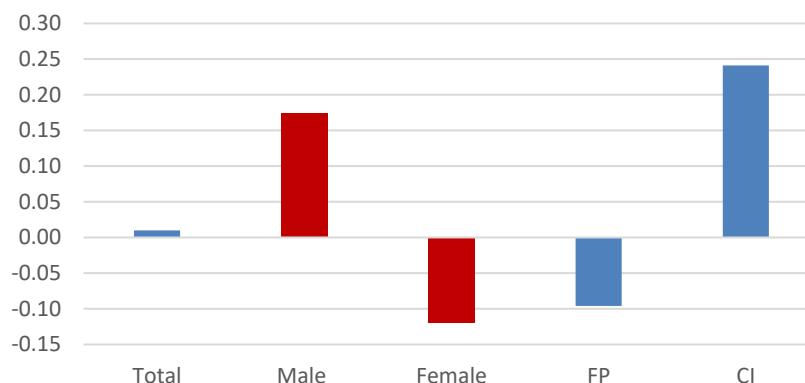
$$A_i = \sum_k \left[f_k \frac{(a_{ik} - \bar{a}_k)}{s_k} \right],$$

Where a_{ik} is the value for asset k for individual i , $\bar{a}_k$ is the sample mean, s_k is the sample standard deviation and f_k are the weights associated with the first principal component.

- Filmer, D., and LH Pritchett. "Estimating Wealth Effect Without Expenditure Data or Tears: An Application to Educational Enrollments in States of India." *Demography* 38, no. 1: 115-32 (2001).

Using this analytical approach, males had higher asset scores (hence household wealth) than females. Respondents from CI, on average, had higher asset scores than respondents from FP.

Figure 9: Average material asset score, by sex and IO¹⁴



PCA sensitivity tests were conducted using two different methods. First, summary tables were analyzed for asset ownership across principal component quintiles (Annex A). This index was very consistent in its ability to represent asset ownership, with high PCA scores strongly correlated with increased ownership of all fifteen sub-items.¹⁵ Second, the PCA index was correlated with measures commonly associated with wealth.

Conclusions

Comparison of household living conditions indicates that A Ganar youth are, on average, less affluent than the urban Guatemalan population. While asset ownership is similar to or even slightly higher than the population, youth in the sample are significantly more likely to live in makeshift homes or have laminated metal rooves.

Given the programmatic focus of serving economically disadvantaged youth, these findings indicate successful targeting on this measure. The PCA asset index calculated to proxy socio-economic status performed well at baseline, substantiating its use in follow-up analyses.

EDUCATION

Truancy and school drop-out are major risk factors for youth across the LAC region. In addition to losing out on crucial social and academic skills, it is hypothesized that school drop-out may lead to participation in a range of risk behaviors (early marriage and pregnancy, substance abuse, crime, gangs, etc.). With this recognition in mind, A Ganar has identified re-enrollment into the formal education system as one of its three principal outcomes.

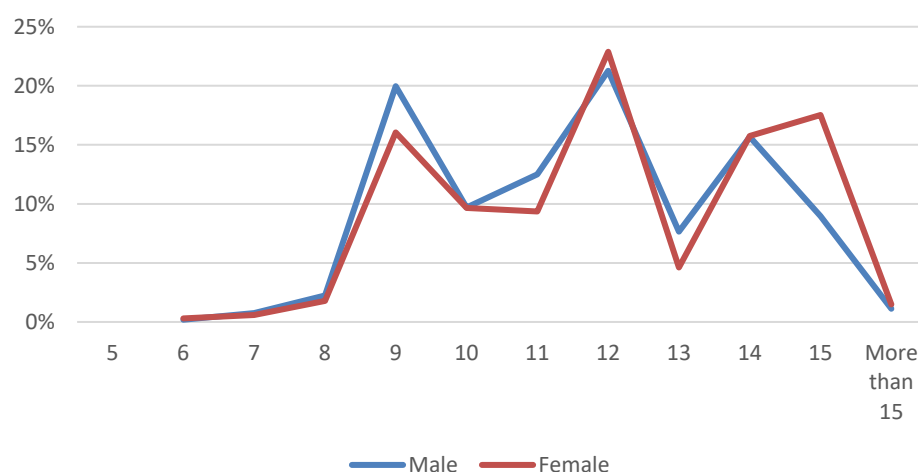
¹⁴ With principal component analysis, the nominal scores are difficult to interpret by themselves. However, the relative values, or extent to which one subgroup has a larger score, indicate differences in subpopulations' relative wealth.

¹⁵ 95 percent of the sixteen asset quintile cells exhibited perfect correlation with the summary PCA measure (i.e. mean ownership of a given asset increasing consistently with each subsequent PCA quintile).

Two-fifths of respondents were enrolled in a formal education program at the time of the survey, and 33 percent were actively attending school. The primary reason for not attending school was lack of economic resources (58 percent). Another 6 percent said they had to work. The qualitative data confirmed this finding as many respondents reported simultaneously studying and working, either during vacations or on a weekend study plan in order to work on weekdays. More youth within the FP were enrolled in school compared to youth in the CI (44 percent versus 31 percent). A similar trend existed with the proportion of youth within each IO who were currently attending school as FP had 11 percentage points more youth who were currently attending school.

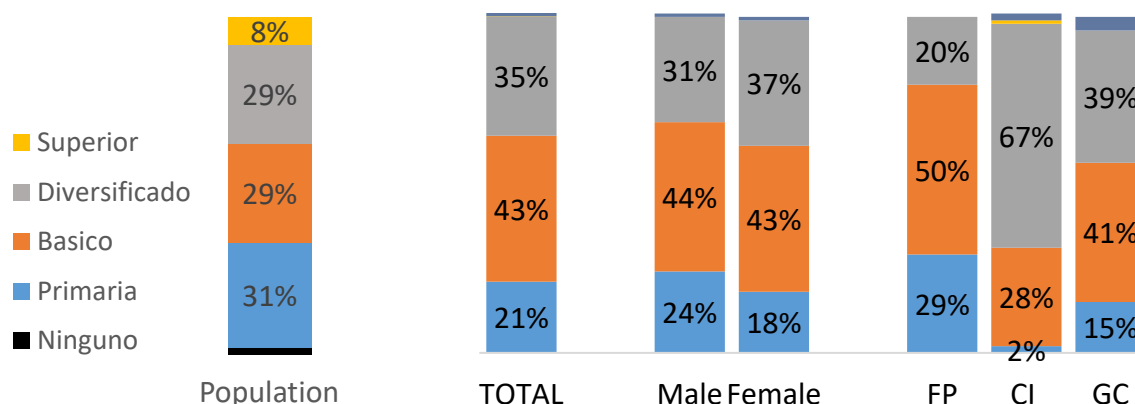
About 77 percent of the youth reported attending public school and 17 percent attended private school. Educational attainment varied as 21 percent had finished primary school, 43 percent had finished basic, and 34 percent had finished secondary school. As evidenced by Figure 10 and Figure 11, females had higher education level on average, with more females completing high school, whereas higher proportions of males stopped after primary and basic education.

Figure 10: Highest grade completed, by sex



Education levels varied between implementers. While the FP cohorts had on average less education than the Guatemalan population overall, the CI youth had more. CI youth were 33 percentage points more likely than the population and 50 percent more likely than the FP youth to have completed high school (diversificado).

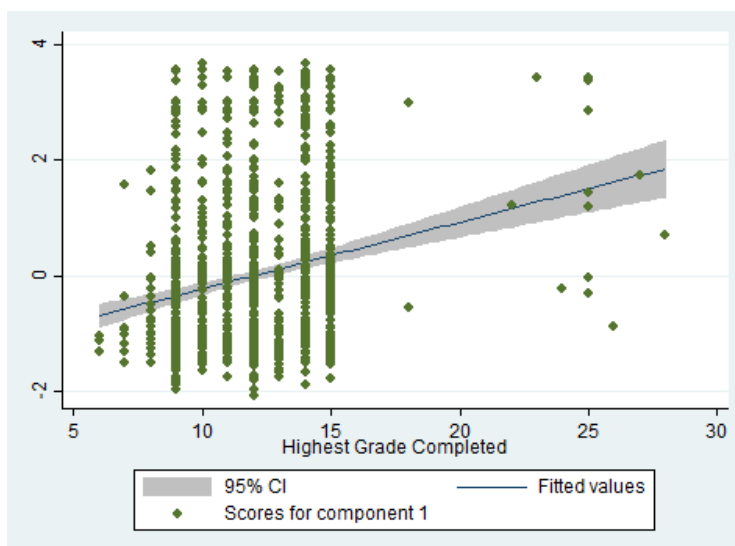
Figure 11: Education by sex and IO



A notable interest in education existed across and within both IOs as 96 percent of youth who were not attending classes reported a desire to return to school. When asked what level of education they would like to complete, three-fifths reported wanting to at least graduate from university, and less than twenty percent reported secondary education. Females were more likely to desire a post-graduate degree. The higher male participation rate in the workforce (see Employment section) as well as the earlier entrance of males into the workforce may explain this trend.

Based on the qualitative analysis, some of the common reasons why students drop out of school include pressure from gangs and economic hardship. Some youth, for example, mention that the gangs recruited new members at their schools, so the school did not feel like a safe place. Others found that the price of school supplies was too high, or that they needed to leave school in order to work and earn money. As

Figure 12: Relationship between years of education and material asset score



As of 2013, according to the Encuesta Nacional de Empleo E Ingresos (ENEI) data, 53 percent of the urban population have completed ciclo basico, and close to one third have completed ciclo diversificado. The youth in the sample have higher rates of education with 80 percent having completed ciclo comun and over a third having completed ciclo diversificado. Rates of higher education, however, were lower for the sample than for the urban population.

displayed in Figure 12, there was in fact a positive relationship between asset ownership and education. This substantiates qualitative findings that youth often drop out of school due to economic hardship.

Close to one quarter of the youth received training courses outside of school (24 percent). Of those who did, the average was 2.4 courses (range = 1 to 12), with no significant association between sex and the average number of courses taken.

Conclusions

A Ganar youth represent a wide diversity of educational attainment, ranging from not having completed a single year of formal education to being well into their university studies. When compared to the urban population as a whole, A Ganar youth demonstrated a significantly higher rate of education: the proportion of respondents having completed middle school (ciclo basico) was 27 percent higher than that of the urban population. There was an expressed desire for education among A Ganar youth: almost all had taken formal courses outside of school and many wanted more education. Educational aspirations notwithstanding, economic hardship appears to be a significant barrier for the youth to actualize their educational goals. This is evidenced by the insufficient economic resources that many youth mention as the primary reason for not being enrolled in school.

Qualitative Findings: Education

Many difficulties were reported around pursuing education, which included:

Presence of gang members at school or in the neighborhood where the school was located: For example, one respondent mentions that the gang members at his previous school smoked marijuana, were disruptive at school, and that he had conflicts with them. Another female respondent stated that she didn't like that gang members looked at her in "perverted ways" outside of the school. Finally, one respondent stated that she stopped studying because gang members constantly came to the school to recruit new members.

Lack of economic resources: Many participants mentioned that they withdrew from school due to economic reasons, especially if they had a younger sibling who was also enrolled. One boy mentioned that his father did not have the money to buy the required school shirts and, as a result, he and his siblings were humiliated at school and others confirmed that the school required the students to purchase many supplies.

Difficulties managing both studying and working: Several participants mention shifting to a weekend study plan in order to work during the week in order to pay for their education. For some, it became too much to do both and, therefore, they withdrew from school or, in fewer cases, they stopped working. For example, one respondent stopped studying because of work. "To be honest, [I am] somewhat frustrated, because my dream, what I want more than anything is to continue studying, I don't know, graduate; it's the truth, there [school] I will have better opportunities, and there is where my frustration lies, you see, because the job that I have is not good and it does not give me the opportunity to study, that is, it does not afford me the time [to study]."

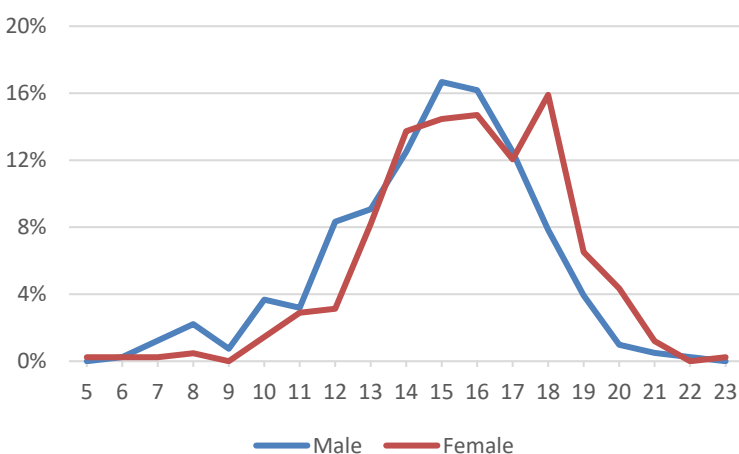
All the participants who are not currently studying express to some degree frustration, resentment, and/or worry with regards to their situation and their perceived lack of opportunities for the future if they are not able to continue their studies. Some also miss studying. For example, one female respondent states, "I feel like, 'what am I doing with my life? What is happening? Why am I wasting this?' Right now perhaps I don't complain, but maybe in the future the months that I am losing – that I am letting pass by, like this – will hurt me." A youth who considered himself a good student, states "I know that I would have a better future if I study; if I don't do it I will stay to see on what corner I shine shoes."

EMPLOYMENT

Two-thirds of A Ganar youth reported having worked at some point in the past (68 percent). One in four youth worked in the week preceding the survey, while only one in five were currently employed at the time of the survey. This proportion of youth who worked in the preceding week was 6 percentage points higher in the CI cohorts than in the FP cohorts (29 percent versus 23 percent). Taken in conjunction with the low education participation rates discussed above, a significant portion of A Ganar youth were not engaged in a productive activity at the time of the survey (56 percent). Males were significantly more likely to work than females as 31 percent of males and 21 percent of females worked in the week preceding the survey.

On average, youth began working for pay at age 15, with females starting 1 year later than males. Almost one-fourth (23percent) started to do so before reaching the constitutionally mandated minimum working age of 14, with the youngest self-reported age of 5 years old.¹⁶ Males were, on average, 12 percentage points more likely to have begun working before reaching the minimum working age. This trend might explain some of the differentiation in educational attainment between the sexes (i.e. girls outlasting boys in school), though as previously noted, the vast majority of unenrolled males were not employed at the time of the survey and some of these youths reported never having been employed.

Figure 13: Age at which began working, by sex



Eighteen percent of youth reported currently having a job. After converting pay cycles (daily, weekly, biweekly, monthly) for current jobs into a uniform hourly rate, and excluding outliers,¹⁷ the levels of compensation ranged from 1.55 to 94 Quetzales per hour (\$0.20-\$12.35), with a median hourly wage of 8.33 Quetzales per hour (\$1.09). Hourly wages varied between the sexes as males made on average 12.14 Quetzales per hour (\$1.60) and females made 15.92 (\$2.10). The average wage among

youth in FP was lower (13.34 Quetzals) compared to those in CI (15.81 Quetzales). Guatemalan minimum monthly wages range from 2,200.95 to 2,394.40 Quetzales, depending on industry and firm size. Taking the average of these two extremes, 87 percent of A Ganar youth were making less than minimum wage at the time of the survey.

Employed youth reported working an average of 36 hours per week, with males working an average of 9 additional hours as compared to females (10 hours if using

According to the 2013 ENEI survey, the average work week among A Ganar youth was six hours lower than the urban national standard (41.8 hours). Furthermore, the average monthly income among the sample was 39% lower than the national urban average.

¹⁶ The Constitution establishes that the minimum working age is 16. However, the Labor Code allows children to start working at age 14 if they continue to attend school. Children between the ages of 14 and 16 may only work 4 hours per day and 20 hours per week. (<http://www.laborrights.org/>). Seventeen percent of respondents reported working before age 14.

¹⁷ Defined as outside ± 3 times the standard deviation.

median measures instead of mean). The highest number of hours worked per week by females was 84 and by males was 91. Based on the qualitative analysis, some of the jobs that males held included construction, plumbing, and household repair. Some of the jobs that females held included preparing food, nannying, sales and agriculture. Both males and females sometimes worked informally for family members.

In addition to collecting data on wages and participation patterns in the labor market, the evaluation team is tracking job quality through analysis of self-reported job satisfaction as well as the existence of various benefits: 54 percent of working youth said they were either satisfied or very satisfied with their jobs, though only 11 percent had a written contract and 5 percent had some type of employer-provided benefits. The most prevalent benefits were social security or Instituto Guatemelco de Seguridad Social (IGSS) (8 percent) and access to a government-instituted recreational space, Recreacion de los Trabajadores de la Empresa privada de Guatemala (IRTRA) (5 percent).

Of the unemployed youth with a reported work history, 31 percent were looking for employment at the time of the survey. These searches ranged from zero to 24 months, with an average search time of 2.5 weeks. Twelve percent of respondents had been unemployed for a year or more. Of the 587 respondents who provided a reason for not looking for work at the time of the interview, the most common reasons were: studying (15 percent), getting ready to return to school shortly (24 percent), taking care of family members (13 percent), not having permission to work (10 percent) and being too young (8 percent).

Table 2: Years out of work, unemployed respondents with previous work history

	Mean	Median	SD	n
Male	0.35	0.08	0.55	399
Female	0.57	0.25	0.86	402
TOTAL	0.46	0.17	0.73	801

Conclusions

Most A Ganar youth (68 percent) had worked at some point in the past, though only 18 percent were employed at baseline. Compared to the population, A Ganar youth worked slightly less hours per week, and had significantly lower monthly incomes (1500 quetzales compared to 2450 quetzales per month). Some youth worked a great deal, yet still had low monthly income and minimal benefits and job security. In this light, it is surprising that the majority of youth stated that they were either satisfied or very satisfied with their work. This may suggest that work prospects or aspirations are very low. Labor market participation rates were similar for the two sexes, though males tended to work more hours per week.

Qualitative Findings: Employment

All but five of the qualitative participants have some sort of work experience. Of those with work experience, many already have an extensive work history, having held multiple jobs. Many of these jobs have been part-time and/or short-term contracts. As previously noted, many participants held jobs while they were simultaneously studying, including jobs while on vacation from school. Many participants worked or are working in informal jobs for family members, for example, helping a father with his taco cart, working for a sister as a nanny, helping an uncle grow vegetables, and helping a father or uncle in construction jobs. At the same time, this means that many of the jobs are obtained either with family directly or through family contacts. The male participants tended to overwhelmingly work in construction, plumbing, or household repair, such as painting and gardening, in addition to positions in sales, customer service, and restaurants. The female participants held jobs preparing and/or selling food, cleaning, working as nannies, selling shoes, working in agriculture, and working in factories, for example, packaging.

Most of the participants who are not currently working are looking for work. All of the participants report difficulty in finding and keeping work. Some of the reasons for this are outlined below:

Lack of contacts: When asked why she is not currently working as a secretary, a position she wants, one female responded that, “because there is not enough work. Those positions are not offered, rather [companies will offer] no more than packager for a factory or cleaning [positions], it is difficult to find such positions [secretary/administrative] if one does not have a contact that can insert you in the company, in an office.”

Lack of work experience: Participants recognize that this is something of a vicious cycle: they need work experience so they need to obtain jobs but they can’t obtain jobs without work experience. One male respondent responded that, “Now they ask for [work] experience, it is what they are looking for and if one does not work, one will not have experience and they do not give the opportunity to work in order to gain experience – because one must start from the bottom, in order to improve oneself, but now, if companies ask if... At least one year of [work] experience, how are you supposed to have experience if you have not even begun to work?”

BUSINESSES

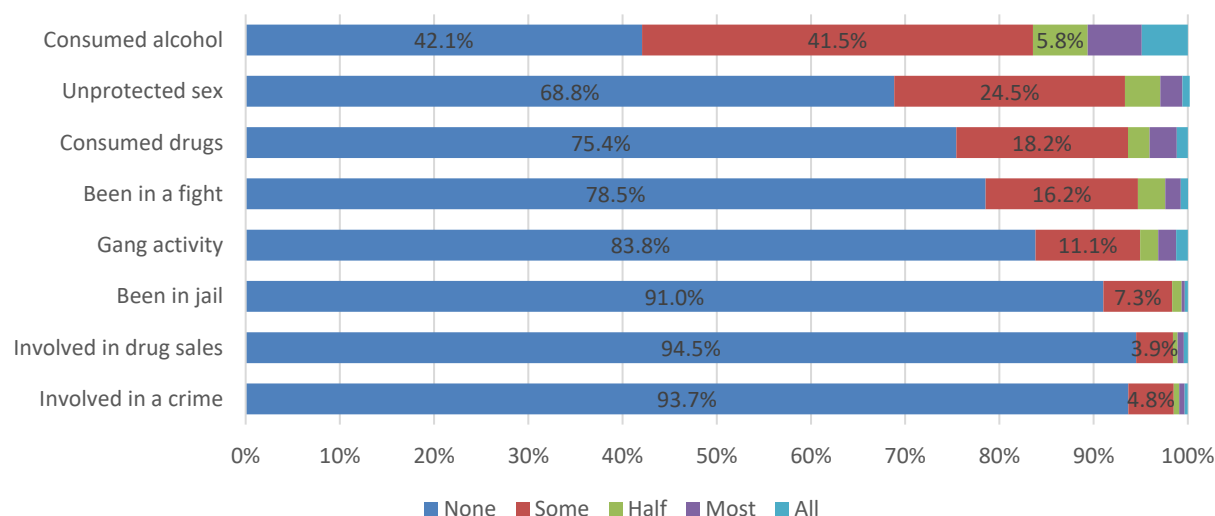
Seven percent of respondents reported having a business at some point in their lives, with a slightly higher proportion of women doing so (8 percent versus 6 percent, respectively). Of the 87 individuals who had owned a business, 51 percent were in operation at the time of the interview. Most of these businesses were not operated outside of the home (87 percent), and did not hire any help (89 percent). The median income from all current and prior businesses was 600 Quetzales/month, and their average duration was one year. Some examples of the common types of business conducted included preparing and selling food, selling clothes and shoes, and babysitting.

RISK BEHAVIOR

Respondents were asked about how many of their friends engaged in risk-behaviors, as a proxy measure for how likely respondents were to engage in similar activities. The three most common activities youth reported their peers participated in were the consumption of alcohol, unprotected sex, and the consumption of drugs. Generally, responses were similar across male and female respondents.

Aggregated responses to risk-behavior questions are listed below, rank-ordered by the most prevalent reported behaviors.

Figure 14: Participation of friends in risky behaviors in the last month



An alternative way to measure participation in risky or illicit activities is the randomized response technique,¹⁹ which masks individual responses but allows for group level estimation. Results for the percentages responding yes to each prompt are listed below, both as totals and disaggregated by sex and implementing organization.

Table 3: Estimated participation of respondent in risky behaviors in the last month, by sex and IO

	Total	Sex		IO	
		Male	Female	FP	CI
Consumed alcohol	14.07%	20.61%	8.88%	16.68%	8.51%
Been in a fight	10.23%	12.78%	8.21%	13.04%	4.22%
Unprotected sex	8.25%	11.66%	5.54%	9.41%	5.78%
Consumed drugs	3.29%	6.62%	0.63%	4.13%	1.49%
Been in jail	4.53%	7.19%	2.42%	4.13%	5.39%
Involved in drug sales	1.92%	2.42%	1.52%	2.12%	1.49%
Gang activity	-0.57% ²⁰	1.58%	-2.26%	-0.79%	-0.07%

¹⁹ See the evaluation design section for more detail.

²⁰ The estimated negative participation rates on this item is likely explained by the fact that the technique relies on elementary probability theory and the assumption that one sixth of responses were forced 'Yes' and one sixth were forced 'No'. For example, if, by chance, less than 1 out of respondents rolled a one (calling for a forced 'Yes'), then we will underestimate the true participation rate, even leading to a negative estimate. Another possible explanation for the negative estimated rates is that respondents may still be answering 'no' even when they roll a one (forced yes) to avoid the possible perception that they participated in these activities. As expected, this issue was much less significant in the analysis of the full study cohort given the larger sample.

Involved in a crime	1.80%	2.15%	1.52%	1.94%	1.49%
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According to the randomized response technique, three risk behaviors are most prevalent: alcohol consumption (14 percent), fighting (10 percent) and unprotected sex (8 percent). Males had higher estimated participation rates than did females for every type of risky behavior. Respondents from FP reported higher rates of participation in most of the risk behaviors except incarceration and gang activity.

Although estimated participation in crime, drug sales and gang activity were all relatively low, the qualitative findings suggest that criminal activity directly affects the youths' daily lives. Many youth indicated that they had lost loved ones due to gang violence. Many had been robbed in their neighborhoods and expressed fear of the pervasive crime in their communities, especially around the school. Even without participating, it seems that the youth are under constant threat due to the prevalence of violent crime.

Qualitative Findings: Risk Behavior

All of the individuals in the qualitative sample described the challenges of the communities where they live. Many reported that their friends and peers engaged in risky behavior such as smoking (both tobacco and marijuana), buying and selling marijuana, petty theft, fighting, and being involved with gangs. In many of these cases, participants stated that they tried to distance themselves from these friends/acquaintances, and, in a couple of cases, they tried to convince them to change their behavior or to leave the gang. Participants frequently mention the violent activity that occurs in their neighborhoods. In addition to the above-mentioned risky behavior, this also includes extortion, murder, and physical violence all due to the presence of gang members. This violence has affected participants directly and indirectly. Many of the participants have been robbed, both in their neighborhoods as well as in others. Some of the participants have lost family members and loved ones due to the violence, particularly related to extortion.

The qualitative interviews suggest that safety and security are important factors in employment opportunities for youth. Gang violence in particular is present in schools and the neighborhoods surrounding the schools. Overall, the result of this violence is fewer employment opportunities for the youth, restricted options for where they can study, and limited mobility (this is particularly notable in the case of the female participants whose work opportunities are limited when they are not able to be out after dark, especially given the additional transportation problems). Given this trend of a lack of businesses in the surrounding areas, it is critical to spur entrepreneurship among youth.

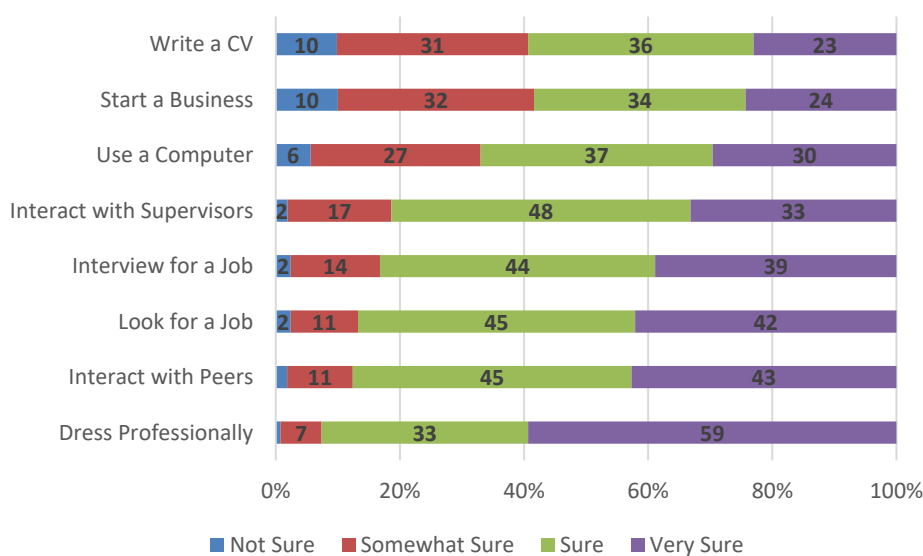
Conclusions

Baseline findings suggest that consumption of alcohol, fighting, and unprotected sex were the most common risk behaviors. Activities such as being involved in a crime or gang activity were the least prevalent. Analysis of randomized response data showed that males were more like to partake in every type of risky behavior than females. Males were more than twice as likely as females to consume alcohol, consume drugs, have unprotected sex, be involved in gangs, and go to jail. Youth in FP had higher estimated participation rates across most risk behaviors. FP youth were almost twice as likely to consume alcohol, consume drugs, be in a fight, and have unprotected sex. Qualitative findings indicate that even when youth were not directly involved in criminal activities, the pervasiveness of criminality affected their lives – many discussed living in fear, insecurity, and a general sense of social disenfranchisement due to the criminal activity in their neighborhoods.

PROFESSIONAL CAPABILITIES

Respondents were asked how confident they were in their abilities to engage in a variety of professional behaviors: use a computer for work, write a professional CV, attend a job interview, search for work, dress appropriately for work, interact with colleagues, interact with superiors and start/expand a business. Dressing professionally was overwhelmingly ranked by respondents as the capacity area in which they feel most confident, while the ability to interact with peers was second. The professional skill that respondents felt least confident about was writing a CV (23 percent), followed by starting a business (24 percent). The low levels of self-reported fluency in the use of computers (which ranked as the third lowest skill with 30 percent reporting they have the confidence to use it) may partly explain the lack of confidence in writing a CV. Responses in these two categories exhibited a statistically-significant, moderate degree of correlation (Spearman rho = 0.05, $p = 0.057$).

Figure 15: Confidence in professional skills, percent



Capability scores were aggregated into a summary measure, with a maximum value of 32 (4 points for each “very sure” response, 3 for “sure”, 2 for “somewhat sure”, and 1 for “not sure”). There was little variation in the score by sex or cohort as the calculated average was 25, and the difference between males and females was not significant ($p=.440$). Self-reported abilities using a computer, writing a CV, and interacting with peers registered the highest gender differences of all capability measures. Males were 5 percent more likely to report that they were very confident in using computers. Females were 6 percent more likely to report that they were very confident about interacting with their peers and writing a CV. While the data clearly indicate that there are some differences between male and female performance in some scores, the measurements are self-reported and may carry with them response bias if the sexes respond in a systematically different manner. For example, there may be systematic differences between the sexes in terms of perception or self-confidence rather than in terms of competency.

Figure 16: Capability scores, by sex and cohort

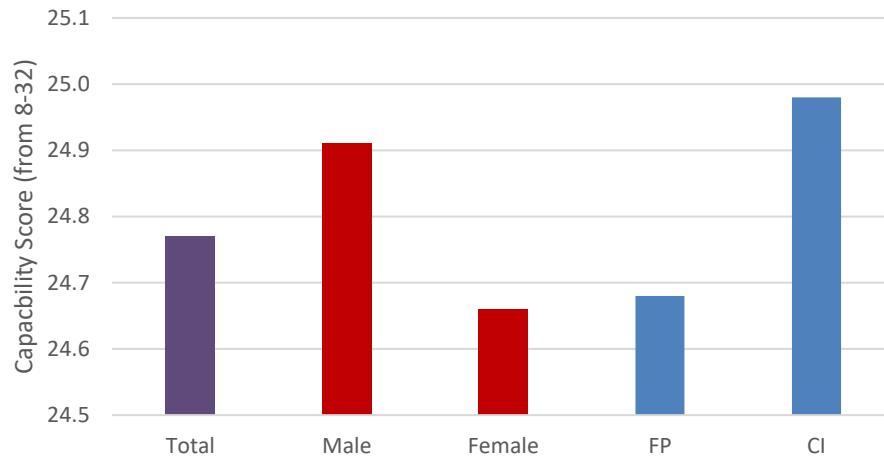
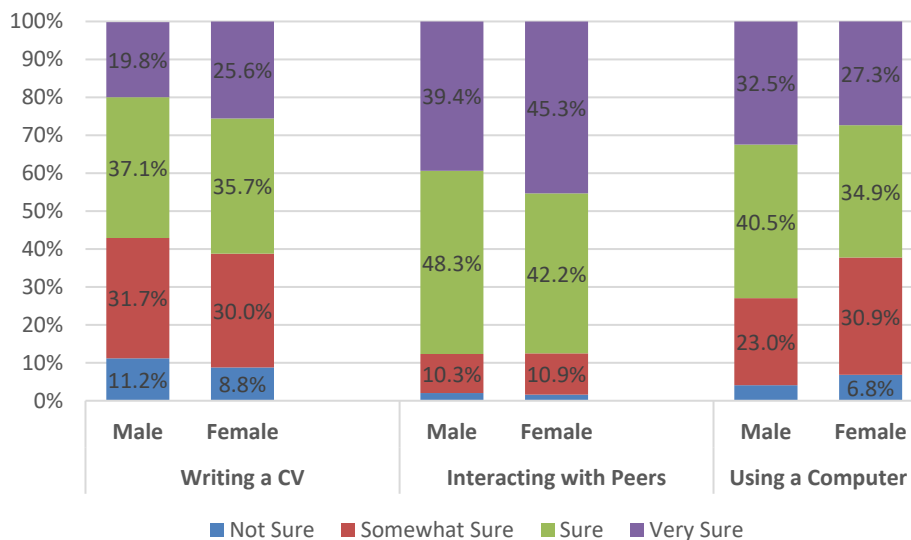


Figure 17: Professional capabilities, by gender



Conclusions

Youth rated themselves highly on all eight technical competencies with more than half of respondents feeling sure or very sure. Of the eight competencies, respondents gave 'soft skills' (e.g. dressing professionally, interacting with peers, etc.) higher ratings, suggesting that the program could yield larger dividends by focusing on 'hard skills' (e.g. writing a CV, using a computer, starting a business, etc.). Males rated themselves higher on the following capabilities: using a computer and dressing professionally. Females rated themselves higher on the following capabilities: writing a CV, interviewing, seeking a job, and interacting with their peers. In terms of interacting with a supervisor and starting a business, both sexes were similarly confident. Because these capabilities are self-reported, they are subject to bias, and may reflect perceptions more than actual abilities.

SELF-ESTEEM

Respondents were asked 14 questions to gauge psychosocial determinants of self-esteem. The module consisted of four custom items designed to assess relationships with friends and the community, as well as the 10-item Rosenberg Self-Esteem scale, a widely used measure of “positive or negative orientation toward oneself.” Questions were phrased both positively (for example, “Are you satisfied with yourself?”), and negatively (for example, “Do you sometimes feel that not all is well?”), with all response options based on a five-point scale (1 – strongly agree, 2 – agree, 3 – neither agree nor disagree, 4 – disagree, 5 – strongly disagree).

The items that elicited the most agreement were “I am satisfied with myself” (63 percent), “I am able to do things as well as other people” (57 percent), and “I take a positive attitude toward myself” (55 percent). Notably, respondents were less inclined to agree with positive statements of their friends or the community’s perceptions of them, possibly suggesting that while these youths feel confident in themselves, they do not feel confident in how others perceive them. This was particularly true of males in the sample who had lower average scores for most questions related to friends and community than their female counterparts. Of the five negatively-phrased statements, most agreement was registered for the statements “I wish I could have more respect for myself” (36 percent “strongly agree”, 50 percent “agree”), and “Sometimes, I believe I am no good at all.” (7 percent “strongly agree”, 49 percent “agree”). Interestingly, after scaling responses uni-directionally, females tended to have higher scores for positively-phrased questions while males had higher scores for negatively-phrased questions. This may be indicative of differences in perception or in communication style.

Following Rosenberg,²¹ all responses were uni-directionally scaled, assigned values of 0 (“strongly disagree”) to 5 (“strongly agree”), and totaled to create a summary index with a possible range of 0-40. Given the context-specific nature of the construct, there is no consensus threshold for what constitutes high or low self-esteem. As such, the measure is not intended to inform value judgments regarding the absolute scores and what they signify for the study population. Rather, the tool will be used to assess causal relationships between scores and participation in the A Ganar program and in comparison of sub-groups.

Summary scores ranged from 12 to 40, with a mean of 27. Little variation was observed across genders or geographic location. Scores were slightly higher among the CI cohorts as compared to the FP cohorts (27.6 compared with 26.5). The tool demonstrated a low level of internal consistency (Cronbach’s alpha=0.540), indicating that the scale does not measure constructs of self-esteem very reliably or may incorporate multiple constructs related to self-esteem. Internal consistency was slightly higher when comparing all 14 self-esteem questions (Cronbach’s alpha=0.648).

Conclusions

The vast majority of A Ganar youth demonstrated healthy self-esteem (only three percent of respondents scored in the low self-esteem range of the Rosenberg scale), with little difference between the sexes. This relatively high degree of self-esteem is somewhat surprising for the program’s target group, yet is consistent with relatively positive responses on gender roles and development assets, as described below.

²¹ Rosenberg, Morris. 1965. *Society and the Adolescent Self-Image*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press. The original Rosenberg tool used a four-point scale without a neutral balancing point. The evaluation team added a neither/nor response option, transforming the tool (and scoring mechanism) into a five-point scale.

GENDER ROLES AND PERCEPTIONS

Respondents were asked to rate, on a five-point scale (5 – strongly agree, 4 – agree, 3 – neither agree nor disagree, 2 – disagree, 1 – strongly disagree), the extent to which they agree or disagree with 25 statements designed to gauge gender perceptions.

The most support as measured by the frequency of “strongly agree” responses was expressed for the statement “If a man impregnates a woman, it is the responsibility of both of them to take care of the child” (75 percent). The highest frequency of “strongly disagree” answers was expressed for the statement, “It is acceptable for a husband to beat his wife if she disobeys him” (54 percent). Only 33 percent of respondents strongly agreed with the statement that “it is ok for women to play sports,” with females 14 percentage points more likely than males to strongly agree.

Presented below are the three statements that elicited the most agreement, the three statements that elicited the most disagreement, and three statements that elicited the most different responses between males and females.

Figure 18: Statements that elicited the most agreement, by sex (score of 5 indicates “strongly agree”)

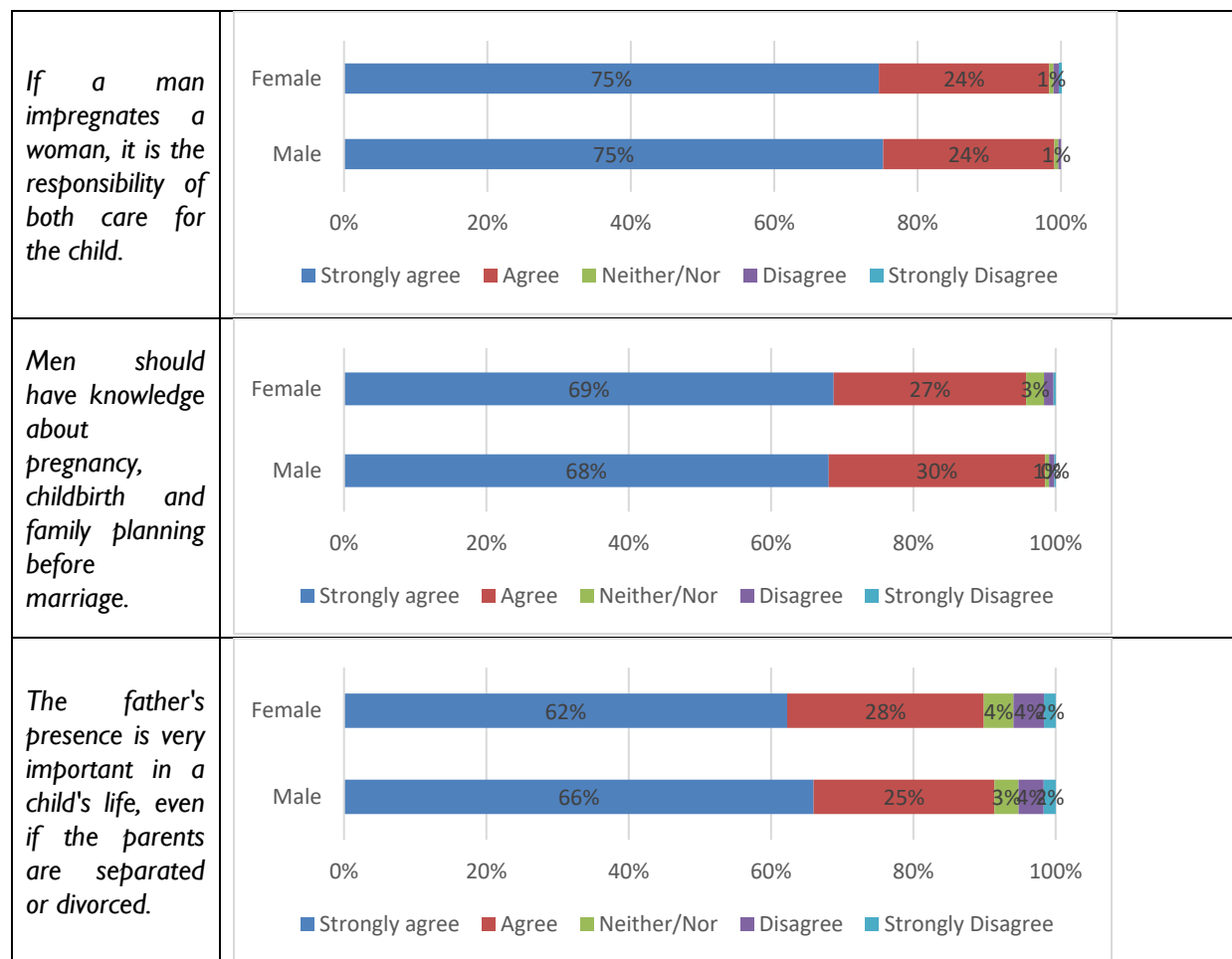


Figure 19: Statements that elicited the most disagreement, by sex (score of 5 indicates “strongly agree”)

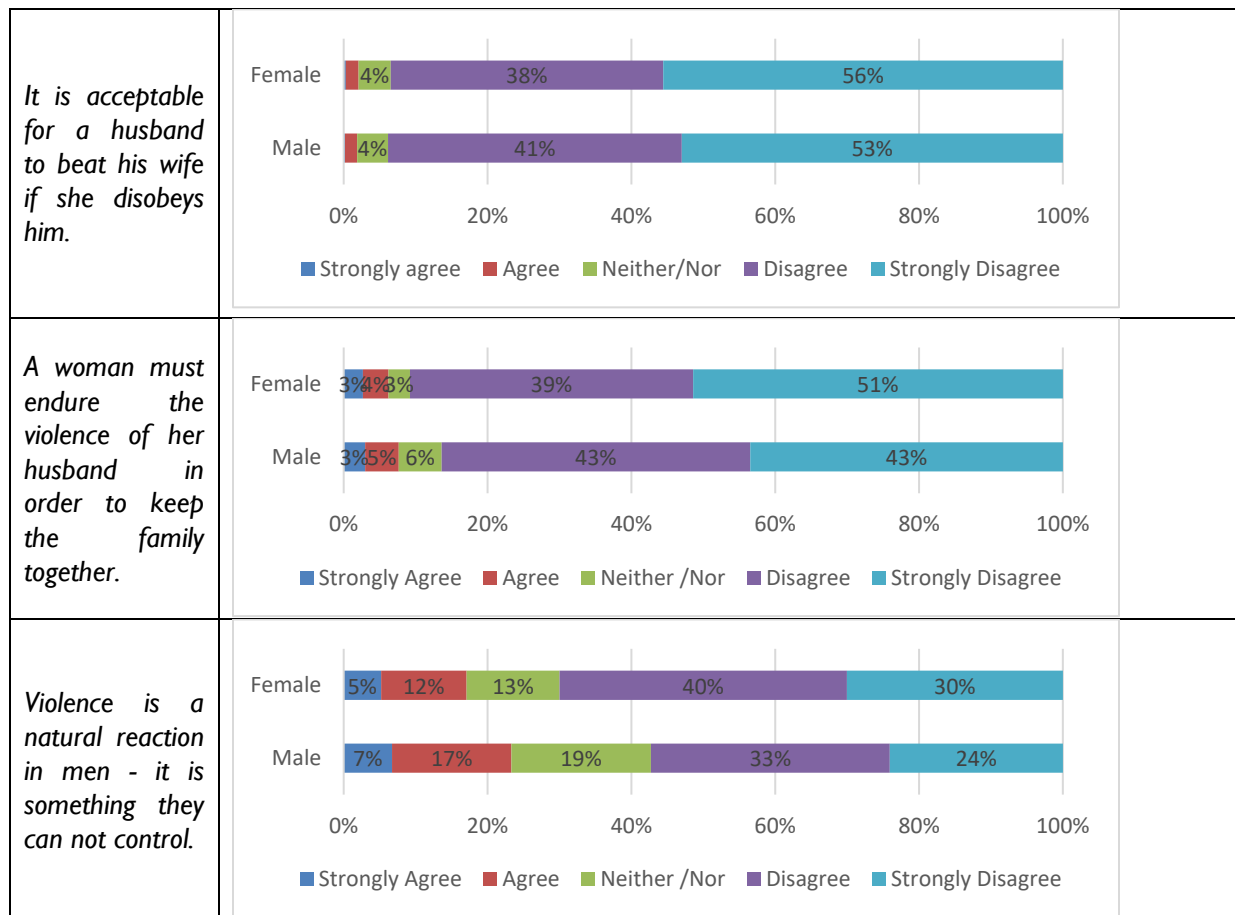
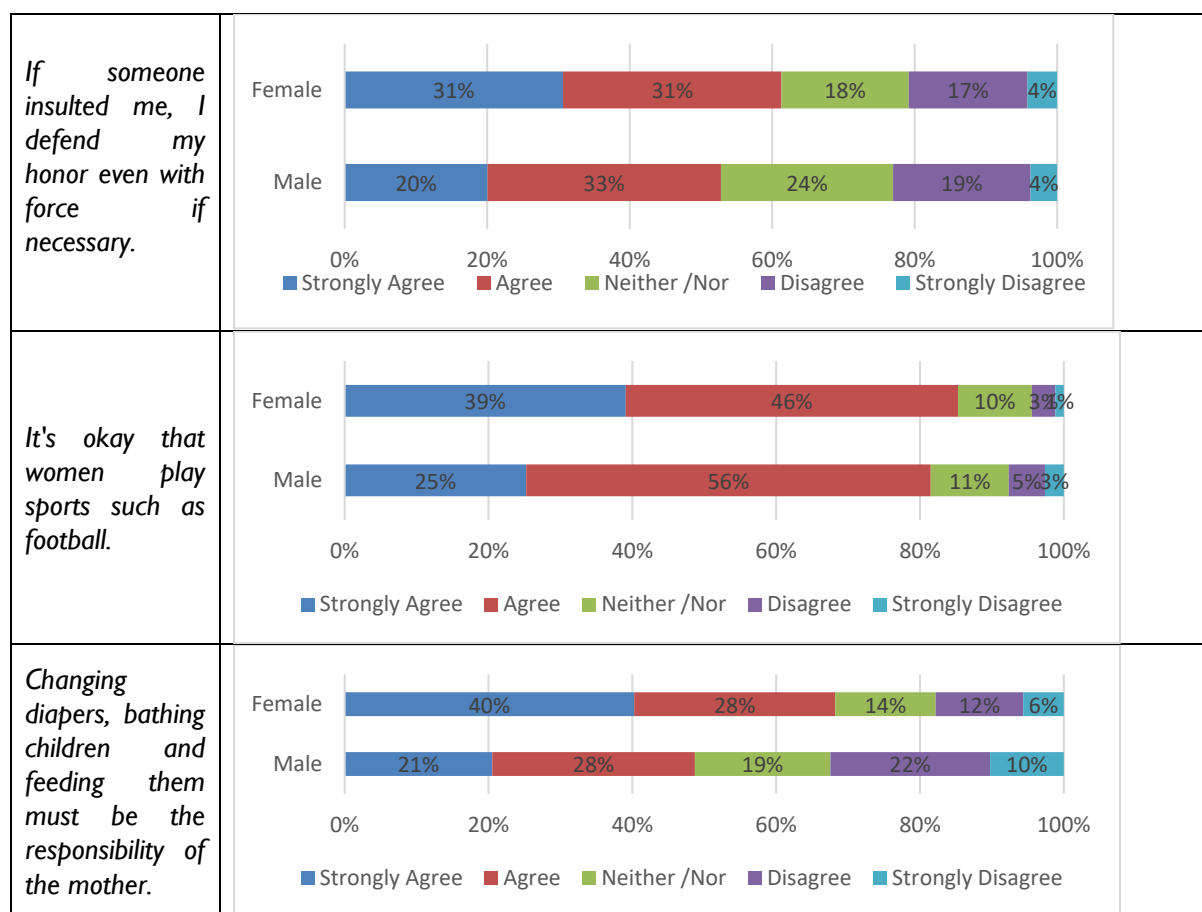


Figure 20: Largest differences in gender norms, by sex (score of 5 indicates “strongly agree”)



To analyze gender perceptions, the analytical approach developed for the GEM scale was followed, creating two sub-scales comprising the statements corresponding to Equitable and Inequitable gender norms. Responses to statements in the Inequitable sub-scale are recoded such that agreement with an ‘inequitable’ statement results in a low score (and disagreement a higher score). To look in aggregate, we calculate a summary index called the Gender Equality Score (possible range = 25 - 125), where scores can fall in one of three ranges: low equity (25-41), moderate equity (42-83), and high equity (84-125).²² Calculated scores for the A Ganar sample ranged from 56 to 118, with an average of 90. Scores were similar for males and females. FP youth had scores slightly lower than youth of CI (89 versus 91).

Conclusions

A Ganar youth demonstrated gender scores in the ‘moderate-to-high equity’ range, with both sexes having similar scores overall. Views on some specific questions varied based on sex. However, there was strong consensus that men play a valuable role in the life of a child and that violence of any type should not be permitted under any circumstance. Lastly, a large majority of respondents either agreed or

²² Pulerwitz, Julie and Gary Barker. 2007. “Measuring attitudes toward gender norms among young men in Brazil: Development and psychometric evaluation of the GEM scale,” *Men and Masculinities* published online ahead of print, 18 May.

strongly agreed with the statement that “it is ok for women to play sports.” Females were 14 percentage points more likely to strongly agree with this statement than males.

While the youth generally seemed to have egalitarian views on gender, particularly as pertains to violence, the qualitative analysis indicates that some youth still held some gender normative views on roles and responsibilities.

QUALITATIVE FINDINGS – GENDER ROLES AND PERCEPTIONS

Qualitative interviews asked a number of questions that probed participants’ attitudes about gender. We expect that if A Ganar is successful in this domain, these gendered beliefs may change over time. Understandings of gender roles and perceptions, particularly machismo, varied widely across the participants based on their different life experiences. Although a few of the participants stated that they had not heard the word machismo and they do not know what it means, those that do define it highlight two primary understandings: the use of physical violence against women and fixed gender roles and responsibilities. Both of these are based on the belief that men are superior to or have the right to dominate women, and this manifests both physically and in terms of imposing gender roles.

Reasons given for the existence of machismo seem to rely largely on the question of being educated or not, as well as family upbringing. One respondent thought that the division of work at home is unequal. Although she did not support this, she explained that it happens because: “Perhaps due to their level of education, [men] think they are more educated than women. For a person that is less educated, there is more [inequality] in terms of household work.”

Amongst the participants there are clear examples of those that resist gender norms based on machismo. This seems particularly true with regards to participating in household chores for males who live in households without mothers as they have had to learn to do their own laundry, etc. Other participants resist understandings of machismo with respect to woman working outside of the home, largely for pragmatic reasons: to survive economically requires both partners to work. On the other end, some participants believe in the realization of gender equality in some areas but they also reinforce those in others. For example, Miranda thinks that men and women do the same things in their spare time and that they have the same work opportunities. However, she also says that men are the head of the house.

Many acknowledge that men have more opportunities than women, particularly with regards to work. For example, Brenda believes that this is the case because “Some think that men have more developed capabilities,” and, as a result, men are generally managers. Some participants do state that there are certain jobs that women just can’t and shouldn’t do because they require physical strength, such as construction. Others affirm that women can do any job, even those that require physical strength.

DEVELOPMENTAL ASSETS PROFILE

Respondents were asked 58 questions from a slightly adapted version of the Search Institute’s DAP tool. These questions are designed to gauge the extent to which respondents have support systems and internal agency, which through extensive studies of over more than 20 years, including those using the

DAP, have been found to predict educational and life outcomes.²³ Respondents are asked to provide an answer as to the frequency or intensity with which they feel about each item. The scale ranges from "Never or Rarely" (0), "Somewhat or Sometimes" (1), "Many or Often" (2) and "Extremely or Almost Always" (3). In accordance with Search Institute's field-tested analytical methods, these scores are arranged in a number of different categories representing either developmental assets or context.

Table 4: Developmental Assets Profile

	Mean (Total)	Mean (Male)	Mean (Female)
Asset View			
Boundaries and Expectations	19.0	19.0	19.1
Constructive Use of Time	20.9	21.9	20.0
Empowerment	21.6	22.2	21.0
Positive Values	20.9	20.4	21.2
Positive Identity	20.5	20.3	20.6
Social Competencies	21.7	21.9	21.6
Support	21.9	21.5	22.2
Commitment to Learning	23.4	22.9	23.8
Internal Asset Score	21.4	21.5	21.3
External Asset Score	21.0	20.9	21.1
Total Asset Score (out of 60)	42.4	42.4	42.4
Context View			
Community	21.0	21.3	20.7
Personal	20.5	20.3	20.7
Social Competencies	20.7	20.5	20.9
School	21.4	21.4	21.3
Family	22.1	22.2	21.9

²³ Benson, P.L., Scales, P.C., & Syvertsen, A.K. (2011). The Contribution of the Developmental Assets Framework to Positive Youth Development Theory and Practice. In Richard M. Lerner, Jacqueline V. Lerner, & Janette B. Benson, Eds., *Advances in Child Development and Behavior: Positive youth Development Research and Applications for Promoting Thriving in Adolescence* (pp. 198-232). London, UK: Elsevier.

Scales, P.C., Roehlkepartain, E.C., & Fraher, K. (2012). *Do Developmental Assets make a difference in majority-world contexts? A preliminary study of the relationships between Developmental Assets and international development priorities*. Minneapolis: Search Institute, Final Report to United States Agency for International Development (USAID) and Education Development Center (EDC).

Most of these studies have been conducted in the US. DAP use in developing countries has been increasing, most notably through collaborative work in more than a dozen countries between Search Institute and both World Vision International and Save the Children, as well as through a USAID-funded cross-sectional study in four countries conducted by Search Institute in partnership with Save the Children and Education Development Center. The current evaluation will provide further evidence of the extent to which the DAP instrument is valid in non-US environments.

Out of a possible score of 60, the total DAP score of 42.4 is a low 'good score' with 30–41 being vulnerable, 42–51 as adequate. Thus, there is much room for improvement in their asset environments, suggesting the potential value to these youths of the A Ganar program.

From the asset perspective, respondents reported the highest/most support for, doing well at work, school, and other activities, actively engaging when learning new things, parents that motivate them to do well in their jobs, and to help others, while the lowest score was for participating in creative activities such as music, theater, and art. While females have tended to outperform males in the DAP in previous research in the US and other countries, total asset scores were exactly equal for male and female youth in this evaluation. Total asset scores were also the same among both implementing organizations.

Conclusions

A Ganar youth scored relatively high in the aggregate measure of developmental assets: the total DAP score of 42.4 is considered on the low range of "good" scores. This is comparable to an average DAP score of 40 for Honduran youth²⁴. Strong support was evidenced for both internal (e.g. constructive use of time) and external (e.g. support systems) measures. There were no large sex-disaggregated differences in DAP scores.

CHECKING BALANCE ACROSS TREATMENT, COMPARISON, AND CONTROL

Although random assignment is expected to balance all baseline characteristics between the treatment, comparison, and control groups (thus eliminating selection bias), random assignment can, by chance, yield unbalanced groups. In comparing the three groups along 21 key baseline characteristics, we found one significant difference between the groups: the age at which individuals first started working.²⁵ This is a key outcome measure for the evaluation, and econometric means will be used to control for differences in baseline status to derive valid impact estimates.

²⁴ Scales, P. C., E. C. Roehlkepartain, and K. Fraher. (2012) "Do Developmental Assets make a difference in majority-world contexts? A preliminary study of the relationships between Developmental Assets and international development priorities." Final Report to United States Agency for International Development (USAID) and Education Development Center (EDC). Minneapolis, MN: Search Institute.

²⁵ Age at first job was imbalanced for Children International's Cohort I, with A Ganar youth beginning work at a younger age than the control and comparison groups.

Table 5: Balance checking between treatment and control groups

Level of Measurement	Variable	Control	Comparison	A Ganar	P
Continuous †	Age	18.13077	18.10565	17.92476	0.432
	Grade	11.96923	11.94103	12.04126	0.848
	Days Playing Sport	1.579487	1.577396	1.555825	0.985
	Household Size	3.712821	3.707617	3.691748	0.989
	Educational Courses	2.353846	2.353808	2.356796	0.998
	Age Began Working	15.44487	15.40433	14.87986	0.023
	Number of Jobs	1.951282	1.945946	2.053398	0.578
	Number of Businesses	0.0897436	0.0614251	0.0825243	0.353
	Asset Index	0.0289857	0.0387196	0.0353728	0.781
	Capability Score	24.81795	24.77396	24.89051	0.935
	Self-Esteem Score	40.39744	40.15233	39.91484	0.608
	Gender Score	68.49487	68.85258	67.95631	0.629
	Risk Score	12.94444	11.22388	12.32924	0.699
	Internal Asset Score	21.35897	20.93366	21.80825	0.121
	External Asset Score	20.82821	20.68796	21.50728	0.066
	Total Asset Score	43.18718	42.62162	44.31553	0.056
Nominal ‡	Sex (Female)	1.584615	1.542998	1.543689	0.402
	Worked Before (Yes)	0.674359	0.6805897	0.6868932	0.93
	Working Now (Yes)	1.839695	1.801444	1.812057	0.497
	Looking for Work (Yes)	0.5876289	0.3167082	0.2972973	0.512
	Business Before (Yes)	0.0794872	0.0589681	0.0776699	0.458

† Two independent samples t-test (two tailed)

‡ Chi-square test (for variables with expected cell frequencies < 5, Fisher's exact test was used)

*** Statistically significant at the 99% confidence level

* Statistically significant at the 95% confidence level

CONCLUSIONS

Baseline analysis indicates that program targeting was effective in terms of reaching at-risk youth that were in line with the stated eligibility criteria. While this held true for the sample overall, there were some significant differences between the two implementers, Fundacion Paiz (FP) and Children International (CI), indicating that the quality of program targeting varied. The cohorts under FP had significantly lower socio-economic status than those under CI, indicating more effective program targeting. These youths owned less assets, and were less educated, less likely to be employed at baseline, and less likely to own a business. Additionally, the youth of FP were on average two years younger than the youth of CI and more likely to be younger than 17 due to the lower age band requirements in the FP grant. Based on discussions with the implementer, the selection was designed to target the neediest of youth, with less regard for age. With females comprising 56 percent of the sample overall, there was a slight gender imbalance across the cohorts.

Demographics

Respondents ranged in age from 13 to 26 years old (mean = 18), with females tending to be half a year older. In total 27 percent of the sample fell outside the stated eligibility age range of 17-24 (26 percent were too young, while 1 percent were too old). Almost all of the youth who were too young were under FP, while all of the youth who were too old were under CI. Apart from the age, program targeting was largely effective. This may have some implications for the for future findings of the study. As some of the youth fall below the legal working age, we expect these youths to have lower employment outcomes, since the program cannot assist these youths in pursuing work. However, these youths may still benefit in terms of other outcomes such as a return to school.

Sport

Females were found, on average, to engage in sports much less frequently than males: girls were 37 percentage points less likely to play sports and those who played, played on average, two fewer days per week than males. The overrepresentation of female participants in the program indicates that the sports-based nature of A Ganar does not dissuade female participation. However, the low female interest in sports may influence their engagement in the program once they enroll. The next report will investigate possible gender differences in program outcomes.

Socio-Economic Status

Comparison of household living conditions indicates that A Ganar youth are, on average, less affluent than the comparable urban Guatemalan population. Although asset ownership was similar, A Ganar youth were more likely to live in makeshift houses or houses with laminated metal rooves. Given the programatic focus of serving economically disadvantaged youth, this finding indicates successful targeting on this measure. With respect to asset ownership, A Ganar youth overall displayed similar characteristics to the urban population. In this regard, program targeting was more successful among the FP cohorts than the CI cohorts. FP youth, on average, owned less assets, and were less educated, less likely to be employed at baseline, and less likely to own a business. The PCA asset index calculated to proxy socio-economic status performed well at baseline, substantiating its use in follow-up analyses.

Education

A Ganar youth represent a wide diversity of educational attainment, ranging from not having completed a single year of formal education to being well into their university studies. When compared to the urban population as a whole, A Ganar youth demonstrated a significantly higher rate of basic education; the proportion of respondents having completed secondary school was 27 percentage points higher

than that of the population. However, the proportion of youth that have gone on to university and higher education was significantly lower than that of the urban population. In this regard, the youth from CI had significantly higher education than the youth of FP. While education levels among FP were lower than the national average, those among CI were higher, indicating once again that program targeting was stronger under FP. Overall, there was an expressed desire for education among A Ganar youth, though economic hardship appears to have been a significant barrier for the youth to actualize their dreams. Based on qualitative data, a number of youth indicated that they had left school because they could not afford school supplies or because they needed to pursue work instead in order to support family. Others had left school because they found that the maras frequently recruited in the school and its surrounding areas.

Employment

Most A Ganar youth (68 percent) had worked at some point in the past, though only 20 percent were employed at baseline. Compared to the population, A Ganar youth were far less likely to be employed and reported working less hours and for lower monthly wages. Males, on average, were more likely to currently have a job, began work at an earlier age, and were more likely to have begun working before reaching the minimum working age. Interestingly, many youth who were not enrolled in school were also not working, indicating that work may not have been the only reason why youth dropped out of school, though many youth cite it as the primary reason.

Entrepreneurship

Less than one in ten respondents reported having a business at some point in their lives, with females participating at a higher frequency. Examining professional capabilities, youth additionally indicated that they had low levels of confidence in their ability to start a business. This indicates that technical training on entrepreneurship may be particularly beneficial for youth. Among the entrepreneurs, some of the common businesses included preparation and sale of food, sale of clothing or shoes, and babysitting. Of the 87 individuals who had owned a business, about half were in operation at the time of the interview.

Risk Behavior

Baseline findings suggest that consumption of alcohol, unprotected sex, drug usage and fighting were the most common risk behaviors. These three behaviors were the most common activities youth's peers participated in. Participation in risky behavior was low overall, with rates estimated to be below 15% in all categories. Analysis of randomized response data found that the three most prevalent risk behaviors included alcohol consumption, fighting, and unprotected sex for and self-reported risk. Respondents from FP reported higher rates of participation in most of the risk behaviors except incarceration, gang activity, and involvement in a crime, where respondents in both implementing organizations had similar proportions of participating youth. This indicates that the youth under FP were more at-risk.

Professional Capabilities

Youth rated themselves highly on all eight technical competencies (more than half of respondents feeling sure or very sure). Of the eight competencies, respondents gave 'soft skills' higher ratings, suggesting that the program could yield larger dividends by focusing on 'hard skills.' Because these ratings are self-reported, they may reflect differences in confidence or perception rather than differences in ability. Future reports may additionally examine instructors' perception of youths' professional capabilities.

Self-Esteem

A Ganar youth demonstrated high self-esteem based on the Rosenberg scale, with only 3% of youth scoring in the low self-esteem range. There were no differences between the sexes. This relatively high

degree of self-esteem is somewhat surprising for the program's target group, yet is consistent with relatively positive responses on gender roles and development assets, as described below.

Gender Equity

A Ganar youth demonstrated gender scores in the 'moderate-to-high equity' range, with males scoring, on average, slightly higher than females. While the youth generally seemed to have egalitarian views on gender, particularly as pertains to violence, the qualitative analysis indicates that some youth still held some gender normative views on roles and responsibilities. There certainly remains room for improvement in terms of perspectives on gender equity.

Developmental Assets

A Ganar youth scored relatively high in the aggregate measure of developmental assets: the total DAP score of 42.4 is considered on the low range of "good" scores. Strong support was evidenced for both internal (e.g. constructive use of time) and external (e.g. support systems) measures. This indicates that overall A Ganar youth have strong support systems in way of factors including relationships, community, and positive values. There were no large sex-disaggregated differences in DAP scores.

Balance Across Treatment, Comparison, and Control

Overall, balance was achieved between the treatment, comparison, and control groups. Although random assignment is expected to balance all baseline characteristics between the groups (thus eliminating selection bias), random assignment can, by chance, yield unbalanced groups. In comparing the three groups along 21 key baseline characteristics, we found only one significant difference between the groups: the age at which individuals first started working. This is a key outcome measure for the evaluation, and econometric means will be used to control for differences in baseline status to derive valid impact estimates.

ANNEX A: ASSET PCS

ROBUSTNESS CHECK

In order to test the degree to which the asset measure reflects asset ownership, we split the sample into quintiles on basis of the calculated PCA score (e.g. “lowest” = 20% of sample with the lowest PCA scores, etc.). Theoretically, as quintiles increase, we should record increasing ownership of the assets. In fact, with the exception of the six cells flagged with asterisks below, the table demonstrates strong correlation between PCA scores and asset ownership (i.e. higher PCA scores are strongly associated with ownership across the entire battery of sixteen assets). This analysis substantiates the use of the PCA measure to proxy household wealth, as measured by asset ownership.

	All	Quintile				
		Lowest	Second	Third	Fourth	Highest
Motorcycle	14.2	4.6	10.2	14.5	12.6*	28.2
Car	19.3	2.1	6.5	12.5	27.8	46.8
Internet	18.8	1.3	1.6	3.7	16.1	69.0
Telephone	24.5	5.1	12.7	14.5	27.8	60.7
Computer	40.8	4.2	11.8	30.7	61.7	94.1
Bicycle	32.0	23.2	23.2	27.4	37.4	48.4
Radio	64.2	46.8	46.1*	68.0	78.7	81.4
Stove	84.2	50.6	81.6	94.6	93.9*	99.2
Sound System	44.6	8.9	24.1	50.6	60.0	78.2
Cable	58.5	24.5	47.8	58.1	72.6	88.5
Refrigerator	69.5	17.3	62.9	80.9	90.0	95.6
Piped Water	92.9	79.3	93.1	96.3	96.5	98.8
Television	96.2	82.7	99.2	99.6	99.2*	100
Cellphone	97.2	96.6	94.7*	98.3	97.4*	98.8
Electricity	97.6	89.9	98.8	99.6	99.6	99.6

* Cell deviates from trend (increasing ownership with rising quintiles)

ANNEX B RANDOMIZED RESPONSE

Randomized response, a research method first described in 1965, is a technique used to correct the documented typical underreporting of taboo behavior using traditional direct-measurement approaches. Instead of querying items directly which may be prone to ‘social desirability bias (telling researchers the socially acceptable response to a taboo question), researchers utilize probability to mask individual respondents’ answers. While this technique cannot isolate any individual response (anonymization), population parameters can be inferred in the aggregate through statistical transformation of pooled data. In the A Ganar study, respondents were asked to roll a six sided die, before answering a series of yes/no questions. The game has three rules, depending on the result of the roll:

Roll	Response
1	the respondent must answer <u>Yes</u> , regardless of the true answer
2-5	the respondent must answer the question <u>truthfully</u>
6	the respondent must answer <u>No</u> , regardless of the true answer

Total responses were tallied and a simple transformation was made to back out the one-third of forced responses (rolls of 1 and 6), resulting in estimates presented in the body of the report.

There is a large and growing body of work substantiating the methodology’s validity through comparative analyses and successful usage across varied disciplines. Some recent, peer-reviewed papers include:

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ANNEX C: QUALITATIVE SAMPLE OVERVIEW²⁸

CHILDREN INTERNATIONAL

Table 1: Participants' Sociodemographic data

NAME	AGE	PLACE OF RESIDENCE	HOUSEHOLD MEMBERS	OCCUPATION
Miguel	18	Villa Lobos II	Mother, father, and 3 siblings	Student; not working
Zoe	ND	Aldea Santa Rosita	Mother, father, and 8 siblings	Not working or studying
Benjamín	ND	Tierra Nueva	Grandparents and 2 uncles	Sells books over the phone
Miranda	19	Tamarindo	Mother, father, and 4 sisters	Not working or studying
Juan Diego	18	Villa Marina, La Comunidad, Mixco	Mother, father, and sister	Construction helper
Agustín	19	La Esperanza, El Mezquital	Mother, brother, sister-in-law, and 2 nephews	Not working or studying
María Fernanda	20	Santa Elena Barillas	Mother, father, and 2 siblings	Pharmacy assistant
Martina	18	Tierra Nueva I	Mother, father, and 2 sisters	GED student (adult program)
Luis	17	La Asunción, Santa Elena Barillas	Mother, father, grandmother, 7 siblings, sister-in-law and nephew	Not working or studying
Facundo	17	Santa Elena Barillas	Mother	High school student /construction helper
Adriana	18	Pico de la Cruz, Villa Canales	Mother and father	Cleaner in a chalet

²⁸ All participants' names have been changed for the purposes of this report, in order to maintain participant confidentiality.

Alex	23	San Miguel Petapa	Mother and father	Not working or studying
Natalia	20	El Mezquital	Mother, grandmother, and brother	Sells shakes in the market
Julieta	25	Villa Lobos I	Mother, father, sister and her 2 daughters, husband and 2 daughters	Not working or studying
Ashley	19	Lo de Bran I	Father and brother	PE instructor
Ricardo	25	San Mauricio, Palencia	Mother and brother	Different jobs in private homes
Antonia	23	4 de febrero, zona 7	Mother, 3 sisters, husband and 2 daughters	Babysits her little sister
Jimena	18	Tierra Blanca, Mixco	Mother, stepfather, 5 brothers and 5 nephews (nieces?)	Works in her mother's restaurant

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Table 2: Participants' Sociodemographic data

NAME	AGE	PLACE OF RESIDENCE	HOUSEHOLD MEMBERS	OCCUPATION
Adrián	17	San Rafael III, zone 18	orphan, Great Aunt, an aunt and her husband, and a cousin	cook's assistant
Aarón	14	El Progreso, zone 3	Mother, brother, and 2 cousins	Studied until 4th grade, is not studying or working
Santino	18	Canalitos, z 24	father, mother and 2 sisters	until recently he was a construction assistant
Martín	15	El Mezquital, z 12	grandmother and 2 siblings	student in junior high (básicos)
Cristóbal	14	Molino de las Flores, Mixco	father, mother, 3 siblings	student in junior high (básicos)
Silvana	17	La Arenera, zona 21	father, mother, brother	street clown

NAME	AGE	PLACE OF RESIDENCE	HOUSEHOLD MEMBERS	OCCUPATION
Juan Pablo	18	San Antonio, z18	grandfather, mother and 2 siblings	student in junior high (básicos) on the weekends
Christian	18	San Jorge, Amatitlán	father, mother, brother	not working or studying
Costanza	18	Mezquital, z 12	Mother and boyfriend (fiance)	Taking an adult GED class
Valentino	16	Col San Francisco, Zone 6, Mixco	grandmother, father and 2 siblings	did not finish junior high (1 básico)
Amelia	18	S Catarina Pinula	father, mother and 3 siblings	not working or studying
Ana Sofia	18	Zona 7 de Mixco	Mother, father and 5 siblings	not working or studying
Eduardo	19	San Miguel Petapa	Mother, stepfather and 4 siblings	not working or studying
Alessandra	14	Zona 25	Mother	Studying junior high (1 básico) on the weekends and grows bananas
Alejandra	15	Villalobos	Mother, father and sister	not working or studying
Carolina	19	Villalobos	husband, son, in-laws, nephews	Housewife
Valery	16	Zona I	father, step-mother and 2 siblings	junior high student on the weekends (básicos)
Luciana	ND	ND	father, mother and daughter	Works in a nixtamal mill

ANNEX D: A GANAR CASE STUDIES/BASELINE QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS

September, 2012

I. Miguel

Miguel is 18 years old and he has always lived in Villa Lobos II with both his parents and siblings. His father (63) is a plumber and his mother (50) has a pupusa stand. He only mentions one sibling specifically, his older brother (32) who is a plumber like his father.

The previous year Miguel enrolled in tercero básico, but midway through the year he started working in a toy store (his brother helped him to obtain the job; he earned Q700 bimonthly). Initially he switched to a weekend school schedule but then he also had to work Saturdays and so he dropped out. He liked the school, although he felt that the students that attended on the weekend schedule were not as serious and he suggests that they might have been involved in other things, mentioning that one of his classmates liked to smoke marijuana and one might have been a mara gang member. Miguel considered himself a good student, he did all of his homework, adding that “yo sé que me va llevar a bien, aun mejor futuro si estudio; si no lo hago me quede, para ver en qué esquina lustro.” He also liked the work in the toy store because it gave him a chance to do something so as to not be bored and he earned enough money to help his father so that he wasn’t dependent and so that he could pay for his own studies. After working there a year and seven months the toy store closed so currently he is not working (he needs to get his papers); he is enrolled in tercer básico again in a private school. He would like to attend the university to become a dentist or doctor, if he is unable to do so he commented that he wanted to be a musician (he has been playing the drums for 8 years, he also plays the trumpet and he has played with several bands). Previously, when he was 15, he worked helping his father on his vacations doing plumbing work and has also worked selling eggs with a man he knows. He enjoyed working with his father, who works on contract, he learned a lot doing so and he enjoyed the hard work. Next year he wants to study and to work. He thinks that he could work giving music lessons, which he has done for free in the past, but he could also work as a cashier at McDonald’s.

Miguel thinks that the biggest impediment to getting a job is that there are not many; to keep a job one needs to work hard and get along with everyone, he mentions an instance in which they threatened him at school and they were going to beat him up so he left through a different route to avoid conflict, saying “A las críticas me dan igual, no le pongo mucha importancia, porque yo soy como soy.” He has three close friends who also live in his neighborhood; they get together to play soccer and hang out. He says that his neighborhood is calm but he recognizes that the main street is dirty and that they extort the local vendors. When asked about the differences between how men and women spend their free time he answers that there are differences: “No sé, así como uno de hombre, no sé, se va escuchar machista, pero en mi caso me han puesto a barrer y a recoger me han puesto, pero lavar o cocinar nunca me han puesto, no sé a mi hermana le ha tocado todo eso, no sé cómo explicártelo.” Later, he clearly states “no soy machista” and he believes that men and women have the same opportunities. His father is from Huehuetenango and his mother is from Baja Verapaz. They both came to the capital in order to find better work opportunities. Neither of them speaks a language other than Spanish and Abner considers himself indigenous. He found out about the A Ganar program through a classmate, he is interested in the courses but he doesn’t know much about them. In ten years he imagines himself married with his own house and a good job. When asked how he will achieve this he replies:

“Para mí cuando uno trabaja se hace un círculo y ese círculo va ser de todos los días, así como que, digamos como estoy ahorita, tal vez como hoy, mi mamá me llevó a las 6 de la mañana a traer chicharrón para su venta, fuimos a Guajitos llegamos a las 7, regresamos a las 9 y me llamaron del colegio para tocar,

no sé nunca estoy seguro de lo que pueda suceder en mi vida. No sé qué voy hacer más tarde, si consigo trabajo, sería de la casa-trabajo-casa, ese es el círculo que te digo.”

2. Zoe

Zoe is 24 years old. Until 8 years ago she lived on a farm where her father works; now she lives in the village of Santa Rosita in a house that her father built. She lives with her mother (42, housewife), her father (52, farmer, he visits every 8 days from the farm), and 8 siblings. She has a sister (22); a brother (20, farmer); a sister (18, student); four more brothers (15, 13, 10, 8; all students); and a younger sister who is 6 (student).

Last year she helped her father and siblings with the sowing and the coffee harvesting and she cooked food for the workers. It was difficult work, “pero la necesidad hace que uno lo haga.” She earned between Q25 and Q35 per day, which she considered insufficient. In 2012 she graduated from diversificado as an accountant from the Escuela Nacional de Ciencia Comerciales América (ENCA). Zoe liked the institute, the location and it was cheap, adding that they also “enseñan valores, lo que le sirve en la vida como herramienta.” She didn’t like that sometimes she arrived late because of the bus and they wouldn’t let her in. She did not continue studying because she wanted to work and to contribute money so that her siblings can graduate as well. Brenda considers herself to be a good student, in tercero básico she had the highest grades in the whole institute; her favorite subject was accounting because “los números tienen algo que desarrollan el pensamiento y uno puede resolver muchas cosas con las matemáticas.” She has not been able to find work, but she has looked. She worked as an auxiliary accountant, a job she obtained because the place where she did her internship recommended her, but she quit because it was too far away (she took the bus in the morning at 5:15 am but the last bus to return home left at 5:45 and she didn’t get out of work until 6:30, meaning she had to walk a long way and would not arrive home until 8:30). She would like to earn a degree in business administration from the University of San Carlos in order to work for a large company. She thinks that the biggest impediments to getting jobs for youth are that they don’t present themselves well or they don’t have family members to recommend them.

Brenda has one close friend who she only sees every two months; they talk about their challenges, their dreams, and their difficulties at home. She likes her village, there is a lot of solidarity and communication, but the roads are not paved and this makes transportation out difficult at the same time that businesses don’t open, which doesn’t generate employment. She recognizes that there are instances of family violence as well as the growing and use of marijuana. In her free time Brenda likes to read literature, particularly Greek and Roman literature. She does think that men have more opportunities than women because “algunos piensan que los hombres tienen más desarrolladas sus habilidades,” and as an example she mentions that managers are generally men. Despite the fact that it should be she does not think that the division of work at home is equal, explaining: “tal vez por la educación que tiene, que piensan que tienen más que las mujeres. A una persona que no es estudiada pone más división en los quehaceres.” She found out about the program A ganar through the community coordinator and she hopes that her participation will help her to find work. In 10 years she wants to have her own business, she wants to help her parents, and she wants to have her own house but she will probably not be married.

3. Benjamín

Benjamín is 23 years old and lives in Tierra Nueva, Chinautla with his grandmother (65), who is a housewife, his grandfather (78), who sells medicinal plants in the market, and 2 uncles (52 and 34), both carpenters.

Last year he worked in customer service for a transport company. He was there for a total of 2 years; although he liked the job he quit because they were constantly being extorted, in fact one of the policemen that would deliver the money was killed. He also started studying auditing in the private University of Mariano Gálvez. He only completed his first semester because of his job, his schedule was back to back and he would arrive late so he failed 3 classes (he also doesn’t have anyone to help with his clothes or his food so he had to take care of himself). Describing how he feels he says: “la verdad algo frustrado, porque ahí sí mi sueño, lo que yo más quiero es seguir estudiando, no sé graduarme, verdad vos, ahí sí que voy a tener mejores oportunidades, y ahí sí que me

siento algo frustrado ¿verdad? porque el trabajo que tengo no es tan bueno y no me da oportunidad para estudiar, o sea no me da el tiempo.” He liked studying accounting and law, in the case of the latter he says he liked learning “cómo defendernos, o los derechos de uno, o respetar a las demás personas o como es que se maneja todo aquí en nuestro país.” Esvin wants to return to his studies, hopefully the following year, but he has problems with both time and money. He has been working for a month in telemarketing, selling books. His schedule would not currently permit him to study: he works from Monday to Saturday, sometimes even Sundays. He does not like the job because they work on commission, and it is hard to sell books when people have access to the internet. He had his first job when he was 11, he worked in a butcher’s shop over vacation for 2 months, earning Q75 per month. Later, between 13 and 19 he helped his uncles in carpentry, earning Q200 a week. He worked at the PriceSmart supermarket for 2 months, earning Q2,500 per month. After that, he worked for 6 months in a shoe factory, earning Q3,100 per month and that’s when he started at the transport company. The biggest difficulties in getting a job, according to Benjamín, are experience and having connections. Ideally he would like to work in something related to his career, accounting, but he has not been able to get one, despite applying in many places and having many interviews.

Benjamín has 5 close friends; 3 of them he doesn’t see very often but they are in contact via facebook and the phone and the other 2 he sees almost daily, they go out to eat, to see a movie, or to play sports. He admits that there is crime in his neighborhood, murders and drug selling. He also recounts that he went to live with his grandparents because of the violence in his household, specifically involving his stepfather towards his mother and, sometimes himself and the other children. He has thought about going to the U.S., but not illegally, because: “Pues como que allá hay más oportunidad para superarse uno, como que hay un mejor estilo de vida, y allí que, se cuenta que la mayoría que va, cuando regresa; regresan de una mejor forma, tienen una mejor calidad de vida, aquí sí se puede, pero como que es un poco más difícil, y a la vez conocer a un país un poco más desarrollado.” Esvin does think that men and women spend their free time differently because women don’t like to leave the house and they feel more insecure in the street. He thinks that men should help out at home: “pues pienso que es el machismo, el machismo en los hombres de que no hacen nada: para eso está la mujer, para eso me casé para que me haga todas las cosas de la casa, piensan que ellos salen a trabajar y sólo eso. Yo me di cuenta con un mi tío que no hace nada, los domingos allí está acostado viendo tele y que no hace nada, miro a mi tía y siento que está mal, por ella, porque la tiene como de su sirvienta y su cholera y siento que no es así, en mi caso pues allí que en mi casa ahí sí que hago de todo. Y en los que sí porque ahí sí tienen más conciencia, de que igual: tanto hombre como mujer tienen que colaborar en casa y ayudarse mutuamente.” He has a brother in the A ganar program and that is how he found out about it. He was motivated to participate because: “le dan a uno el curso y como que hay empresas que ya lo están observando a uno como que hay puertas, verdad, de cómo salir, o encontrar un mejor empleo. Y los cursos también, que a uno le sirve, ahí sí que todo lo que es de aprender pues es bueno.” In 10 years he wants to have an important job in a company and he wants to be married and have children.

4. Miranda

Miranda is 19 years old and has lived in Tamarindo for 15 years with her parents and 5 sisters (she does not specify where Tamarindo is), previously she lived in Santa Elena Barillas. Her grandmother bought land there and then distributed it to her children so they all have their own piece. Her father (51) is a machine operator in a factory where they cut sponges; her mother (50) is a housewife. She has 5 siblings, 4 that live in the house as well: a sister (30), a waitress in Pollo Campero; a sister (27), a supervisor in a bakery; a sister (12), a student; and another sister (14), a student who also has Down’s syndrome. She has another sister that lives elsewhere.

Last year Miranda graduated from a Christian private school two hours away with a degree in Science and Letters. She liked the school, the different activities such as band and excursions, but she didn’t like that some of the teachers only dictated and there was no practice involved. She considers herself a good student, she liked to study and she particularly liked math. She worked for a month during her vacation from school packing in a printing house, earning Q500 per month, when she worked extra hours she earned Q600. Miranda did not like the work, she worked 12 hours a day every day and it was very tiring. This year she had a temporary job for 7 days in a laboratory, packing medicine, earning Q100 per day. Her sister helped her obtain this job. She did not enroll at the university because her parents can’t finance it but she would like to study business administration at the University of San Carlos. She feels bad because she is not studying and she wants to try to get ahead. Next year

she wants to start at the university, obtain a job, learn English, build a room, and help her mother. Her sisters might also be able to help her out financially and ideally she would work as a secretary and, after obtaining her degree, be promoted to boss. When asked why she is not currently working as a secretary she responds: “porque falta de empleo. Esos puestos no le ofrecen a uno, no más empacadoras de fábrica o de limpieza, difícilmente consigue un trabajo así si uno no tiene un contacto que lo pueda meter a la empresa, a una oficina.”

Miranda has 5 close friends; she sees them one or two times a week, they go to the movies, play soccer, or sit and talk. She likes her colonia because she knows her neighbors; there is a basketball court, a market, and a nearby shopping center. She comments that sometimes there is no water in her community and that there are also robbers and members of the maras gang. There have been extortions and assassinations; she lost a cousin a few years ago. To solve the problems she suggests that they find a way to “ocupar a los que no tienen trabajo, o en otras actividades, si no les gusta trabajar, poner instituciones en donde puedan ir a jugar o bailar, no sé.” She dedicates her time to taking care of her sisters and doing domestic chores. Even though sometimes women don’t want to do some of the jobs that men do she believes that both can do anything, “como manejar, ya pueden las mujeres. Como jefes antes solo los hombres, ahora las mujeres también.” Men don’t help around the house because of machismo, she says. She found out about the A ganar program through the Children’s supervisor because her 2 younger sisters have sponsors. She is interested in the program because “que le abren una puerta a uno para superarse, una esperanza para poder encontrar trabajo; me llamo la atención, la oportunidad de estudiar.” In 10 years she wants to have graduated from the university and have a job. She would like to be single and without kids; she would like to visit another country and speak another language.

5. Juan Diego

Juan Diego is 18 years old and he has always lived in the colonia of Villa Marina, in La Comunidad, Mixco, with his parents and a sister. His mother (36) is a housewife, his father (62) is a construction worker, and his sister (19) is looking for work as she graduated with a degree in business administration. He mentions having missed a year because he broke his shinbone. Last year he entered segundo básico, attending a school near his home on Sundays, but his father was unable to pay as his sister was also studying so they would not let him take the exams and he did not complete the year. During the week Juan Diego was at home and he would visit the national hospital for medical treatments. He suffers from renal insufficiency and for the past 6 years he has been going to the hospital for kidney dialysis. There is no cure, and he wants to work because as he says, “I want to work, because my father is old... and as he says: ‘You aren’t always going to be with me’” (“Yo si quiero trabajar, porque mi papá está grande va... y como él dice: ‘No siempre va a estar conmigo’”). He does not pay for the treatments but he did have to pay for the medicine, which was expensive, now Children pays for it. Currently he only pays for transportation to the hospital, he goes 3 days a week and each treatment lasts 3 hours and 20 minutes.

He decided not to study this year because it didn’t make any sense: he would lose the year if his father couldn’t pay again and, due to his illness he knows that he might die. The following year he does want to study, he doesn’t think that his father will be unemployed anymore and he might also have a job himself and be able to pay for it. If he returns it will be to the school near his house (Q190 a month) because the other ones are more expensive and this way he wouldn’t have to pay for transportation, he could just walk. He didn’t like that the school was small and the teachers liked to scold them, even if they didn’t do anything, and the girls got away with everything. Considering himself a regular student, he pays attention but “he can’t ask questions” and then he does badly on the exams. His favorite classes were computers and art. He emphasizes that he really likes to draw. He no longer draws, he says, because he goes to work with his father.

Juan Diego misses studying, because “with more studies, as a graduate, it is easier to find work. I realized this where I go for my treatments, a young man there graduated and now he works as a secretary, he works there and then he goes to his treatment” (“con los demás estudios, graduado va, es más fácil poder conseguir trabajo. Ya me di cuenta que en donde hago mi tratamiento, un muchacho que se graduó, trabaja ahí de secretario, trabaja ahí y luego va a su tratamiento”). He currently works for his father three times a week (the days that he does not go to the hospital for treatment) in the colonia Molino de las Flores where they are remodeling a house. He likes that it distracts him. He has fun with his workmates and he doesn’t think about his illness. He doesn’t like the work itself because it is hard and he feels that his body can’t endure it. He earns Q50 a day. He also sells perfumes with another youth from his colonia, he sells them in his neighborhood and in the hospital, earning Q5 for each perfume

that he sells. The biggest challenge for young men, according to José, is to be able to study, only those that graduate get work, and particularly for him his biggest impediment is his illness: “because I have to go to treatment, to get a job requires going every day, for this reason I feel discouraged as well, I study for pleasure because I will not be able to obtain any work” (“Porque tengo que estar ido a mi tratamiento, en los trabajos se tienen que ir todos los día; por eso también me desanimo, por gusto voy a estudiar, porque ni voy a conseguir ningún trabajo”).

In the future he would like to work with computers or as a cook, when he has the ingredients he invents his own dishes, using whatever food he can find in the kitchen, which isn’t much. Next year he wants to return to his studies, but only on Sundays so that he can continue working with his father. Juan Diego has 3 very close friends, they get together every night to talk or to play ball. He admits that in his colonia people consume marijuana and he also dislikes that the streets are not asphalted because when someone is sick the ambulance can’t move quickly. Juan Diego believes that men and women can do the same work: “a woman can even work in construction because there in the molino we have seen a woman do... with her father they build a house and she was there as a construction worker. It is a man’s job but she could do it. There is a young man from over there that works cleaning, what a woman does a man can do as well” (“Como una mujer puede ser hasta albañil, porque nosotros allá en el molino, hemos visto a una mujer hizo..., con el papá hicieron una casa, ahí está la mujer de albañil. También es trabajo de hombre pero ella puede. Hay un chavo de allá que trabaja de hacer limpieza, también lo que puede hacer una mujer lo puede hacer un hombre”). His father is from San Marcos and he migrated to the city to find better work opportunities. He found out about the program through his mother’s friend, he was interested in the courses and his expectations are that it will help him, when he finishes he will look for work. In 10 years he imagines himself graduating from the university and having a family.

6. Agustín

Agustín is 19 years old and has always lived in the colonia of La Esperanza, in El Mezquital. He lives with his mother (48), who has worked for the past 7 years cleaning in the Ministry of Public Health, his brother (25), who works in lithography, a sister-in-law (25), who is a housewife, a niece (4), and a nephew (1 year and 3 months). His father has another family.

Last year Agustín helped his father for 5 months in his work, he distributes ricitos, earning Q100 per day. This is the only job he has had. He did not study the previous year, he graduated with a degree in computers in 2012 but he did not enter the university in 2013, he says, because he missed the registration dates and because his mother wanted him to work to be able to pay to continue his studies. He did not like much about the school where he studied, particularly that there were not enough computers for everyone and they only received instruction 1 time per month. He considers himself an average student, he liked studying other countries but he did not like math because the instructor did not explain things very well. He has been unable to find work. He wants to study systems engineering next year but he has not looked into how much it will cost or where he will go. He would like to work in a call center or in a store, he has an upcoming interview for a job in a call center.

He has 2 close friends; he sees them daily as they live in his colonia. When they get together they play soccer or steal wifi from a neighbor to get on facebook. In addition to his colonia he likes the block he lives on, he says that it is calm and free of mara gang members. He knows that there is a lot of delinquency as well as weapons in other parts. He has considered moving to another colonia where he has more family and where he won’t be so bored. Agustín thinks that men and women have the same opportunities when it comes to working in a call center, for example, but not in jobs that require a lot of physical work. His mother is from Izabal and his father is from the capital. He learned about the program through propaganda in his community, he submitted his paperwork and Children called him. He hopes to be able to learn the basic things so he can get a job. In 10 years he imagines himself in the university, with a good job, married and with a family.

7. María Fernanda

María Fernanda is 20 years old and she has always lived in Santa Elena Barillas. She lives with her father (49), who works in a pharmacy; her mother (40), a housewife; a sister (18), who works in the Banco Industrial; and a brother (11), a student.

She graduated with a degree in Science and Letters in 2011, she liked studying medicine the most and she liked her classmates and her teachers but transportation was a problem since they got out late. Her favorite class was biology and she considered herself a good student: she always did her work and she received decent grades. After graduating she decided that she needed a break. In 2012, she did take the university entrance exams (San Carlos) to be able to begin in 2013, she passed the vocational and basic exams but not the specific ones. She had wanted to study medicine, but now she wants to switch to administration or chemical pharmacy, she did take these exams this past month and is waiting for the results. In order to attend she will have to work during the day, most likely as a receptionist as they have more flexible hours, and take classes in the evenings. She has only tried to attend public universities since her parents can't pay for a private one. Since she graduated from the institute she has looked for work but she has not found anything, she had one interview but it didn't work out. She says that she is bored now that she is not studying. She currently helps out in a pharmacy, where her father also works, but she does not receive a salary. María Fernanda likes the work: "porque me gusta investigar acerca de la medicina, cual sería buena para tal persona, el hecho de cómo hacerla; ayudar a las personas si algún día soy doctora. También he soñado con poner un hospital o por lo menos una clínica, siempre he querido hacer esto, porque mi papá siempre ha trabajado en farmacias, yo me iba con él a trabajar los fines de semana, me mantenía leyendo las cajas de medicina." The biggest impediment to finding work is having experience. In the future she says that if she is unable to become a chemical pharmacist she would like to work as a secretary or in a bank. In order to realize her dreams she has to continue fighting: "O sea, nunca rendirme, en la Universidad seguí haciendo los exámenes y estudiar más, leer más, hacer las pruebas de cómo me lo hicieron, a practicar, tener paciencia y nunca rendirme. Porque hay veces en la que digo: ¡ya no quiero!, porque mis tíos han hecho comentarios, dicen, para que quieras seguir estudiando y trabajar, si te vas a casar y te van a mantener; pero yo quiero tener mis cosas, no quiero que me mantengan. Esa es mi idea."

She does not have any friends; she has lost touch with all of them from the institute. She does not like the fact that the people in her colonia gossip and that it is a dirty place. María Fernanda has a boyfriend who lives near a famous hotel and when she visits his house people say that they are going there. She has heard about car theft as well as abductions of young girls but nothing has happened to her family. She has been robbed twice, both times in the capital. When asked if men and women have the same opportunities she replies: "Todos tenemos derecho a trabajar, todos tenemos derecho a superarnos poco a poco, pero no por ser hombre él va tener más oportunidades porque es más fuerte, ni porque tengan más tiempo de horario, dicen muchas mujeres por el horario no quieren trabajar por lo peligroso y todo eso; pero si uno se quiere superar haría eso." In work men and women do not have the same opportunities because men can carry more, in the factories, and because no woman would become a bricklayer. She heard about the A ganar program through some fliers that were left in the pharmacy; she was interested in participating because she heard that "lo ayudaban a uno... como que los capacitaban para tener buena comunicación, les enseñaban a usar la computadora, como contestar el teléfono, como vestirse, como hacer su currículo, eso decía." In 10 years she imagines herself as a chemical pharmacist, with her own house and far from Santa Elena Barillas.

8. Martina

Martina is 18 years old and she has always lived in the settlement Tierra Nueva I Chinautla. She lives with her father (38), who delivers supplies for a company called ARMANSA, her mother (48), who is a housewife and she is studying in segundo básico, and 2 younger sisters (15 and 12), who are both students. Last year Silvia studied tercer básico in an institute in her neighborhood. Currently she is attending a GED night school program from which she will graduate this year. She opted for this program because her family doesn't have money and this way she will finish more quickly and be able to help her parents out. In primary school she lost a year because she didn't study and in 2011 she lost a year because she was depressed, she was taking medication. Silvia likes the institute she is attending now: the teachers are good, they take the time to explain things, and they understand that many of the students also have jobs. While the facilities are pretty, like a university, outside she doesn't like that there are members of the mara gang that look at her in perverted ways. She considers herself a good student: she

puts forth effort and she doesn't waste time, she takes advantage of every moment she has to study. Silvia likes chemistry the best, the numbers and the formulas.

She would like to go to the university and study business administration (because she wants to work with numbers) or communications (because it has to do with languages, which she likes). She has never worked but she wants to get a job next year. In the future, if she studies business administration, she wants to work in a bank. The biggest challenges with regards to getting work include that some youth don't accept that they have to take what they can get, even if it isn't what they want, and they don't have the right educational qualifications. Next year she hopes to attend the university, San Carlos, although she already missed the first deadline. If she doesn't make it she might study in a private university, there is one that is cheap and that has a program in clinical psychology that interests her. She would also like to be working in a bank, as a cashier or in customer service.

She has 2 close friends, both are studying in the university, when they get together they go to the movies or the shopping center. With regards to her colonia she does not like that it is dangerous. Drugs are bought and sold and various youth that are involved have been killed. She also mentions that the police don't get involved even though there are robberies and extortions. Her family has thought about moving to a more secure neighborhood. When asked about the differences in how young girls and young men spend their free time she responds: "there is a difference, because what the young men do is I don't know they waste time, they are involved in vices, whereas the young women they have children and they try to get ahead with their child even though they themselves are still children" ("Hay diferencia, porque lo que hacen los hombres, o sea los patojos de ahí, es no sé, perder su tiempo, meterse en vicios; mientras las patojas, tienen hijos y tratan de salir adelante con su niño, a pesar que ellas también son niñas"). She believes that men and women can do the same work, sometimes men take the role of mother, when their wives leave them, and they take care of the children and sometimes women work in construction. Silvia has heard of machismo and she gives the following example: "I realize that in sports when the young men play, and there are always more than one, that say that a young girl shouldn't play because she is a woman, it's better if it is only us, that is machista because it is only because she is a woman" ("En los deporte me doy cuenta, cuando juegan los patojos; y siempre hay más de alguno, que dice que juegue la fulanita, 'ay no porque ella es mujer', mejor solo nosotros, eso es machista, por ser mujer").

She found out about the A ganar program through a neighbor, whose son is involved. Her response was: "well since I haven't worked it will help me to know how to talk and to express myself when I look for work, that was what most interested me" ("bueno como no he trabajado me va ayudar, a saber de cómo hablar y expresarme al pedir un trabajo, eso fue lo que más me interesó"). In 10 years she imagines herself graduated from the university, married and with a family, and with her own psychology clinic or business.

9. Luis

Luis is 17 years old and he is from the colonia La Asunción, Santa Elena Barillas. Last year he and his family moved into a new home in the colonia, one that his father and brother bought. He lives with his father (42), a municipal employee, his mother (38), a housewife, his grandmother (79), a housewife, 5 brothers (22, married and a construction worker; 19 store clerk; 14, student; 11, student; 4), and 2 sisters (9, a student, and 7, she does not study), his older brother's wife (19), a housewife, and a nephew (4 months). He does have another sister who lives elsewhere.

For four months last year Luis worked independently with his oldest brother 3 or 4 days a week painting houses and working in gardens, earning Q75 per day. He did not like this work, it was hard and they earned little (they worked from 6 in the morning to 5 in the afternoon), adding: "porque, no sé, el poder estudiar más. No sé, quizás estoy hecho, para un mejor trabajo, tengo capacidad para algo mejor. Sí, me gustaría un mejor trabajo." Luis is not currently studying; he studied up to tercero básico in an institute in 2012. He liked the institute, for example the teachers and the cultural activities, although he did not like it that they always punished him, sometimes he deserved it but even when he didn't they still blamed him "porque era el más nombrado de la clase." Luis did consider himself to be a good student, sometimes he even earned extra points for helping others out, and he liked anything that had to do with numbers. He dropped out because of a lack of money, his siblings also need money to attend school. He wants to return to school when he has the resources, either support from his father or his own job.

He just recently stopped working. He has always worked in his colonia, saying that he has tried to find work elsewhere but “siempre que iba a buscar me piden ser mayor de edad, tener mi DPI, tarjeta de pulmones, antecedentes policíacos y nada. Pero lo intenté.” He obtained his first job as his father’s helper in construction when he was 8, earning Q100 a week, and he continued for 3 or 4 years. When he was 11 he helped his aunt in a restaurant, earning Q25 and two meals a day. Then he worked as a sales assistant, transporting water jugs from the truck to stores or houses. He comments that the biggest impediment to getting employment is the family, who can’t help their children to get ahead, as well as questions of education, age, and having the right papers. In the future he would like to be a chauffer for a company, a seller, an office worker, or a manager of a small grocery store.

Luis has 5 close friends; they get together frequently to play pool or soccer, to go out with girls, or to smoke. He comments that in his colonia there is no water and some streets aren’t paved. He adds that there are mara gang members, assaults, murders, and drugs. He does not think that women and men have the same work opportunities because: “una mujer no puede trabajar de albañil, un hombre no puede trabajar de amo de casa.” He has heard of machismo and the example he gives is “Querer dominar a las mujeres. O sea, dominarlas al modo del hombre, pegarles, regañarlas, humillarlas.” His mother is from the same colonia, his father is from Llano Largo, Baja Verapaz. William found out about the program A ganar because a coordinator (he does not mention of what) talked to his mother. After completing the program he hopes to work and to help others that need it, explaining “O sea, cerca de la casa hay una familia que no tiene mucho, pues, no sé, me gustaría ayudar a mi familia y a la otra también.” In 10 years he would like to have bettered himself and to see his siblings bettering themselves as well, in addition to being able to help his mother financially. The first step in achieving this he believes is completing the A ganar program.

10. Facundo

Facundo is 17 years old and he has lived the past 5 years in Santa Elena Barillas, before that he lived in zone 17 of the capital. They changed residence because they had been renting, which was very expensive, and his mother had land so they built a house on it after his father died. He lives with his mother (51), a cook in private homes who only returns home for 2 days every week.

Last year Facundo studied on Saturdays and he worked during the week. He had two jobs: 1) he worked as a carpenter for 2 months with his uncle, earning Q350 per week, and 2) after that he worked building walls for 3 months, earning Q350 a week. Facundo didn’t like either of the jobs. He finished his fourth year of bachillerato in graphic design and he is now in his fifth year and he will be graduating. He likes the school, and he says that he is a good student, this year he has worked even harder. His favorite class is math. Currently he has a full time job, from Monday to Friday, working construction (he makes the mix to stick bricks together) with his uncle for which he earns Q400 a week. He doesn’t really like the work and he is in the sun all day and he adds: “No tengo la capacidad de tener una idea, tal vez de cómo podría ir ese trabajo... Yo prácticamente solo hago, lo que me dicen, no lo que yo creería.” He would like to study architecture in the university, but because of the materials that they require it is very expensive. As a result, he is considering business administration; next year he wants to study in the university and he hopes to have a job working in an office, doing paperwork or working with computers (he has tried finding such a job but he is too young). Facundo thinks that the biggest impediment to getting work is age and that some people don’t have enough education.

Facundo has 2 close friends, but he doesn’t see them a lot, only when there are fiestas. He comments that in his colonia there is not a lot of crime and that it has recreational areas. At the same time, there are no jobs in the area; there is a lot of trash; and in nearby areas he has heard about extortions and murders. He knows about a drug seller but he does not consider him to be a bother to the neighbors. In his free time Facundo plays the guitar and he plays soccer. He thinks that women and men have the same opportunities although there are jobs women shouldn’t do, such as construction, because it is too hard, and working at night, because it is too dangerous. He gives the following example of machismo: “Tal vez las personas que dicen que no pueden salir a trabajar las mujeres, es machismo, porque el hogar necesita entradas económicas, pero a veces el hombre no da suficiente entrada económica y no permiten que la mujer salga.” His mother was born in the colonia but his father is from Santa Rosa. He has a brother enrolled in Children and he found out about A ganar from a meeting. In 10 years he imagines himself graduating from the university and with his own family.

11. Adriana

Adriana is 18 years old (she has her DPI) and she has lived for the past 4 years in the colonia Pico de la Cruz, in Villa Canales. Before that she lived in Santa Elena Barillas but they changed residence due to her father's work. She lives with her father (51), a bricklayer, her mother (48), a housewife, both of whom are guards for a chalet on whose land they also live, although their house is separate.

Adriana completed tercer básico in 2010 and later she chose to abandon her studies, at first stating that it was because she didn't want to continue and later she changes this, stating that it was due to a lack of money. She liked the school, and she particularly liked the computer center because she was able to learn new things and she liked drawing. She would have liked to study hospitality (hotels) and tourism but it was too much money. She feels bad that she is no longer studying, and she considers herself to be a good student, who earned good grades. She has plans to return to her studies next year but in this case only on the weekends and if she has a job as well. In terms of her future studies she mentions that she is interested in psychotherapy and with reference to work she would like to teach in a computer center. Currently she works Thursday mornings for three hours cleaning the chalet, earning Q80; her father obtained the job for her. She thinks that young people have problems finding work because of how they present themselves. In her free time, she enjoys drawing and painting as well as listening to music and singing.

Adriana has 5 close friends; she doesn't see them very often because they live in Santa Elena Barillas but when they do get together they talk and walk around. She likes her colonia but she admits that the road is in bad shape and there is a lot of pollution, to solve these problems she says that they could "organizarse todos para que todo esté bien." She does not think that there is a lot of violence or crime in Pico de la Cruz. Adriana thinks that both men and women should share responsibilities in the home and that they both have the same opportunities "porque todos son... A todos nos tienen que tomar por igual, no se puede hacer a alguien menos que al otro." Both of her parents were born in Santa Elena Barillas. In 10 years she imagines herself working in a clinic as a psychotherapist.

12. Alex

Alex is 23 years old and he has lived in San Miguel Petapa for the previous few months. Before that, he lived in Villa Canales, they changed residence because they bought their own house, which is now paid for. He lives with his father (55), who makes and repairs shoes in the streets, and his mother (56), a housewife.

Last year, Alex did not study, he worked in a family business in Puerto de San José selling clothing, earning between Q800 and Q1,200 every 2 weeks. He liked the work because he likes selling things and he likes helping clients. He is not currently studying because he didn't have a job when the school year started so he was unable to pay for it. The last grade he completed was tercero básico, in 2010, he liked the school but he would have preferred to receive more classes in computers because it is so important. Later he studied pastry making for one year in the INTECAP on the weekends, but since he didn't have a fixed income he could no longer pay for the course. He feels bad that he is not studying and, although he was not the best student since he was also working, he tried hard. Next year he would like to continue his studies, after he works more and saves up his money, although he would not return to a regular school because it would take too long before he could find work. If he returns to INTECAP he could receive training and be able to obtain a job more quickly. He wants to continue to study to be a pastry chef although it is expensive because of all of the materials that are required. He would have to take the courses on the weekends as he would have to obtain a job during the week. He would like to work in a restaurant and he went to the capital already to try to find work in Pollo Campero, MC, and Burger King but they won't consider him because he doesn't have training.

He obtained his first job through the help of his aunt when he was 15, it lasted 2 years. He sold miscellaneous products with another man, they travelled 4 different routes starting Mondays and returning home on Fridays, earning Q800 a week. The man eventually left for the U.S. so he lost this job. After that he worked for one year and a few months repairing tires, earning Q1,200 every 2 weeks. He found this job on his own and he eventually quit. His boss was supposed to pay him at the end of every week so that he could pay his school on

Saturdays, but, he liked to drink a lot and would tell him that he had to wait until Monday, so Alex would have to borrow money from home. This past year he worked for 3 months helping his uncle to paint a supermarket, earning Q1,350 every 2 weeks. Currently he is making baked goods at home and he sells them, earning Q125 to 150 per item. In the future he would like to work as a seller or a pastry cook in a restaurant or hotel. In terms of obtaining jobs the biggest impediment is to have enough education and experience, the latter is a problem because as he explains: “ahora piden experiencia, es lo que piden y si uno no trabaja no va a tener experiencia y no le dan la oportunidad a uno de trabajar para poder tener experiencia, porque igual uno tiene que empezar desde abajo, para poder superarse y ahora en las empresas piden si... Por lo menos año de experiencia, ¿y cómo vas a tener experiencia si no has empezado a trabajar?” In order to keep a job Alex says that it is important to “hacer el trabajo con armonía,” meaning that some people do a job only to do it but it is important to feel passion. In the future he would like to work in a hotel or a restaurant as a pastry chef.

Alex has 7 close friends who he met in the evangelical church; he sees them at church events as well as when they hang out. He likes his colonia because it is small but he reports that it still has dirt roads. There is no crime that he is aware of but there are problems with alcoholism and domestic violence. He has been robbed 3 times leaving work. He thinks that both men and women have the same work opportunities, although there are certain jobs that he doesn't think women would want because they are difficult. The division of labor at home in his colonia is not equal, because “ahora existe tanto el machismo, en los hogares que 'Este es tu trabajo y éste es el mío', 'Tú tenés que hacer esto, porque esto es de mujeres y yo hago esto, porque yo traigo el dinero para la casa...’, but he personally does not feel that way because “las cosas no son así, tanto los hombres como las mujeres tienen derecho a hacer cosas ambos.” His parents are originally from San Martín Jilotepeque, Chimaltenango. His grandparents speak kaqchikel but did not teach it to their children. Nevertheless, Alex considers himself indigenous. He found out about the program because they gave out information in his brother's school. His expectations are that the program “me puede ayudar en ese sentido que yo quiero seguir trabajando, entonces tanto como manipulación de alimentos, como piden las empresas ahora, y servicio al cliente, me ayudaría bastante.” In 10 years he imagines himself working in a hotel outside of the capital, studying international food or baking.

13. Natalia

Natalia is 20 years old. She is from Villa Lobos but she has lived for the previous 7 years in El Mezquital; they moved in order to care for her grandfather, who has since died. She lives with her mother, who washes and irons for people she knows, her grandmother and her brother, who is a student of segundo básico. Her parents separated and she does not have a relationship with her father.

Last year she graduated as an accountant. She liked the school where she studied: the instructors were excellent although it was a bit small. At the same time, she worked and still works on weekends selling shakes in the market (earning Q25 per day), she obtained the job through her mother's friend. This is the only job that she has had. Currently she is not studying but she is taking the admission exams to study communication science at USAC. She took them the previous year but did not pass. Natalia misses studying, particularly the routine, and she considers herself a good student: she always finished her homework and behaved. Her plans for the following year are to study at the university and to get a good job to be able to help her mother. In the future she would like to work in a bank. She does not currently have a permanent job because she hasn't looked and when she has they have rejected her papers because of the zone she lives in. She thinks that the biggest difficulty in getting a job is having enough education, and keeping a job requires behaving and being responsible, punctual and honest.

Natalia has 3 close friends; two of them she sees almost daily, they go shopping or to eat. The only thing that she likes about her colonia are her neighbors, they are very nice and they worry about others. She comments that there is a lot of violence in her colonia, such as fights between the 18 and 13 maras. She also mentions that there are many murders and instances of extortion. She has ex classmates from primary school that have been sent to prison and others that have been killed. She has been robbed 2 times but neither time was in her colonia. She has never thought about leaving because there is no place to go. In her free time, she is on facebook, she watches television, paints her nails, and she plays soccer. She thinks that men and women do the same things in their spare time and that they have the same work opportunities; however, she also says that the men are the head of the house and “pues las mujeres en su hogar verdad, va y que no... que sean dedicadas a su casa y que no,

no trabajen, y los hombres pues que sean los encargados de llevar dinero a la casa.” Her mother is from the capital and her father is from San Andrés Villa Seca, Retalhuleu. She heard about the A ganar program from her church. In 10 years she imagines herself as a university graduate and working as a radio DJ.

14. Julieta

Julieta is 25 years old and she has always lived in the colonia Villa Lobos I, zone 12. She lives with her father (72, retired); her mother (65, a housewife); her husband (31, a bricklayer who works occasionally); her 2 daughters (5, a student, and 2); a sister (31, a housewife); and her two daughters (15, works in a shop; 11, student).

Julieta completed tercero básico but she did not continue her studies because of a lack of money. She liked the school where she studied, particularly studying accounting, and she liked that they offered sports. She considered herself a good student: she studied hard. Her father was paying for her studies and was unable to continue at the same time that she met her husband, “pues me casé con él va, ya no pude seguir estudiando.” She feels bad that she was unable to continue, she explains: “me hubiera encantado seguir porque yo hasta anduve buscando dónde estudiar y ya cuando tenía lugar y había ganado el examen de admisión, mi papá me dijo que no me iba a ayudar económicamente, entonces...ahorita yo me arrepiento porque digo ‘si yo le hubiera echado más ganas hubiera seguido’ porque me estuviera ayudando bastante.” She would like to continue studying and has looked into schools and their prices, but she needs to find a job first. Her first job was as a packer in a supermarket when she was 16; she was at this job for 2 years earning Q800 every 2 weeks. While she had this job she would study in the morning and work in the afternoon, and she was able to give what she earned to her family. At the same time, she was taking a nursing course on the weekends for a year and a half at a private institute, she obtained a degree as a nurse’s assistant but it is not recognized by the ministry. She did her nursing residency in a hospital where she then worked for 1 year. They eventually offered her a permanent position, but in the meanwhile she got pregnant. After that she worked for 3 years in a clinic in her colonia. This job ended when the clinic had to close as it could not pay the extortion fees. She has been looking for work as a nurse in private hospitals, responding to job ads, since 2011 but has not found anything. She says that the biggest difficulties in finding work is the need for young people to be “educados de estudiar y educados de la vocalización,” the latter meaning to have respect and not speak badly. In the future she would like to work in a bank after graduating as a bookkeeper since she has always liked accounting.

Julieta has 5 close friends; they all live in her colonia and she sees them a lot, they spend time talking and eating. In her colonia she only likes the shopping center, where there are guards, because there are maras as well as robberies and extortions. There have also been murders and there are youth that have tattoos, are armed, and are poorly dressed. They have robbed her cellular as she was leaving her home. She has thought about moving to a different colonia, specifically when they started leaving notices in homes that everyone was going to have to start paying a “tax,” although nothing has come of this yet. Julieta believes that men and women have the same work opportunities, and of machismo she says: “son de los que quieren tener la autoridad y pegarle a la mujer, y no hacer nada en ayudar a la esposa en nada.” She heard about the program through the DINER coordinator (Children), and she was interested in participating because “pues de que si uno quería hacer algo le iban dar capacitación para uno superarse de ser alguien más, de lo que uno es”. In 10 years she imagines herself in a nice house with a good job and a degree, adding “no estarme matando tanto va sino que estar... ya relajada un poco”.

15. Ashley

Ashley is 19 years old and she is from the colonia Lo de Bran I. Her parents separated 6 years ago and since then she has lived with her father (42, foreman) and her brother (17, a student). Her brother is graduating this year with a degree (diversificado) in construction.

Last year Ashley graduated from a private college with a degree in public administration. She didn’t like the school where she studied, because they charged so much for excursions, but she liked the teachers and she really liked computer class. She considers herself a regular student, she very much liked the debates when they had to learn theory and find legal support for their arguments, but she didn’t feel like she wanted to get as involved

when it was a topic that she wasn't as interested in. She did not continue studying because of a lack of money but she would like to find permanent work in order to finance her own education. Sometimes she misses studying, stating: "me siento que, ¿qué estoy haciendo de mi vida? ¿Qué me está pasando? ¿Por qué estoy desperdiciando esto?, ahorita tal vez no me quejo, pero ya más adelante tal vez me va a doler los meses que estoy perdiendo que estoy dejando pasar, y así." Ideally she would like to study social work in the USAC or complete a degree in a technical career, such as administration, through INCAPEC. Eventually she would love to work as a social worker or in medicine. That was the career she really wanted but she says that in tercero she became rebellious. She performed poorly in her physics class, and that affected her ability to take the required exam. For this reason, she is particularly interested in social work related to maternity.

Currently she works in a school as a PE instructor, earning Q2,300 every two months, but this job is only for a few months. She received the job through a contact her Aunt had. She was very nervous the first day as she is teaching children and they got out of control, but she also learned a lot: "ese día aprendí algo de una nueva técnica más que todo, de no ponerlos a jugar futbol, ahí nos enseñaron de que tenemos que inculcar el fútbol y toda la educación física fomentando valores, y entonces no me funcionó el primer día me estresé bastante porque todos se me alborotaron." As a result of this experience, Ashley feels like she is learning to be a good leader, which she elaborates: "el líder tampoco no es solo mandar, sino que yo pienso que también es interactuar, involucrarse así también en ellos." She had two previous jobs. First, she helped to make purses, treating the cloth and gluing it, this job lasted a week. After that she worked with her father cooking in a taco cart. Her father passed the cart on to her aunt, who kept it open until later (9:30 PM) and he did not like that Ashley was working until so late in the streets so she had to stop.

Ashley has 6 or 7 close friends; they don't get together as frequently as they used to but when they do they eat, go to the movies, or walk around. In her colonia she enjoys the activities that her catholic church organizes, the fact that culture is still promoted. She comments that there is a lot of delinquency and crime, such as extortions and the murder of innocent people. There are also gangs and people consume drugs. She also mentions that there are dysfunctional families and unemployment in the colonia. She has thought about going to the United States, but then she thinks: "luego al ver las películas ese sueño americano es, solo un sueño, y así pero ya cuando estoy consciente digo no ya no ¿Para qué?, si lo que se puede hacer allá se puede hacer acá, y más se puede lograr acá por el amor de la familia." She doesn't believe that women never have free time, unlike men, and when they do they use it to rest. For the most part she thinks that men and women can do the same jobs, except in the case of dangerous jobs because whereas she says that women are not weak men are just stronger. Her grandparents are migrants from San Juan Sacatepéquez. She has been sponsored in Children since she was 3 years old because of her grandmother and she mentions that the only thing that she doesn't like about it is that it is far away and sometimes there is no money for all of them to take the bus so they have to walk. In 10 years she imagines herself with her own business, perhaps a store, and with a large house with rooms for rent.

16. Ricardo

Ricardo is 25 years old and he has lived in the colonia San Mauricio, Palencia (km23 of the road to Atlántico) since he was 21 years old. Before that he lived in Mixco, they moved because his parents bought land so they didn't have to rent anymore. He lives with his mother (48, housewife and nanny) and his brother (23, he works); his parents separated 2 years ago.

In 2007 Ricardo graduated with a bachelor's degree in computers with a commercial focus. He attended school on Saturdays; he liked the location of the school because it was close but he didn't like that sometimes the teachers would not show up and he would lose a whole day of instruction. He says that he likes to study and to learn. Despite his desire to study at the university he has been unable to do so for economic reasons and because having a job makes it difficult to study when he has to work weekends. He feels bad that he is unable to study because, as he repeats several times, "siempre he querido sobresalir." His favorite class was science. In fact, he originally wanted to be a teacher. He would like to study business administration at USAC, and they have a weekend plan so that he could work during the week, while completing a technical degree.

He had his first job over vacation in 2003, his father worked in a house and he cared for the dogs, he earned Q150 a week. After that he worked for 2 years in a refrigerator repair shop, taking apart equipment and

earning Q200 a week. This is when he switched to a Saturday study plan and thanks to this job he was able to finance trade school and graduate. After that, Ricardo worked for 2 years as a sales assistant selling encyclopedias in various places for a company, earning around Q2,400 a month (he was paid on commission). After that, he continued as a sales assistant in a bank but only for 2 months: it was too far away and the hours were long. He then worked for a month and a half in a factory near his house, earning Q1,000 every two weeks. For one and a half months, he had a job at a pharmacy. Then he had a job for 9 months in VECESA. Through a recruitment agency he found a job in a company, which lasted for 2 years, from 2010 to 2012, he was laid off when they did a reorganization. Currently, he is self-employed as a gardener, painter, plumber, and electrician for private homes; he likes the work, anything to do with electricity and carpentry, but it is only an occasional and informal job, he earns Q50 for a half day. Next year he hopes to find a job in a company as a sales assistant, doing paperwork. In terms of the difficulties that young people have in finding employment he says:

Una la experiencia laboral hay mucha demanda va suponete que a veces no dan oportunidades ya quieren personas que ya sepan todo va pues el trabajo y nadie aprende, nadie viene a aquí ya sabiendo va entonces piden mucha experiencia, quieren experiencia y no dan oportunidad de que uno tenga esa experiencia pues esa es la mayor dificultad va y la situación económica que se vive a nivel mundial va, que no hay trabajo muchos impuestos les cobran a las empresas, entonces las empresas se van a veces de este país no sé cómo estará en otros lados a pesar de que la demanda laboral es en todo el mundo va no solo aquí en Guatemala va, ajá y mucha violencia también porque suponete que hoy en día, que mucha investigación que hacen va por tanta extorsión porque hay muchos que no entran en una empresa por trabajar va si no por hacer una maldad va entonces, hay mucha investigación y cualquier cosita va entonces no le dan el trabajo a uno va esas son las mayores dificultades que yo me he encontrado pues que yo he andado así buscando

Ricardo has 4 close friends; he sees them almost every day, they get together and talk, listen to music, or go running. He likes the tranquility of his colonia, he comments that there is not much delinquency. There are problems with water service, the streets and the noise of the cars, and with drainage. He has never seen maras nor have there been robberies or murders. There is no violence or crime. He has been robbed twice but on urban buses. Ricardo has thought about moving closer to the capital since it would make getting a job easier. They don't like to hire people from far away because of the transportation problems. He does think that men and women do different things in their spare time because: "Tal vez porque ha existido a veces mucho machismo va de parte del... de uno de hombre va, 'No que yo me voy al campo y tú te quedas haciendo la comida,' va cosas así pues o que no, 'eso no lo hagas porque eso solo es de hombres,' Video juegos y todo va o salir a correr aunque hoy en día casi no va pero si eso siento yo que..." He also thinks that men and women have different opportunities for work, explaining: "en el ámbito administrativo igual le dan más prioridad al hombre porque una mujer dicen: bueno no puede salir muy tarde del trabajo va que uno de hombre ahí sí que es el que más tiene más esas capacidades y suponete que aquí la demanda es más algo físico que se hace pues entonces tal vez la mujer no tiene la capacidad de desempeñar algún cargo físico suponete mecánica o cosas así pues." In terms of household chores, his mother taught him how to wash his clothes and his dishes and how to clean his room so he has always participated.

His father is from Mixco and his mother is from Suchitepéquez, she migrated to be a domestic servant. He heard about the program A Ganar from a neighbor. His expectations are "Ah pues espero que me ayuden pues a modo de capacitarme pues y encontrar un... como por decir para mí, si puede ser una salida pues o una entrada se podría decir para poder colocarme tal vez en alguna área pues o alguna empresa pues." In 10 years he imagines himself working for a company and married with children and his own house and with a technical career and a university degree.

17. Antonia

Antonia is 23 years old and for the last 5 years she has lived in the colonia 4 de febrero, zone 7. Before that she lived in Lo de Fuentes, zone 11 of Mixco. She moved when her mother, who was pregnant, separated from her father. She currently lives with her mother (43, catalog salesperson), 3 sisters (26, catalog salesperson; 24, repairs shoes; 5, student); 2 daughters (7, student; and 2); and her husband (23, repairs shoes with her father in the terminal). Her first daughter is the result of a rape that occurred in her previous colonia, she prefers to not talk about it, although she does say that she never brought charges against him and her parents supported her when she ended up pregnant. Her second daughter is her husband's. Her father does not live with them but she

has a relationship with him, although she has a lot of resentment because he helps her sister out economically but not her.

She started tercero básico in 2006, but that was when she ended up pregnant the first time and even though they allowed her to continue studying her performance suffered and she knew that she was going to miss a year anyway. In 2009 she returned and completed tercero básico in a private college, she studied on the weekends in order to care for her daughter during the week. Antonia did not like the school, the teachers were lazy and did not teach well. She did not continue studying after that because she didn't have anyone to care for her daughter. She did consider herself a good student, and her favorite subject was math. From 2011 to 2012 she worked in a supermarket as a product promoter; she abandoned this job when she was 4 months pregnant the second time (there was fear of a miscarriage because she was on her feet so much). Last year she worked as a nanny, taking care of her nephews earning Q250 a month from her sister, Q400 from her brother, and Q200 from her mother. In 2013 she was employed as a packer, earning Q1,600 a month. She abandoned this job because the woman who cared for her baby, who was 7 months old, did not do a good job and she was suffering from malnutrition. Currently she takes care of her little sister (earning Q200) and her daughters. Next year she wants to study diversificado at nights and work in the mornings, preferably in something related to cooking.

Antonia has 3 close friends; one of them she sees daily and when they get together they talk. She considers her colonia to be dangerous and she is afraid to go out. There are mara gang members, incidents of extortion, and she guesses that there are about 4 murders per month. The only thing that she likes is the daycare. She would like to change colonias because it horrifies her that her daughters could be in danger. Antonia does think that there is a difference between what men and women do in their free time, explaining: "yo creo que sí, porque a veces los hombres a veces hasta salen a molestar y todo... Porque así como uno de mujer, tiene como que más responsabilidad en los hijos, en cambio los hombres dicen 'Ahorita vengo' y se van, en cambio uno de mujer no tan fácil dice 'Bueno, ahorita vengo y te dejo a los niños', por eso digo yo que hay diferencias porque los hombres, siento que a veces, se sienten con más libertad, cosa que no debería ser porque como humanos tendríamos que ser iguales." She also comments that men don't help around the house because that is how they have been educated, although when she was working her own husband would prepare dinner as he arrived home first. She heard about A Ganar from a friend, she wants to learn about cooking, and when asked about her expectations she replies: "No sé, que a mí me gusta... Porque, sin importar... o sea le ayudan a uno, va, sin mirar como dicen raza, origen, color, ni nada de eso... Lo ayudan con intenciones buenas a uno." In 10 years she imagines herself in her own house in a place that is not as dangerous with her daughters and husband.

18. Jimena

Jimena is 18 years old and she has lived in the colonia Tierra Blanca in zone I of Mixco for the past 16 years. She lives with her mother (52, she owns a restaurant in the market), her step-father (36, seller), 5 siblings (39, tostada seller; 24, mechanic's helper; 22, seller with her step-father; 13, student, and 8, student) and 5 nephews (15, 13, 10, 7, 6, all students). Previously she lived in the colonia Federal but they moved after her parents separated.

Last year she graduated as a commercial secretary from a private school. She liked the school, particularly the "convivencia" with other students and the instructors, although she didn't like that the director missed a lot of days. Jimena considers herself a good student, she completed all of her homework and although sometimes there were misunderstandings with her teachers she learned how to resolve them. In the mornings she helped at home and in the afternoons she studied, on the weekends she helped her mother in the restaurant, earning Q20 a day, and she still helps her. She likes the work because of all of the different people that she gets to meet, but she misses studying. She has been unable to find other work, mostly because of her age as she just turned 18. This year she took a computer course for 6 months at INTECAP and she has plans to begin an English class (her father told her he would pay for it) while she takes the admission exams for USAC. She did not take the university entrance exams the year before because "se le pasaron las fechas" (she missed the deadlines). She wants to obtain a degree in marketing but she will have to work simultaneously in order to pay for it. Ideally she would like to work as a secretary. Eventually she would like to have her own business.

Jimena has 5 close friends; she sees them almost every day, they go to the park near her house to talk or they walk around. She comments that she likes that in her colonia everyone knows each other; she doesn't like that it is very dirty and the roads are not paved. Very young adolescents consume marijuana. She mentions that some youth from the colonia are in jail for murder or extortion. There are robberies and there have been shootouts. She has been robbed in her colonia. There are differences in how men and women spend their free time because most men don't share childcare responsibilities, although she thinks that they should, adding: "creo que las responsabilidades son de los dos, tal vez hay trabajos que una mujer no puede hacer, pues... Porque uno no tiene la suficiente fuerza, pero sí... Repartirse las responsabilidades de un hijo o cosas así, porque no solo la mamá está para el hijo sino que también el papá tiene que estar con él un rato, aunque sea..." Her mother is from San Lucas and her father is from Mixco. She found out about the program A Ganar through a coworker. She was interested in the program because she had heard that "más que todo que íbamos a convivir con más jóvenes, cosas así... íbamos a aprender, porque era más que todo por los estudios, a mí siempre me ha gustado aprender cosas nuevas..." In 10 years she imagines herself with a good job in a company with a masters degree.

FUNDACIÓN PAÍZ PARTICIPANT SUMMARIES

I. Adrián

Adrián is 17 years old, is single and does not have children. He has been living for the past 6 months in the colonia San Rafael III, in Las Colinas zone 18, with a Great Aunt (75, housewife, previously she had a restaurant), an aunt (48, housewife) and her husband (he works in a pharmacy), and a cousin who is a year younger than him who is a student. He previously lived in the village of El Socorro, San José Pinula, with his uncle, his mother had sent him to live there because it was cheaper to study. He moved in with his Great Aunt because it was closer to where he was working. His mother died of pneumonia 4 years ago and his father died 15 years ago after being poisoned, or that is what his mother told him.

In 2013 he finished tercero básico in an institute in the village of San José Pinula. He liked the teachers, who were very nice, and his classmates but he had to walk ½ hour to get there. Adrián says that he was a good student, he really liked computers but there were only 6 at the school so he was not able to spend much time on them. He was able to realize his junior high school studies because he received a scholarship, but because of a lack of money he was unable to continue on to high school. He feels sad that he has not continued studying. At the end of the past year he helped his aunt in a restaurant in zone 8. He is currently working in a fast food restaurant, Quiznos, helping to cut and chop vegetables, earning Q500 every two weeks. He has only been working there for 1 month. Adrián enjoys working there, but he is still only working part time. The only other job he had previously was helping his uncle to grow vegetables. He wants to save enough money to return to his studies next year although he says he doesn't know what he wants to study. He would like to be a chef.

He has 6 close friends, all from San José Pinula, and although he rarely sees them they speak constantly. He knows that zone 18 is considered a red zone, nevertheless he maintains that his block is safe. He dreams of going to the United States: "prácticamente el 50% de las personas que se van para allá, hacen sus casas, tienen en donde vivir propio aquí; tienen más posibilidades de salir adelante porque hacen algún negocio o cosas así." He thinks that men and women can both do the same household chores, he washes and irons his own clothes. Adrián also thinks that men and women have the same work opportunities: "por ejemplo, acoplarse en su trabajo, uno poner de su parte y lo logra pues, logra estabilizarse en el trabajo, una mujer tiene el instinto de acoplarse a un trabajo suave, se pude decir que mi trabajo no es duro es suave, prácticamente para el tío en donde vivía allá, es un trabajo de mujer, el así me decía que era trabajo de mujer, por estar en la cocina y todo eso, pero como a mí me gustaba yo lo hacía. No me importaba lo que dijeran, yo lo hacía." As a result, he has had problems, as he elaborates: "Yo por mi forma de pensar todos me decían que era -la palabra que le voy a decir disculpe- pero me decían que era hueco y que no se que más, porque me materia en la cocina, lavo mi ropa y plancho mi ropa, y para ellos yo al hacer eso era homosexual, pero me daba igual pues, no les hacía caso." Alex found out about A Ganar when he applied for a job at McDonald's.

2. Aarón

Aarón is 14 years old and he has lived his entire life in the colonia El Progreso, close to the neighborhood of El Gatillo in zone 3. He lives with his mother (53, housewife), 2 cousins (14 and 15, both students), and a brother. His mother is a housewife, his 2 cousins are studying, and his brother works.

Last year he completed fourth grade, his last year of schooling, he attended a public school near his home. He started fifth but he dropped out because he didn't like it, saying that: "the teachers did not explain things well, they didn't teach class well." Aarón is bored now that he is not studying, he says that he liked to study although he was just a regular student. He plans to enroll in quinto primaria in a private college the following year and his brother will support him, he does not have plans to work simultaneously. He is not currently working and he does not have any work experience. In the future he wants to work as a chef.

He has 4 close friends, all of them from his colonia and all are currently studying. He likes to play soccer in the streets. He says that there is crime and violence in his colonia, there have been deaths and shoot-outs. He has discussed the possibility of moving to a different colonia with his mother. At the same time, he likes that there is not a lot of traffic in his colonia. He mentions that women clean the house in their free time and men watch television, both have the same opportunities when it comes to work because "todos somos iguales, todos

podemos hacer lo mismo.” He learned about the A Ganar program through the youth in sexta, he was interested so that he could study.

3. Santino

Santino is 18 years old and he has always lived in Canalitos, zone 24. He lives with his father (34, he works in a shoe factory), his mother (36, a housewife), and one of his 2 sisters (7, she studies).

He attended a private primary school, finishing sexto in 2011. Santino did not continue studying because he feared his mother - she hit him in fifth grade because of his poor performance, especially in math, he explains: “bueno a mí me quedo miedo verdad, porque mi mamá eso si era bueno no lo es todavía, es muy brusca; me dejó todo golpeado porque le deje matemáticas y un montón de notas. Desde esa vez, yo no quise aprender nada para que no me volviera hacer lo mismo.” He feels bad that he is not studying, because “mis padres me dieron todavía la oportunidad de seguir estudiando y no la aproveché,” in fact when he stopped his parents tried to convince him to continue but he doesn’t like to study. He considered himself a bad student because he did not turn in assignments and he only went to “molestar,” although now he says that he understands that it is good to turn in homework assignments. He has plans to study primero básico next year, he would prefer to attend during the week, in order to do so he will obtain a job. He has had 3 short-term jobs in his life. In 2011 he worked helping his uncle, who is a bricklayer, for more or less 6 months, earning Q1,100 every 2 weeks. In 2012 he worked for 2 months in a mechanic’s shop. This year he worked for a contractor from EMPAGUA digging holes and earning Q1,000 every 2 weeks but the project ended a month ago and he is not currently working. In the future he would like to be an office clerk, working on the computer.

Santino has 2 good friends, both live close to his home, and when they get together they spend their time talking to girls. He likes his colonia because it is small but he recognizes that it is dangerous and there is a lot of violence since “they kill people.” He has not considered moving because nothing has happened to his family and he believes that they live well there. In addition to women not being able to do jobs that require physical strength he says, “pues no sé, así como las mujeres solo pueden hacer cosas sencillas. No sé, hacer limpieza, eso es lo único que pueden hacer las mujeres” and that men don’t help around the house “pues porque no les gusta hacer eso.” He says that he has never heard the word machismo. He heard about A Ganar through his friend’s mother, he was interested because of the computer training and because one can study what one wants.

4. Martín

Martín is 15 years old and he lives with his grandmother (61, housewife) and 2 brothers (16 and 15, they are not working or studying) in El Mezquital, where he has always lived. His father went to live in the United States and his mother met someone else and went to live with him for a while but then they separated. He has other siblings that live with his mother.

Last year he finished primary school in a public school and this year he started junior high, primero básico, in a private college. He says that he stopped studying because his father, who has returned to Guatemala, did not have the money to pay for his education and that of his siblings so all three of them stopped studying. Martín mentions that his father did not buy them their shirts and as a result they were humiliated at school. He does feel bad that he is not studying, he wants to be able to get a good job. He considers himself only an average student because sometimes he fought with his classmates at school and his favorite subject was science. Martín does want to return to his studies. He has never had a job and the siblings that live with him also do not generate any income. He believes that to get a job it is necessary to graduate from the university and to keep the job one can’t consume alcohol before the work day begins. He would like to attend the university and graduate as a lawyer or an architect and to achieve this he considers it important to study and to not get any young girls pregnant.

He does not have best friends; he does not trust his friends enough to tell them things. He does not like his colonia because it is full of mara gang. He says that there are different mara gangs and they fight amongst themselves. Apart from them, the drunk people can also be violent. He mentions the presence of drugs in the

colonia, but he insists that neither he nor his friends are involved. He has not considered moving to a different colonia because he doesn't want to have to reconstruct his life, nevertheless going to the U.S. is something he would like to do. In his spare time, he plays soccer with his friends from the colonia. Martín thinks that men and women have the same job opportunities because "solo el hombre, no va poder mantener a ellas, ellas también tiene que trabajar." He says that he has never heard of the term machismo. He found out about the program from his grandmother, who received a flier. The course that most interests him is computers and after finishing it he hopes to return to his studies. In 10 years Martín sees himself as graduated from the university, perhaps with a family.

5. Cristóbal

Cristóbal is 14 years old, and he lives in the colonia Molino de las Flores, in zone 2 of Mixco, where his father takes care of some land. He lives with his father (56, gardener) and his mother (53, housewife) who are from Santa Cruz del Quiché, 2 brothers (29, helps his father; and 26, unemployed) and a sister (20, she helps her mother). Cristóbal is the youngest. His mother speaks Quiché but they never wanted to teach him even though he does consider himself indigenous.

Last year he studied and helped his father with gardening in his spare time (he did not receive any money) and on the weekend he played soccer with his brother. Currently he is in segundo básico in a private college; he says that it is not very safe and he does not like that they don't have a soccer field but he does like the teachers. He considers himself to be a good student, he turns in all of his homework, and his favorite subjects are accounting and social studies. He would like to graduate from the university as a lawyer because "Digamos que hay gente que necesitan de esas personas... no ser como otras personas que son ladrones." Eventually Cristóbal would like to work for a government institution. Other than helping his father he has never had a job. Nevertheless, the following year he would like to get a job during his vacations, possibly as a packer in a supermarket.

He says that he has 2 best friends that he met at his school, both study and work in the afternoons and he sees them every day in school and when they play soccer. Although he recognizes that his colonia is not very safe he says that the people are friendly and helpful. He also likes that there are soccer fields but he doesn't like that the roads are in bad shape. He does not think that there is any type of crime or violence in his colonia. He has thought about living in the United States but not in ever leaving his colonia because his father protects the place where he lives. He believes that men and women should have the same work opportunities because "todos somos seres humano y podes llegar a superarnos y obtener trabajos" and they should do the same things in their spare time. He says that in his colonia both men and women do household chores together. Cristóbal found out about A Ganar from his brother-in-law, he hopes that it can help him to earn money by learning a trade. In 10 years he sees himself studying in the university or already graduated and supporting his parents economically.

6. Silvana

Silvana is 17 years old and she has lived for the past 2 years in the settlement of La Arenera, in zone 21, with her parents (her father, 36, a clown; and her mother, 35, she is a seller in the streets) and a brother who is 15. Previously they lived with her grandmother (75) in the colonia El Quintanal, in zone 6; they moved so that the whole family was closer together.

In 2012 she dropped out of the institute in which she was enrolled in segundo básico. Silvana says that she stopped studying because mara gang members constantly came to the institute to recruit and her father considered this too dangerous. She comments that she and her brother made the effort to study in another college but the problems continued so they decided to drop out. Last year and this year she has spent her days working as a clown with her father, who has been doing it for 4 years, or she helps her mother sell in the streets (they all work in the same zones). They do their performances in parks or buses. When they have really good days, which is rare, they can earn up to Q500 but when they have bad days they only earn around Q75. The money they earn needs to be sufficient to buy lunch and dinner. Silvana likes this work because she is an artist,

although it can be difficult and she gets sick when it is raining. Ultimately she would like to continue studying and attend the university. Her favorite subjects are history and theater and she considers herself to be a good student. Of what she learned in history she says: "antes había en la historia de los Maya ellos cuidaban la tierra, para cualquier cosa ellos pedían permiso, a diferencia de nosotros destruyendo el país, entonces decimos que somos más civilizados que los Mayas pero nosotros destruimos nuestros recursos, ahí hago una pequeña comparación." She is saving a little so that she can study next year but she doesn't know in what institute because some of them are very expensive and they don't accept students who are older. Other institutes are not safe. When she previously studied she says that she frequently did not have school supplies and she went 2 months without a school uniform. In the future she would like to be a history teacher or a business administrator and in order to achieve this she needs to finish básico and the carrera.

Silvana has 2 or 3 close friends, she does not see them very often though because she does not go out much in her colonia. She likes that her colonia has a field near her house where she can go to play and see her brother. She does not like that there is little drinkable water, that her neighbors gossip, and that she can hear gunshots. She comments that the majority of the young people are part of the mara gang and that she has seen the police smoking and drinking with them. She knows of youth that intimidate and extort the store owners. In her free time, she likes to watch television, play basketball, and read. She believes that men and women have the capacity to do the same jobs but they need to work hard at it. She doesn't think that men and women have the same work opportunities, as an example she says: "por ejemplo una compañera quiso trabajar de secretaria, pero como es gordita, cuando fue a la entrevista de trabajo le dijeron que "querían a Barbie y no a Barney." The division of household chores in her home is equal. What most strikes her about the program A Ganar is the technical scholarship in event management. In 10 years she sees herself as a university graduate with her own house and a stable job.

7. Juan Pablo

Juan Pablo is 18 years old and he has lived for the past 5 years in Residenciales San Antonio, in zone 18. Previously he lived in La Línea, zone 1, but they moved because it was very dangerous due to the gangs and now his church is nearby. He currently lives with his grandfather (65), his mother (38), a sister (13, student), and a brother (16, student). His father left them when he was 2 years old. His mother remarried but recently they separated, nevertheless she receives Q600 every month. His grandfather retired from the army a few years ago and his mother is a housewife in the mornings and a nanny in the afternoons, earning Q1,100 a month.

Due to economic difficulties he is enrolled in tercero básico only on Saturdays, just as he did during his first and second years in secundaria. He studies in an institute that charges Q70 per month (the previous one he attended charged Q150). He doesn't like that in his current institute there is a lot of noise, but he likes the professors. He considers himself a good student because he enjoys learning and what they teach him. His favorite subject is accounting and he would like to obtain a university degree in business administration. In order to achieve this degree, he says that only needs "God's help." His first job lasted a month, he worked with his grandfather who was a plumber. He liked the way that his grandfather taught him the trade but he didn't like how hard it was to break the concrete. Last year he worked for 2 months in a store that sells school supplies during vacation. He classified and distributed products and earned a minimum wage. According to him the biggest impediment for youth to find jobs is that they have not graduated. The following year he plans to continue his studies in order to finish diversificado.

He has 5 best friends, all of them are students and members of his church. They see each other at church and they attend service together. He likes his current colonia, saying that it is calm, the neighbors are respectful and there are no gangs. He does not like how few transurbano buses there are, he sees transportation as a problem. The municipal water is also scarce but much more economical than the system that they had before (Q2 twice a month vs. Q10 twice a month). He was robbed once but not in his colonia. He has thought about going to the U.S. to better his studies and his economic situation but he would want to return. In his spare time, he takes a class at the call center, he helps to clean his home, he practices the keyboard at church and once in a while he plays soccer. He believes that in many cases men and women are capable of doing the same work but he admits that in his home that is not the way it is. He found out about A Ganar from a flier that his mother gave him. In 10 years he sees himself studying if not in Guatemala than in the U.S. or in England.

8. Christian

Christian is 18 years old and he has always lived in the colonia of San Jorge, in the entrance to Amatitlán. He lives with his father (44), his mother (40), and a brother (19). His father works as an adjuster in an insurance agency and his mother is a housewife, his brother is studying.

Last year Christian studied segundo básico in an institute in Amatitlán. He liked his teachers, they were very understanding, his favorite classes were math and computers, although he did not like participating in excursions. He failed 2 classes of the second cycle, natural sciences and accounting, because he did not complete all of the homework, which made his father angry and he scolded him. Christian decided to stop studying and look for work. His mother insists that he return to his studies next year but he wants to work and go to the institute only on Sundays. He admits to feeling “a bit bad” because he is not studying. He has only had 1 job, in the call booth in the office where his father works. Currently he is not working because they let him go, he says, due to an error that he says was not his responsibility. The biggest problem he thinks that youth have with regards to finding work is the lack of studies and work experience. In the future he would like to complete his bachillerato in technical drawing in order to study and to graduate as an architect. He would like to find another job for the remainder of the year and for next year, perhaps working in a call center again, he has left applications. Before he earned Q1,700 a month but now he hopes that his salary will reach Q3,000.

He has 3 best friends, amongst them he includes his brother. He met them in a scout group in which he participates every Sunday. He has been a part of this group since he was 14 years old and he mentions participating in national camping trips in which 200 groups participate. He mentions that he does not like to go out in his colonia and for this reason he does not have any friends there. He says that it is a place with delinquency and many mara gang members. What he does like is the church and the people that he has met there. According to him, the government should pay more attention to his colonia because the streets are still made of dirt and the police patrols rarely pass by. He admits that there are no deaths but there are many house robberies and robberies in the streets and there are mara gang members in the neighboring colonias. Sometimes he has wanted to move to another part but he doesn't say anything at home because the house they live in is their own. He strongly believes that in Guatemala it is possible, but difficult to obtain employment, and for this reason he has never thought of going away to the U.S. In his free time, he plays on the computer or he plays soccer with his neighbor and his brother. He thinks that men and women have the same job opportunities because what the companies look for is education and experience. In his home he helps with domestic chores but mentions that his father almost only dedicates himself to work. In 10 years he would like to have his own house.

9. Costanza

Costanza is 18 years old and she has always lived in El Mezquital, zone 12. Last month she went to live with her boyfriend (18), who works as a water bottle distributor. They have been together for 5 years and they do not have children.

Last year Costanza was repeating tercero básico, she succeeded in finishing, and she was not working at the time. She is currently in cuarto bachillerato in science and letters, a GED program, and she will graduate this year. She likes the institute because it is calm, although she thinks that the facilities are a bit deteriorated and there are too many students in the classroom (there are almost 40 per classroom). She considers herself a good student, she does all of her homework, she pays attention, and she likes studying. She would like to study medicine at the university, to reach this goal she must “proponerse ese objetivo, proponer que si lo voy a logra, a como dé lugar lo tengo que lograr.” Currently she works 3 days a week distributing fliers, work that she does not like because it makes her feel embarrassed but she needs the Q50 they pay her per day. This is the only job that she has had. She would like to work for a company so that they pay her all of the work benefits, but she would also like to have her own stand and be her own boss and administrator. Next year she wants to attend the university and work wherever she can, maybe for Pollo Campero because she likes the kitchen, but obtaining a job is difficult she says. To achieve her goals, she says she must “throw herself into it”, fulfilling the established rules.

She has 5 close friends whom she sees almost every day because they live near her. In her colonia there is crime and organized mara gang members: there are acts of delinquency and assassinations. In her free time, she

talks with her friends and with her mother and she also watches television. She does not practice any sports. She doesn't think that there is gender discrimination at work but instead discrimination is based on the lack of education, independently of gender. Costanza gives the following example of machismo: "El machismo es aquel, que por cualquier cosa se enojan y va encima el golpe; si no está hecha la cena o algo así, empiezan a maltratar o hasta le resulta maltratando." Both of her parents are from the city of Guatemala. She found out about A Ganar through her older sister, she is interested in the courses and the fact that it supports married women or women who are in relationships. Other than working in Pollo campero she doesn't know what she will be doing in 10 years.

10. Valentino

Valentino is 16 years old, and he has lived in zone 6, San Francisco 3, of Mixco for the past year. His family comes from Ciudad Quezatal, San Juan Sacatepéquez and they migrated to the metropolitan area a year ago because the house where they lived was too small. He lives with his father (35), who works as a restaurant manager for Al Macarone; his grandmother (53, a housewife) and 2 younger brothers (14 and 10), who are both studying. His mother lives in Izabal and she sends rent money.

Valentino stopped studying primero básico last year midway through the school year because his father could no longer finance his education due to a problem he had with his work. He liked studying, especially math and accounting, and he liked the teachers because they helped with personal problems. But, the school was located in an area that he didn't like, where there was a lot of delinquency and violence. He was president of his class, he got along well with his teachers and his classmates, and he considers himself a good student. Currently he feels bored because he spends a lot of time at home. He would like to work in order to pay for his college (the weekend plan) and also to help his father but he doesn't know how to go about arranging it. Valentino has had 2 jobs. The first was when he was 15, he worked for a car wash located in his old colonia. He learned how to wash cars and he earned Q50 per week; he worked at this job for 3 months and he had to stop because they migrated to the city. He worked at another job for 3 weeks helping to set up for events. He obtained both jobs with his grandmother's help. He doesn't have plans for next year, "perhaps to look for a way to continue studying." Valentino would like to have his own business, perhaps sports clothing and shoes.

He has 5 close friends, all are from the institute, and they get together almost every day, they play in the field in their colonia. Other than playing soccer they go to the nearby shopping center where they entertain themselves playing electronic games. He thinks that the people in his colonia are supportive but that there are also people that come that are not wanted. Other than that, there is not water every day and there are many accidents given its location (he does not elaborate). He thinks that in his own colonia there are no problems with crime, but there are many gangs. In fact, 2 of the friends that he plays soccer with are in gangs: they dress oddly and they walk around armed. Outside of the soccer field he avoids contact with them because he fears for his own security. They are in the mara 18 and "they give their lives to the maras." He has considered immigrating to the U.S. because there are a lot of shortages in his own home. There are even days when there is not enough food for everyone and he is left without. In terms of gender roles, he thinks that there are certain jobs that are better for men due to their strength, and he believes that men should help around the house as he does. He understands machismo as being "que el hombre se cree superior que una mujer, piensan que por ser mujer tiene que ser una sirvienta, pienso que eso no debe de ser así." He heard about A ganar through his father. In 10 years he wants to be a lawyer and to graduate in tourism.

11. Amelia

Amelia is 18 years old and lives in Santa Catarina Pinula. Her father (49) works at home repairing electronics, her mother (39) works as a nanny three days a week in a house in zone 13, and a sister (17), who is in beauty school, a brother (13), a student, and another sister (9), a student.

Last year Amelia was enrolled in cuarto bachillerato but for economic reasons she could not continue and she dropped out mid-year. The institute was public, but they required many supplies and her family could not buy them. She was working for a shoe store in the market, but only during her vacations (October – December). They paid her Q200 per week and the work seemed exhausting to her and it paid little. She liked her institute, she was studying computer graphic design. She feels sad and frustrated not to be studying, she explains: “pues hace unas semanas atrás fui a ver a unos compañeros, y los vi y me sentí muy mal conmigo misma, porque se supone que tendría que estar con ellos y salir junto con ellos y para mí fue como un sueño que yo misma lo deje tirado. Por otro lado, que mis papás no contaban con el recurso económico, entonces si me siento triste por no haber seguido estudiando.” Next year Amelia would like to work and to study on the weekends. She knows of a private institute in zone 11 where she could study graphic design on the weekends. She would need to work to finance it, it costs Q250 per month. She has friends that work in fast food restaurants and she is thinking that they could help her to obtain a job. Other than that, she worked the past several weeks taking care of her cousin’s baby, earning Q500. The difficulty in finding jobs is that employers ask for people with experience: “lo primero que piden en las empresas es siempre la experiencia y es algo que como nosotros los jóvenes no contamos, porque si no hemos trabajado en algún lado no tenemos experiencia en nada.” Her dream is to study marketing and publicity but it will require sacrifices: “en lo personal dejar a un lado a los novios porque son quitadera de tiempo, en segundo lugar restringirse a gastos innecesarios, porque la situación económica es siempre lo que sobre sale y el valor para poder seguir adelante, no importando las circunstancias, no importando cómo está la situación, si hay un sueño hay que alcanzarlo.”

Amelia only has 1 close friend, she works in a boutique in zone 10 and she lives in the same colonia so they see each other every day. Her colonia is tranquil and there are no problems with violence, although there are problems with the water: it doesn’t run every day and when it does it is only for 3 hours. There have been problems with people that rob water and don’t pay for it and for this reason they restrict the hours. Although her colonia is tranquil there are rumors that certain youth are discretely involved in extortions. Currently, in her free time she is learning to use a skateboard with a friend. She skates in her colonia and she dedicates four hours a day to practicing. She says that the men in her colonia spend their free time smoking, drinking, and making obscene comments to women. Amelia thinks that men and women are equal and should have the same opportunities. She heard about the program A Ganar through her mother, she was interested because of the course in event planning. One of her dreams for the future is to have a formal house, to be independent, and to not depend on anyone. She wants to stand out as a graphic designer.

12. Ana Sofia

Ana Sofia is 18 and lives in zone 7 of Mixco, by Belencito (a notoriously red zone). She has been at this current residence for a year, she lived in La Brigada (another red zone) in her grandfather’s house before that. When he was widowed (at 89 years old) he decided to marry a much younger woman with whom Ana Sofia’s mother did not get along. Now they rent a small room where 6 people live. Her father (45) is an accountant, he works in a cellphone store, her mother (33) is a housewife; she worked but because she is now pregnant she stopped. Her younger brother (9) is in primaria, her sister is 14 and also studies, and her other sister, 16, stopped studying due to financial problems.

Ana Sofia finished tercero básico last year, and she was unable to continue her studies due to a lack of resources. During her vacations she worked in a shoe store. She liked helping customers, but her salary was very low, Q1,500 a month, and the hours were long. She liked the public school she attended, although there were mareros and it was far from her house. The list of required school supplies was considerable and they even requested that they buy tablets but her family could not pay for it all and the money from the shoe store was not enough. Ana Sofia considered herself an average student, she did have problems when she had a boyfriend, her grades fell and her teachers scolded her, she says “él me decía que no le dedicaba tiempo, y como dice la maestra que uno de niño es ignorante y por el amor en ciega.” Now that she does not study she gets bored and she feels sad not to be attending school. She wants to work and help her parents, who have given her so much love, as well as her younger siblings. When asked about her plans for next year she replies: “el otro año quería casarme, pero sinceramente estoy muy joven; pero no quiero desperdiciar mi juventud y las oportunidades que tengo de joven. Pues el otro año pienso estudiar y trabajar.” Her goal is to obtain a job and to enroll in a weekend plan. But, it is

difficult, because she says that to even work in cleaning they require tercero básico. She did try to work in a factory, but it was difficult work and she only lasted one day. She would like to work in a supermarket and eventually she would like to be a bilingual secretary or a teacher. In 10 years she would like to be married, have a house, live far away and “ser alguien en la vida.”

Ana Sofia has one close friend, although she rarely sees her. She does not like anything about her colonia, it is dangerous because of the mareros and there is a lot of bullying, her and her family would like to move. She says that men and women do have different opportunities because there is work that women cannot do. Yolanda says that she has never heard of machismo. Her father is from San Marcos, he worked in coffee, and he came to the capital in order to make more money. She heard about the A Ganar program through a flier. She doesn't understand much about it but she hopes to learn and be able to find a job.

13. Eduardo

Eduardo is 19 years old. He previously lived with his grandmother, his aunts, and 4 siblings but recently his mother got together with his stepfather and now they live a block away from his old house. His mother (39) is a housewife and recently opened a store. His step-father (42) worked in a bank, as a cashier, but he was let go recently because he arrived to work on a Monday smelling of alcohol, and some say that he also drank while on the job although he denies it. At the moment he has a job in the Mayan Golf Club, but Eduardo does not know exactly what he does. Two sisters (17 and 9, students) and 2 brothers (14 and 6, students) also live with them. His own father left his mother when she got pregnant, he did not want to take responsibility, and Eduardo doesn't know him.

Last year, Eduardo finished his bachillerato in computers (the weekend plan). He worked for 4 months as a cook's assistant for a small company that did events; he earned a minimum salary and had an exhausting schedule, sometimes he started at 4 in the morning, and he did not receive the work benefits that he was entitled to. His boss was very demanding and in the last month. She pressured him to work on Sundays as well but Eduardo wanted to finish his studies so he had to leave the job. Eduardo really liked cooking and he learned a lot from the chef; he especially liked the bakeshop. He did not like the school where he studied, but he could not afford a different one. He really liked drawing because: “uno se expresa bien dibujando... A veces sí es cierto... Yo decía, expresa uno lo que siente dibujando, pero no es tanto que le digás al mundo 'Mirá, estoy triste' con mi dibujo sino que para mí es como si estoy triste dibujo, si estoy feliz dibujo porque estoy feliz, y si estoy enojado se me quita el enojo y así, por eso me gusta.” His mother had offered to help him pay for cooking classes at Intecap while he was finishing his bachillerato, but then he was unable to take them. He didn't have any other options besides starting work and financing his own studies, after missing several exams he had to convince the director to let him continue studying and pay off his debt a little at a time. After the job at the events company he worked for 2 weeks packing televisions, earning Q75 a day. Currently he is not studying or working and he feels responsible for his family: “hasta cierto punto, me siento inútil, soy casi como una carga pues porque no trabajo, no estudio y me están manteniendo, entonces no se siente uno bien pues, y ya sabiendo uno las necesidades que tiene su familia y uno sin hacer nada, no me siento muy bien, a veces siento que soy una carga y soy un poquito inútil.” While he has been unable to find work he has left his paperwork at several places, including Pollo campero. He wants to attend the university, but he thinks that the first thing that he should do is find work, preferably in a kitchen and, once he is receiving a salary, he could plan what and where to study. His future plans would be to have his own restaurant or work as an accountant in a large business, and eventually create a foundation to help young people:

“sí tengo ese sueño sí es porque yo vivo en un ambiente pobre por decirlo, me gustaría ayudar a toda esa gente, porque uno va a un lugar quiere estudiar esto, no se puede, por el tema del dinero; y sino estudiás no tenés un buen empleo, y sino tenés un empleo no tenés calidad de vida, y sino tenés calidad de vida, no le podés dar calidad de vida a tus hijos...”

When asked about the biggest challenge that young people have finding work he replies:

“uno tiene que tomar decisiones y ver como encuentra el trabajo, entonces y también conforme uno va creciendo uno va viendo que la vida no es como cuando era niño y te das cuenta que sino te ponés pilas, si vos caminás con el mundo, el mundo camina con vos, pero si vos te detenés el mundo sigue caminando y vos te quedás parado y vos tenés que decidir si te quedás aquí, o si avanzás con el resto del mundo, o

avanzás más rápido que el mundo y vas fijándote metas, pero si yo siento que cuando vas creciendo vas viendo la vida diferente, vas viendo que sí, la vida cuesta y pues con respecto a mi vida, no está muy bien...”

Eduardo has 2 close friends. He doesn't see them as much now but when he does they go out to eat or watch a movie. He likes his colonia because people are united, but it is not safe, there are robberies, assassinations, and extortions, as well as “violencia moral.” He has been surprised to learn that many people that he knows are involved and have been sent to jail. Alejandro thinks that men and women should have the same opportunities, but he elaborates: “que las tengan, no mucho, más que todo o sea con las mujeres, que son así 'de corte' son las que más discriminan, pero sí creo que merecen hombres y mujeres, la misma oportunidad, tanto hombres como mujeres somos capaces de ser lo que nos guste y lo que queremos.” Where he lives there is a lot of machismo, men don't help around the house, he mentions his step-father as an example. As another example of machismo he also explains:

“El hombre no nace hombre, un hombre se hace dicen va... Mientras vas creciendo vas madurando, y entendiendo la vida, el hombre se hace, no hace, y tampoco; cuando la expresión que no me agrada, yo no estoy en contra de los gays ni estoy a favor, simplemente cada quien sabe cómo llevar su vida, cada quien sabe lo que quiere, pero sí también en ese caso del machismo se da que mi padrastro era así bien macho y su hermano es gay; y delante de él, el hermano se comportaba lo mejor que podía hasta que mi mamá le dijo 'No debería ser así, es su hermano, acéptelo por lo que es' y ahora pues, ya se llevan mejor pero sí en ese caso...”

Eduardo learned about the program through his mother, he is interested in the programs and hopes that through his participation he will learn more and have a better chance of getting a job.

14. Alessandra

Alessandra is 14 years old and she has always lived in zone 25, by Llano Largo. She lives alone with her mother (43), who washes clothes. Her parents separated 2 years ago.

She stopped studying 2 years ago and she worked in her mother's banana cultivation and around the house, although she says that she continued reading on her own. Her mother sells bananas in the streets of their colonia and Alessandra helps with the cultivation. This year, Alessandra is studying in primero básico, the weekend plan so that she can continue to help her mother. She does not like the school where she studies, she thought it was very unorganized with people coming and going and there were mara gang members. She considers herself a good student because she never misses class and she really likes studying English. She would like to attend the university and obtain a degree as a computer technician. She would like to work in the bakery La Holandesa; an aunt works there and she has gone to help her and she liked the experience. Next year she would like to change schools so that she doesn't have to pay and she wants to obtain a job as a domestic worker during the weekdays. Right now she does not work, her mother won't let her because “dice que se sufre mucho”.

She has 3 close friends, they are students. Alessandra sees them almost every day; she likes to talk with them and they play soccer together. She likes her colonia because it is tranquil and there are no mareros, but they don't have water, so they have to buy water by the barrel. Alessandra does not believe that men and women have the same work opportunities because “en el trabajo discriminan a la mujer” although a woman can do ‘men's’ work because “una mujer, bien puede hacer un trabajo de un hombre, porque mi papá me enseñaba albañilería y mecánica.” Alessandra heard about the A Ganar program through a committee in her colonia, she was interested because she likes computers. When the program finishes she would like to work as a secretary. In 10 years she wants to be a good employee, working with computers, and she hopes to earn a lot of money.

15. Alejandra

Alejandra is 15 years old and she has always lived in Villalobos. She lives with her mother, father, and sister. Her mother works in a supermarket and her sister is a student.

Last year she was enrolled in primero básico, but she did not finish. She had economic problems and her father recently acknowledged she was his and she had to go through a lot of complicated procedures to change her last name. She feels bad that she did not continue studying, although she does not consider herself a good student because “it cost her”. In addition, she is a bit lazy. She would like to continue studying, but since she lost the year in the institute they won’t accept her back so she could only attend a private one and she does not have the means to pay for it. She sees the possibility of returning to her studies as very difficult. She is not currently working although she has tried to find work. Alejandra dreams of being able to work during the week and pay for her studies on the weekend, but she doesn’t have any idea what type of work she could or would want to do. She only wants to “be active.”

She has 8 close friends, all of them are studying except for one. She sees them most every day since they live in her colonia, they spend time talking and joking around. Alejandra likes her colonia because she thinks that the location is good and it has shops nearby, but there are problems with violence, “the mara gang members are assassinating people.” They also rob people and use drugs. One of her female friends is also involved in the gang; Alejandra has asked her to reflect on it but she ignores her. The brother of this friend is a mara gang member and he was in jail for around 5 years for an attempted homicide. She feels like she “always” hears gunshots and it is known that people are assassinated. She would like to change neighborhoods, but she cannot. She spends a lot of her free time with her aunt (she is not currently studying or working) and she is not involved in any sports. She says that men don’t collaborate at home because: “Por su forma de ser, no los acostumbraron de pequeños a estar, en la casa... Haciendo sus cosas, por eso... Están acostumbrados a que su esposa les haga todo, a veces las mujeres son así que los acostumbran, 'Que te sirvo', después se arrepienten, porque ya no hacen nada.” She also says that the reason that some women don’t go out is because their mothers don’t let them, they use excuses like it is too dangerous, it’s too dark, or it’s too cold. She found out about the A Ganar program from her Aunt. In 10 years she sees herself working as a secretary or as a teacher.

16. Carolina

Carolina is 19 years old and she has lived in Villalobos for the past 3 years (she lived in Zacapa before) with her in-laws, her husband, a son (1 year old), and 2 orphaned nephews (13 and 6, students)/1 niece (20, she takes care of the house). Her father-in-law is blind and does not work; her mother-in-law has a mini-store. None of her nieces/nephews generate income. Her husband works distributing water.

She studied until tercero básico in her hometown of Zacapa; she stopped studying when she got married. She thinks that she was a good student, she really liked accounting, and her teachers said that she did well. Carolina feels bad that she is not studying and wants to return to school when her son has grown some, now she only spends her time at home taking care of him. She would like to study nursing, although she does not know where yet, and her husband would have to finance it. When asked about the biggest difficulty that young people have in obtaining work she replies: “Pues en primer lugar, cuando uno está embarazada, miran cuando la diferencia... Porque yo me he dado cuenta, uno de mis amigos cuando... Por cómo se visten pues... No les dan trabajo, o poseen un tatuaje, la empresa no los recibe.”

She has around 8 close friends, whom she sees almost every day, with some she plays soccer and with her female friends they go for walks in the center of the city. Near her house there is a settlement that she considers to be very dirty and the people that live there are problematic and angry. There is violence in her colonia; she herself witnessed the murder of a young woman. Also, various youth from her colonia use drugs (marijuana and crack); she avoids them as much as possible. She has not thought about moving to another colonia, she feels content in her own despite the problems. She believes that women have more difficulties finding work because they “end up pregnant,” and she adds: “pues que hablan, porque a veces tienen muchos hijos y no tienen donde dejarlos, entonces por eso, a veces toca llevárselos a algún niño a su trabajo, entonces no le dan... O también porque no tienen esposo para que le cuiden sus niños, entonces ya no pueden trabajar.” Her parents migrated to the city “para que nos diera un buen futuro... Ya no me superé.” Jacqueline found out about A ganar through her sister, and she was interested because of the courses and she hopes to continue her career. In 10 years she wants to have moved up “con un título ya más alto pues, de la carrera que inicié, un título más alto.”

17. Valery

Valery is 16 years old, she was born in Nicaragua, her parents are Nicaraguan. She came to Guatemala 3 years ago, and since arriving she has lived in Zona 1. Her mother left for Costa Rica and her father (32), a bricklayer, came to Guatemala. Her father remarried a Guatemalan woman (29) and the children of this second marriage are 4 and 2 years old. Her father came to the country to find his luck, he did not have any contacts. He works for a construction company and her stepmother is currently unemployed but has worked cleaning.

Last year Valery was studying (primero básico) and working (cleaning). She worked Monday to Friday, all day, earning Q70 for the day; she studied on the weekends. She studies in a private school, paying Q70 per month. This year she is in segundo básico. She likes that the teachers are attentive and they are willing to respond to her questions even after class, but she does not like it that her classmates smoke marijuana and drink alcohol on the school grounds and the directors don't do anything about it. Valery elaborates: "muchas veces yo les digo a los mismos compañeros que hacen eso, que hay personas que realmente quiere salir adelante, y ellos no los dejan porque hacen lo que hacen y a veces en la sección, se ponen también a molestar, no dejan que los profesores terminen de dar bien su clase, y eso es lo que no me gusta... Yo siempre digo que si uno va al colegio es a aprender, si le van a pagar, aunque sea sencillo; pero hay que aprovechar, toda la vida, no va a estar familiar con uno." She would like to study in the university, although she doesn't know if it would be medicine, computers, or languages. She wants to work in tourism and she already speaks a bit of English. Currently she is not working because her father wants her to dedicate herself only to her studies because when he was a student he also worked and his academic performance suffered. She has had 2 work experiences: when she worked cleaning a house and when she was a helper in a restaurant. For the last job she had a long work schedule and she left later than she was promised (6:30 vs. 5) and they paid poorly, hardly Q30 a day. Her father told her that it was not worth working so many hours for so little money and her grades were suffering, he feels that it is better to dedicate her time to her studies only.

Valery has 1 close friend, he is 40 years old, she only sees him every few weeks and they eat ice cream or drink atol. She feels like her classmates only want to be friends with her when they need help at school. In her neighborhood there are problems with delinquency, near her house 2 people have been killed, but the police do nothing. She does not think that men and women can do the same jobs, and in her neighborhood the men work and the women take care of the home although she doesn't agree with this: "está mal, porque la mujer no tiene toda la responsabilidad, la responsabilidad de una casa, son de dos, del esposo y de la esposa... Yo sé, si el hombre trabaja, en sus tiempos libres debe ayudar a la mujer, no solo dejarle todas las cosas a ellas, lo tienen que partir por la mitad, una cosa ella y una cosa él." She found out about A ganar from a kiosk, where she also submitted her paperwork, she was interested because of the opportunity to learn about computers. Her dreams for 10 years from now are: "estaré todavía en Guatemala, digo yo que ya terminando la Universidad, para trabajar en un hospital o en una empresa, o estar viajando, ya por el mundo, conocer otras culturas, culturas ajenas que tal vez uno no conoce, eso es lo que sueño que estaría haciendo."

18. Luciana

Luciana is a widow and she has a daughter who is a year and a half. She lives with her parents: her father (43) works as a waiter in a hotel (Sheraton) and her mother (42) makes tortillas. She does not have any contact with the family of her previous husband.

Luciana helps her mother to make tortillas, but she does not receive any money for it and she does not like the work because she is on her feet all day. She completed 6th grade. She did not like her school, she doesn't think that there was anything beautiful or redeemable about it. Her classmates were crude and they pushed her. She stopped studying 2 years ago, she started primero básico but did not finish because she got married. She does not consider herself a good student, she did not do her homework especially if she did not understand it. She is ambivalent about not studying: on the one hand she did not like the school nor did she like doing homework but on the other she thinks that studying is necessary to have "a good life." She would like to continue studying primero básico the following year, but she does not know if she will be able to finance it. Her father could help her with some and she currently works in a nixtamal mill. She starts work at 3 in the morning, Monday to Sunday. She

does not like the work and she only earns Q600 a month, but she needs to do it in order to maintain her daughter. The mill belongs to her brother-in-law and it is the only work she could get. In the future she would like to graduate “de licenciada” and she would like to work as a chef. She doesn’t have any idea where she could study the following year.

Luciana has 2 close friends, neighbors in her colonia who she sees every day; they spend time talking. She thinks that her neighborhood is dangerous and that there is a lot of delinquency: if one doesn’t pay the extortion they kill you. They killed her husband precisely for this reason, he didn’t pay the extortion after they had already killed his brother. At the time she was 6 months pregnant. With respect to gender roles she thinks that “las mujeres deben de hacer su trabajo en la casa y los hombres deben de ir a buscar su trabajo.” Her parents are from Sololá and they speak kaqchikeles, but they didn’t teach her their language. She heard about A Ganar from a neighbor, she is excited about the courses in beauty and computers.

ANNEX E DATTA COLLECTION

TIMESLINE

		2012												2013												2014												2015												2016																												
		6	7	8	9	10	11	12	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9																									
Honduras	Cohort 1	X												X																																																																
	Cohort 2													X												X																																																				
	Cohort 3																									X																																																				

ANNEX F: A GANAR ROLES AND RESPONSIBILITIES

IMPLEMENTING ORGANIZATIONS

1. Conduct marketing and outreach to encourage applications from qualified youth
 - a. Document outreach activities
 - b. Explain application process as:
 - i. Solicitar, pre-seleccionar, sorteo
 - c. Aim for 100 applicants for each course
2. Review applications for eligibility
 - a. Enter application information into 'A Ganar Solicitudes' format
 - b. Aim for at least 75 eligible applicants per course
3. Conduct interviews and demonstration with eligible applicants
 - a. Identify 55-60 pre-selected youth
 - i. Advise pre-selected youth that they will only have one chance every 2,5 years to enter the lottery. If not selected, they must wait to apply again.
 - ii. No need to mention comparison group. Only explain that there are too many applicants and we want to give everyone a fair chance.
 - b. Update 'A Ganar Solicitudes' format with rating of pre-selected applicants (A, B, or C)
 - i. Ranking is only needed for the youth whom the IO selects to enter the lottery
 - ii. Ranking should reflect the IOs assessment of the quality of the application, including interview
 1. "A"s are the youth the IO see as most likely to succeed in the program
 2. "B"s are the youth the IO see as likely to succeed but perhaps not as strong as "A"s
 3. "C"s are the youth who meet all of the eligibility requirements but the IO still may have some slight questions or reservations
 - iii. Each group does not need exactly the same number of youth (e.g. 19 A's, 19 B's, and 19 C's)
4. Send 'A Ganar Solicitudes' format to Partners of the Americas for review and forward to Social Impact
 - a. No need to discuss the data collection with youth
 - b. Social Impact will do all data collection and will not directly connect data collection to the A Ganar program
 - i. The data collection team will likely want to meet briefly with the IO to understand the community and where selected youth live, but will not ask IO staff to accompany them on interviews.
5. Receive list of selected participants from Social Impact after 1-2 weeks
 - a. Notify applicants
 - b. Comparison group are allowed to participate in other programs, but do NOT specifically target them
6. Start A Ganar program
 - a. Complete regular monitoring tasks
 - b. Notify COs with any questions or concerns, including:
 - i. If non-selected youth attempt to join the course
 - ii. If selected youth drop-out
 - iii. NOTE: In neither case should the IO make the decision to add a youth to the program. Any additional participants to the program must be approved by Partners of the Americas and Social Impact.
7. Participate in follow-up interviews on selected youth at end of program and 18 months later

COORDINATING ORGANIZATIONS (COs)

- I. Support IOs in outreach, application, and interview process
 - a. Document steps taken by each IO
 - b. Identify any deviations from plans
 - c. Notify Social Impact and Partners of the Americas with any questions or concerns
2. Provide a link between SI's data collection team and IOs
 - a. Data collection team may have questions about communities and locations, but will not expect IOs or COs to accompany them on interviews
3. Support and monitor implementation of A Ganar, particularly in initial phases
 - a. Ensure completion of monitoring forms
 - b. Maintain clear communication between IOs, Partners of the Americas, and SI

SOCIAL IMPACT

1. Receive digitized list of 55-60 pre-selected youth in 'A Ganar Solicitudes' format
2. Conduct data collection and selection within 1-2 weeks of receiving list of pre-selected youth
 - a. Selection will be stratified by rating (A, B, C) ensuring participation from each group in each course
 - b. Data collection staff may contact IOs for information, but will not expect them to accompany for any interviews
 - i. Data collection staff will try to maintain distinction from the A Ganar program to ensure youth do not think their responses will influence selection
 - ii. We will, of course, respond honestly to any questions
 - c. List of participants and comparison group will be sent to Partners of the Americas for forwarding to COs and IOs after completion of data collection
3. Respond quickly to any questions or concerns as IOs begin implementation, including how to respond to
 - a. Drop-outs or comparison youth questions
4. Collect follow-up data at program completion and 18 months post-program
 - a. Data collection will include interviews with youth and also facilitators, mentors, and employers
5. Provide data and findings to Partners of the Americas, COs, and IOs to aid in program improvement

ANNEX G: SAMPLE SIZE AND POWER CALCULATIONS

Power calculations were based on the following standard assumptions:

- $\alpha = 0.05$
 - α represents that significance level of the statistical test that we will use in comparing means of the treatment and control groups. It is set at the generally accepted standard level of 0.05, which means that we will have a 5 percent chance of a false positive in our statistical test.
- $\kappa = 0.80$
 - κ represents the power of our test, or the likelihood that we will correctly conclude an effect. Another way to look at this is to consider that $1 - \kappa$, or 0.2 in this case, represents the probability of a false negative (concluding there was no effect, even when there was).
- $R^2 = 0$
 - R^2 represents percentage of variance explained by covariates, including baseline data. It is reasonable to expect that baseline data will explain some of the outcome variation, which increases power. However, to be conservative, our preliminary power calculations have excluded this, although the effect of R^2 on power is discussed in Annex B.

The two principal variables for estimation are:

- δ , which represents the standardized minimum detectable effect size (MDES). This is the minimum difference, measured in SDs, we will be able to measure between our treatment and control groups.
- N , which represents the total sample size, including both treatment and control units, assuming an equal distribution of treatment and control units.

Estimating MDES

There is a significant literature, both domestically and in developing countries, on evaluations of youth workforce development programs, including a handful from experimental evaluations. However, the evidence on effectiveness of these workforce programs is mixed. In an RCT of the Job Corps program in the US, Lee (2005) shows a 12 percent increase in earnings²⁹, while another RCT of the Job Training Partnership Act showed no effects³⁰. Evidence from Latin America seems to be more positive³¹, but, again,

²⁹ Lee, D S. (2005) Training, Wages, and Sample Selection: Estimating Sharp Bounds on Treatment Effects. NBER Working Paper #11721

³⁰ General Accounting Office. (1996) Job Training Partnership Act: Long-Term Earnings and Employment Outcomes. Washington, D.C.

³¹ Betcherman, G. K. Olivas, and A. Dar (2004) Impacts of active labour market programs: new evidence from evaluations with particular attention to developing and transition countries. World Bank Social Protection Discussion Paper 0402.

results have high variability, anywhere from no effect to 30 percent increases³², and are sensitive to the outcome studied³³. For example, in the Dominican Republic, Card et al (2011) find no effect on employment of the ‘Juventud y empleo’ program, although they recognize limitations in evaluation implementation³⁴. Yet, in Colombia, an RCT of the ‘Youth in Action’ finds significant impacts, including a 14 percent increase in paid employment among women participants³⁵. In their guide to evaluations of labor market programs, Card, Ibarrarán, and Villa (2011) suggest that, considering that research has shown that an additional year of schooling typically translates into a 10 percent increase in earnings, an MDES of 10 percent may be ambitious for a labor market program, which is typically much less intensive.

These effect sizes are fairly modest in comparison to outcomes from the recent IDB evaluation of A Ganar, which found that the employment rate for graduates increased from 32 percent to 69 percent. Although this does not control for changes in employment rates of a control group, it is consistent with the A Ganar goal of 70 percent employment rates for graduates. A Ganar’s historical experience seems to suggest higher effect sizes than is typically found in the literature, yet without strong empirical evidence of these effect sizes (based on studies with a suitable comparison group), we recommend using a much more modest MDES, as discussed below.

Sample Size Calculation

Assuming that the pilot cohort is not included in final analysis since program changes are anticipated after the pilot cohort, the maximum sample size available in the study is 1200, separated into two cohorts.

Table 2. Sample size, by cohort

Honduras	Pilot	Cohort 1	Cohort 2	Total
A Ganar	50	300	300	650
Control	50	300	300	650
Total	100	600	600	1300

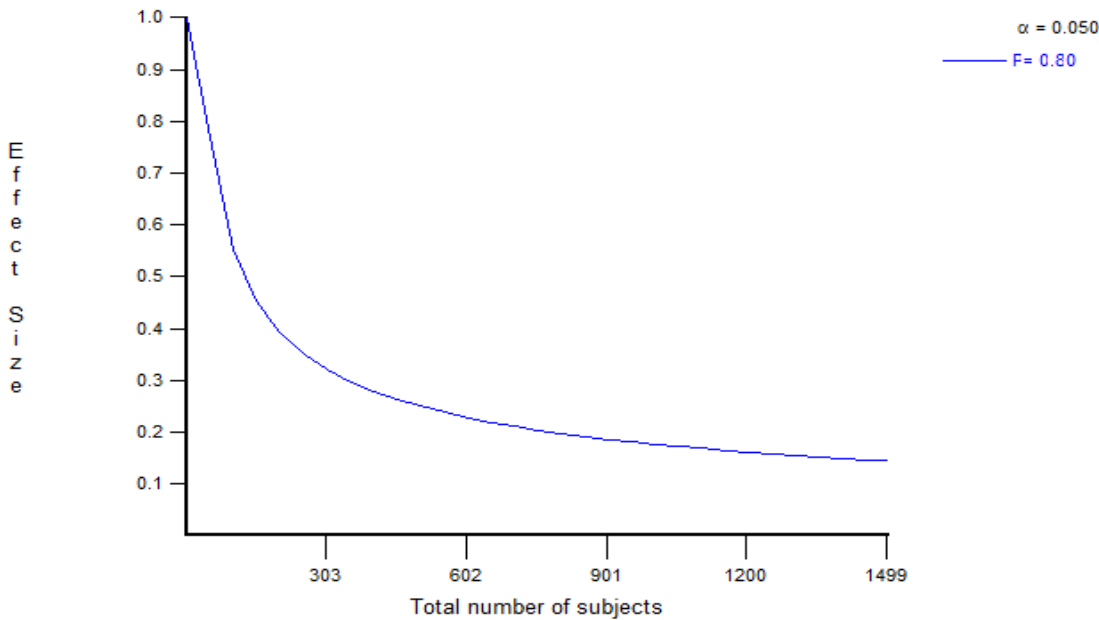
With this sample, we are able to measure overall changes in means of at least 0.16 standard deviations (0.144 SD using a one-tailed test). For changes in proportions, such as in percentage of youth with jobs, the MDES depends on the baseline level. Most conservatively, with a baseline of 50 percent, we are able to measure a change of 8.2 percentage points (7.3p.p. in a one-tailed test). From a baseline of 30 percent, we could measure a change of at least 7.8 and 6.9p.p. (Two versus one-tailed test, respectively).

These are minimum effect sizes for tests done on the whole sample (all treatment versus all control). However, as we plan to do tests on important sub-groups of participants, such as boys and girls and youth with high, medium, and low application scores, our sample size, and hence power or MDES, will be lower for these tests. For example, if we want to see if the program is effective for girls, we will only have a roughly half of our available sample for the

³² Ibarraran, Pablo and Rosas Shady, David, (2009), Evaluating the impact of job training programmes in Latin America: evidence from IDB funded operations, The Journal of Development Effectiveness, 1, issue 2, p. 195-216,
³³ Calderón-Madrid, A. (2006) Revisiting the Employability Effects of Training Programs for the Unemployed in Developing Countries, Washington D.C., IDB, Red de Centros, Research Network Working Paper N. R-522.
³⁴ Card, D; Ibarrarán P.; Regalia F.; Rosas D. and Soares Y. (2011) The labour market impacts of youth training in the Dominican Republic evidence from a randomized evaluation, Journal of Labor Economics. Vol 29.2.
³⁵ Attanasio, O, A. Kugler and C. Meghir (2008) Training Disadvantaged Youth in Latin America: Evidence from a Randomized Trial. NBER Working Paper #13931.

test (i.e. 300 treatment girls and 300 control girls), which yields an MDES of 0.23 SD. Dividing our sample into three³⁶, for example to test whether the program is effective for those with low application scores (a proxy for lower expected motivation levels), leaves a sample size of 400 (200 treatment and 200 control) which corresponds to an MDES of 0.28 SD. Graph I below demonstrates the inverse relationship between MDES and sample size.

Graph I. Relationship between sample size and MDES under standard assumptions



It is important to note that the tests, as framed above, compare a participant and non-participant group (e.g. treatment girls versus control girls) to identify whether the program is effective for a given sub-group. We will also test relative effectiveness, such as testing whether the program is more effective for boys or girls, but we expect much smaller effect sizes in such comparisons. Even if we expect differences in outcomes for participating boys versus participating girls, we expect these differences to be smaller than participating boys and girls (as a group) versus non-participating boys and girls (as a group). Without an empirical or programmatic basis for identifying anticipated differential effect sizes, it is difficult to assess whether such tests will be underpowered.

It is also important to consider the effects of attrition, non-response, and non-compliance on power. Attrition and non-response occur when we are unable to collect data from selected respondents, either through their choice or inability to locate them. As discussed below, our approach includes plans to limit attrition and, if it occurs, estimate its potential effect on internal validity. However, attrition and non-response still reduce the desired sample size, reducing power. Similarly, the threat to internal validity of non-compliance, which is drop-out among participants or, alternatively, the participation of control individuals in the A Ganar program, can be addressed during analysis, as discussed below. Yet, drop-out reduces the expected effect size (since it effectively reduces the ‘intensity’ of treatment) and hence reduces power.

Particularly since we still do not have an empirically based estimate of the anticipated effect size for A Ganar nor of attrition and drop-out, we recommend using the full sample size available (1200) to optimize our ability to estimate impacts on sub-groups. However, we will revisit power analysis to determine if a smaller sample size is suitable following data collection on the pilot cohort, which will yield relevant data on baseline levels of outcomes, an estimation of R^2 , a much more precise estimate of resources required for data collection, and clarity on the approach and resources in Country 2. If budgets are constrained, our preference would be to minimize the

³⁶ Assuming equal sub-groups. Unequal sub-groups reduces power.

quantitative sample in Honduras (a sample size of 900 should be sufficient to measure overall program effects) to maximize resources for the qualitative data collection in Honduras and the quantitative sample in the second country. As we intend to test a comparison program in the second country, we will need to maximize sample size in Country 2 to test for differences across program types.

Table3. Summary of MDES under various sample size and baseline assumptions³⁷

	N=1200			N=900		
	Overall (n=1200)	2 Sub-Groups (n=600)	3 Sub-Groups (n=400)	Overall (n=900)	2 Sub-Groups (n=450)	3 Sub-Groups (n=300)
MDES- Means	0.16 SD	0.23 SD	0.28 SD	0.19 SD	0.27 SD	0.33 SD
MDES- 50% Baseline	8.2p.p.	11.7p.p.	14.3p.p.	9.5p.p.	13.5p.p.	16.5p.p.
MDES- 30% Baseline	7.8p.p.	11.3p.p.	14.0p.p.	9.1p.p.	13.1p.p.	16.3p.p.

EFFECT OF R2 ON MDES

In the power calculations presented above, we have conservatively assumed $R^2 = 0$, or that we will be unable to explain any variation in outcomes through covariates. However, this is unlikely to be the case, particularly since we will be collecting baseline data. We expect the baseline data, as well as data on other covariates (such as age, education level, previous employment history, etc), to explain some of the variance in our expected outcomes. In other words, we expect that some of this additional data will help ‘predict’ or explain whether a given individual is employed after the program (to use one anticipated outcome). However, at present we do not have data to estimate the degree of variance explained. Moreover, we expect the amount of variance explained to depend on the outcome selected, so we have conservatively assumed $R^2 = 0$. This means that in practice, our power will likely be a bit higher, ceteris paribus. The graph and table below demonstrates the reduction in MDES at different sample sizes associated with 3 levels of R^2 : 0, 0.1, and 0.2.

³⁷ All figures are based on a two-tailed test.

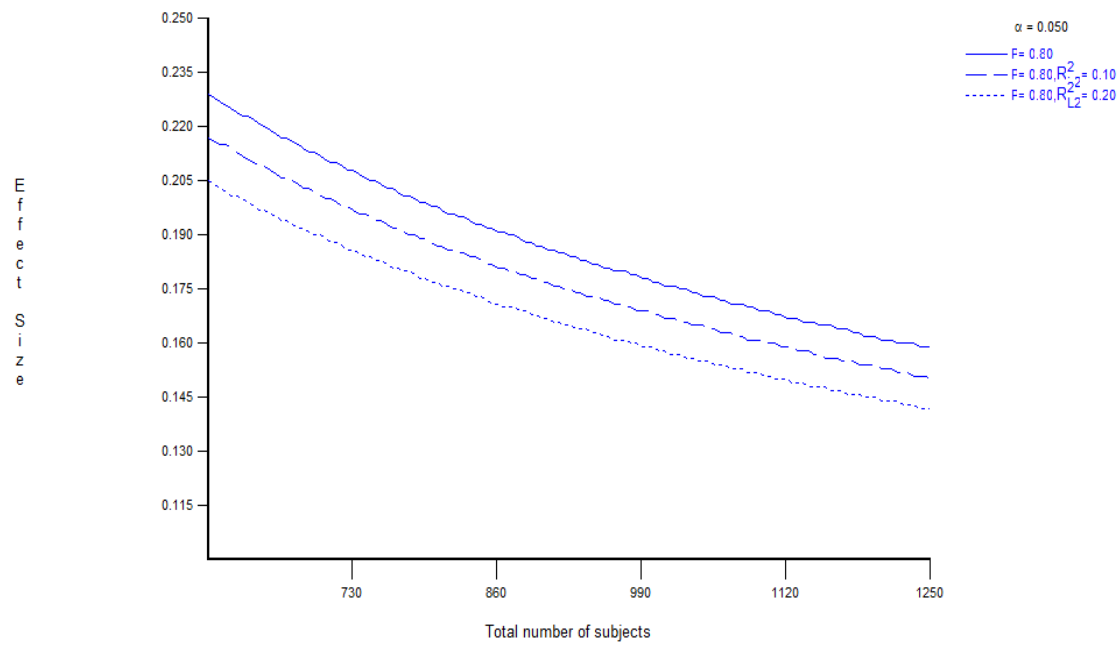


Table One. MDES under different sample size and R^2 assumptions.

	N=1200	N=900
$R^2 = 0$	0.162 SD	0.187 SD
$R^2 = 0.1$	0.154 SD	0.177 SD
$R^2 = 0.2$	0.145 SD	0.167 SD

As demonstrated above, increasing variance explained through covariates from 0 to 0.2 is nearly equivalent to increasing sample size from 900 to 1200, in terms of resultant MDES.

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