# EXAMINING THE ASPIRATIONS AND EXPECTATIONS OF HAITIAN EIGHTH GRADE STUDENTS

# A Thesis

by

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Submitted to the Office of Graduate and Professional Studies of Texas A&M University in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

# MASTER OF SCIENCE

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August 2017

Major Subject: Agricultural Leadership, Education, and Communications

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#### **ABSTRACT**

Haiti is a country plagued with challenges of widespread unemployment and food insecurity. This study seeks to address these challenges through the describing of youth career aspirations and expectations in Haiti. By defining these aspirations and expectations, practitioners in the field of education will have a foundation in which target interventions in agricultural education can be developed to reduce unemployment and food insecurity in the country. A qualitative design was used for this study. The researcher conducted interviews with six students at Lassale School of the Christianville Foundation in Gressier, Haiti. Face-to-face interviews were structured and consisted of six guiding questions based on the Possible Selves Theory. Additionally, students completed a six picture Q-sort instrument to identify desired and least desired careers among the students. These interviews were performed in the common language of the country, Haitian Creole, and were aided by the use of an interpreter from the community. The results of the study found most students did not distinguish their career aspirations versus expectations. Findings showed that students had a strong aversion toward manual labor and the careers of their parents. Based on the findings, students were highly motivated by their feared selves in determining their aspired selves. Occupational counseling and vocational education in school were among the recommendations given.

#### **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

This thesis would not have been possible without the efforts of the staff at Christianville. Guest services coordinator Elizabeth Bird and interpreter Stanley Tibére were instrumental in the success of this project. They went above and beyond to ensure I was able to complete my interviews before my departure from Haiti. I am grateful to the teachers, administrators, and study participants of Lassale. I understand how disruptive it may be to have visitors on campus and I am appreciative of their generosity of sharing their time and resources.

I am thankful to my committee, Dr. Robert Strong Jr., Dr. Gary Briers, and Dr. Leonardo Lombardini, for being accommodating throughout the entire process and always being there to encourage me through the frustrations of academic research.

I am grateful to have had the support of the Department of Agricultural Leadership, Education, and Communications, not only as a student but also as an employee. I could not have had a more understanding employer than Dr. Kirk Edney and I am thankful for his endless support and interest in my personal endeavors.

Additionally, I am thankful to Dr. Manuel Piña and Dr. Rebecca Robles-Piña for working with me on the development of this study and being a source of moral support. I am also thankful to Dr. James Lindner for inviting me to work on the project that inspired my thesis research.

Finally, I would be remiss not to thank my family for always believing in me and being there to support me through my academic career.

# CONTRIBUTORS AND FUNDING SOURCES

# **Contributors**

This work was supervised by a thesis committee consisting of Dr. Robert Strong, Jr. and Dr. Gary Briers of the Department of Agricultural Leadership, Education, and Communications and Dr. Leonardo Lombardini of the Department of Horticultural Sciences.

All work for the thesis was completed independently by the student.

# **Funding Sources**

There are no outside funding contributions to acknowledge related to the research and compilation of this document.

# NOMENCLATURE

NGO Non-governmental organization

PS Possible Self

USAID United States Agency for International Development

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#### CHAPTER I

#### INTRODUCTION AND LITERATURE REVIEW

Through a qualitative approach, I studied and attempted to define career aspirations and expectations of eighth graders at Lassale School of Christianville in Gressier, Haiti. The information provided will benefit the Christianville Foundation in development of interventions to promote successful entry of youth graduating from their schools into the workforce.

#### Haiti

Less than 700 miles south of the United States' southeast coast is Haiti. Haiti, which occupies the western one-third of the Island of Hispaniola is considered the poorest country in the western hemisphere (Sletten & Egset, 2004). This Caribbean country is faced with widespread, abject poverty with over half of its 11 million residents living on less than \$1.90 a day (Central Intelligence Agency, 2016; World Bank Group, 2012). Haiti's economy has a long history of instability which has been further exacerbated by occurrences of natural disasters in the country, including the 2010 earthquake (United States Government, 2014). While agriculture is the largest economic sector in Haiti and employs over 38% of the population, not enough food is produced in the country to meet demand. Therefore, Haiti must rely on agricultural imports (CIA, 2016; Feed the Future, 2016). Haiti's economic and food security challenges are largely attributed to a widespread shortage of skilled labor and consequently a 40 percent

unemployment rate (CIA, 2016; United States Agency for International Development, 2016).

"Haiti is a U.S. policy priority. When this close neighbor is more prosperous, secure, and firmly rooted in democracy Haitians and Americans benefit" (U.S. Department of State, 2016, para. 1). This sentiment is further reflected with the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) being Haiti's largest donor. USAID channels funds through non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in Haiti to create services mimicking governmental infrastructure (Pierre-Louis, 2010). In January 2010, an earthquake devastated the country of Haiti, killing a quarter-million people and destroying over 80% of the capital city of Port-au-Prince (Zanotti, 2010). Since this disaster occurred, the United States has provided over \$4.5 billion to Haiti in emergency relief and recovery resources (USDOS, 2016). A long-term development program was created as a result of this funding around three cities in Haiti: Port-au-Prince, St. Marc, and Cap Haitien. The U.S. assistance aimed to create economic activity in St. Marc and Cap Haitien in an effort to reduce further overcrowding in Port-au-Prince. Assistance was focused on four sectors: 1) Infrastructure and Energy, 2) Food and Economic Security, 3) Health and Other Basic Services, and 4) Governance and Rule of Law. As of 2014, this development program has noted the creation of over 6,000 jobs in north Haiti, the housing of over 300,000 people displaced by the earthquake, increases in crop yields and income, and strengthening of the Haitian police force.

The occurrence of natural disasters has reinforced the involvement of the U.S. government. In October 2016, Hurricane Matthew made landfall in Haiti, affecting an

estimated 2.1 million Haitians and killing nearly 550 people in the country. Additionally, food security decreased by about 60% in the hurricane-affected areas. This prompted an additional influx of aid with the U.S. allocation of more than \$86 million dollars of humanitarian funding for Hurricane Matthew response (USAID, 2017). Since the 1970s foreign assistance has constituted an estimated 70% of Haiti's national treasury revenues, but due to governmental corruption and instability, little of the money reached the Haitian people, resulting in diminutive economic reform (Ramachandran & Walz, 2015).

## Food Insecurity

Because of the persistence of food insecurity in the country resulting in severe poverty and malnutrition, Haiti is a target country for the United States Government's Feed the Future initiative. Feed the Future (2016) seeks to reduce global poverty and hunger through the promotion of agricultural productivity. Food security as stated by the FAO (2003, p. 29), "exists when all people, at all times, have physical, social and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food which meets their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life." Studies indicate that increases in agricultural income reduce the number of people living in extreme poverty between 0.6 and 1.8 percent (Feed the Future, 2016).

Previous attempts by the United States to remedy the food insecurity in Haiti have been widely criticized for further exacerbation of poor economic conditions in the country. During former U.S. President Bill Clinton's term in office in the 1990s, his

administration pushed for a cut in tariffs and subsidization of imported U.S rice. This has resulted in Haitian rice farmers being unable to sell their crop and having to leave their farms (Katz, 2010). In 1980, Haiti produced the majority of its rice, but by the 2000s, Haiti must import 80% of its staple crop (Doyle, 2010). In March 2010, former President Clinton publicly apologized for the policies he championed that inadvertently destroyed rice production in Haiti (Katz, 2010).

#### Christianville Foundation

Christianville Foundation Inc. is one organization working to combat many of the challenges faced by Haitians and improve their livelihoods. Christianville is a faith-based organization located in Gressier, a city less than 20 miles southwest of the capital city. The organization was established in 1978 by Jim and Carol Herget with 35 acres donated by the Haitian government to establish an orphanage and distribute humanitarian aid. Since its beginnings, Christianville has expanded to offer a wide variety of services to the area including four schools, an adult technical school, feeding programs for children and the elderly, child sponsorships, and several agricultural extension programs. It also serves as a platform for mission groups to perform outreach through to the community. The organization serves as a model for other NGOs in Haiti, as it has transitioned from a payroll consisting primarily of U.S. citizens to having 168 of its 170 employees being Haitian citizens (Christianville Foundation, Inc., n.d.).

Christianville's agricultural enterprises not only serve to provide nutritious meals to children but also provide a means to educate farmers on improved agricultural

practices. On the site, Christianville raises Boer-cross goats, tilapia, and layer hens. Each of these enterprises provides a source of protein that can be served in the lunches at Christianville's schools. This is especially important in combatting the malnourishment children face in the country as animal protein may not be available to them on a regular basis otherwise. The University of Florida conducted a study in 2012 on malnourishment rates and found the rate for the children within the Christianville school system was one-fourth of the national average (Christianville Foundation, Inc., n.d.).

Public education is uncommon in Haiti with 90% of schools being privately run (World Bank Group, 2012). The Christianville school system educates more than 1,500 students each year and consists of four primary schools and one secondary school that is regarded as one of the top 10 schools in Haiti. Additionally, Christianville works to combat the issues faced with unemployment by providing a vocational school. The school opened in January 2014 and now has diploma programs in culinary arts, motorcycle mechanics, and vocational agriculture. The school also extends its vocational education to eighth graders at the secondary school so the students can obtain some basic information about the vocations so that they may be better prepared to enter the workforce (Christianville Foundation, Inc., n.d.).

# Workforce Development

The American Association for Agricultural Education's *National Research*Agenda posed six research priority areas in an attempt to focus the field on matters currently pressing, both globally and locally, to food and agricultural systems (Roberts,

Harder, & Brashears, 2016). One of the overarching challenges addressed in the priorities is the challenge to feed a world population that is estimated to grow to 9 billion by 2050. Priority three of the *National Research Agenda* calls for research on developing a scientific and professional workforce that can address 21st-century challenges in agriculture. To meet this priority, research must first identify occupations youth aspire or expect to work. Then, further studies may examine the reduction of unemployment by the recruitment of youth to agricultural sectors through workforce development.

Available literature offers a wide variety of definitions of the term workforce development. Jacobs and Hawley (2009, p. 12) attempt to summarize widely used descriptions in their own definition: "Workforce development is the coordination of public and private sector policies and programs that provide individuals with the opportunity for a sustainable livelihood and helps organizations achieve exemplary goals, consistent with the societal context." USAID's 2011-2015 Education Strategy (2011) was centered around three global education goals with the second goal being workforce development. Since 2008, the agency has invested \$1.2 billion into programs supporting this goal, with \$180 million directed toward the Latin America and Caribbean region (Workforce Connections, 2014). Strategies to support this goal include developing policies and mechanisms for affordable student loans, improving public-private sector collaboration, promoting vocational and technical programs, delivering employability skills relevant to market needs, and improving career counseling and mentoring (USAID, 2011).

The term career as defined by Greenhaus (1987) is the "the pattern of work-related experiences that span the course of a person's life" (p. 6). A job, as defined by *Merriam-Webster Online*, is "a specific duty, role, or function" (2017). For the purposes of this study, I use the term career in the context of its long-term implications.

Jacobs and Hawley (2009) identified five overarching factors driving the need for workforce development at all levels: 1) globalization, 2) technology, 3) new economy, 4) political change, and 5) demographic shifts. By addressing these identified challenges, workforce development becomes a means to promote economic growth in both developed and developing countries. "A consensus has developed among economists and policy analysts on the increased importance that workforce skills play in explaining the labor market problems of the disadvantaged" (Holzer, 2008, p. 2). Holzer argued that not addressing factors contributing poor family economic conditions, such as unemployment and unskilled labor, creates a financial burden for the government.

Globally, unemployment for youth, those between the ages of 15 and 24, is on the rise with an unemployment rate estimated to stagnate at 12.6% from 2013-2018. These numbers are even more significant in developing economies where almost two-thirds of youth are either unemployed or irregularly employed (International Labour Office, 2013). Agriculture is the developing world's largest source of employment and further growth is anticipated. Youth in these areas, while struggling with this rising unemployment, still avoid agricultural occupations (White, 2012). A study conducted in Nigeria of students in their final year of secondary education found that vocational aspirations did not correlate with economic opportunities (Nwagwu, 1976). White

(2012) attributed this lack of agricultural aspiration largely to youth no longer learning skills critical to farming.

# Aspirations and Expectations

To bring youth back into agriculture and create a more food secure future, the development of youth occupation-related aspirations and expectations must be understood. Baly (1989) defined vocational aspiration as the desired career goal an individual sets for his or herself. Aspirations are developed starting in childhood and are influenced by social and economic status, the experiences of the individual, the individual's perception of their abilities and availability of opportunities, gender, and parental influences (Leavy & Smith, 2010). Schoon, Martin, and Ross (2007) identified birth into "less privileged social backgrounds" as a risk factor for the development of low aspirations. Schoon, Martin, and Ross also cite additional literature finding that the parental aspirations for children have a greater impact on the development of youth aspirations than social class factors (Catsambis, 1998; Zellman & Waterman, 1998).

Studies on poverty in the United States, Ethiopia, and Jamaica have found a strong correlation between poverty and a lack of aspirations or low aspirations (Bernard, Dercon, & Taffesse, 2011; Frankenberger et al., 2007; MacLeod, 1995; Walker, 1997). Dalton, Ghosal, and Mani (2016) attribute this correlation to the greater price the poor pay if they fail to achieve their aspirations, consequently, this results in lower aspirations and lower effort entrapping individuals into poverty. Conversely, a study in Nigeria found that students had unrealistically high aspirations with 33% of students surveyed

desiring careers only employing 7% of the workforce (Nwagwu, 1976). Nwagwu ascribed this lack of realism to culture and lack of occupational counseling.

Subsequently, Nigerian youth struggle to be employed in careers they have prepared for in their education, nor do they have the skills to obtain less desired, labor intensive work.

While vocational aspirations are representative of an individual's career goals, expectations represent the occupation the individual believes they will attain (Baly, 1989). Hotchkiss and Borow (1996) found that occupational expectations are largely predictive of occupational attainment as an adult. The development of aspirations and expectations are influenced by many of the same factors, but they differ in that expectations are affected greater by factors of reality than are aspirations (Baly, 1989).

Aspirations generally are higher than expectations, but both tend to decline from childhood to becoming an adult as an individual becomes more aware of realities (Leavy & Smith, 2010). This disparity is often referred to as the aspiration-expectation gap.

This gap frequently narrows with maturity as well (Gottfredson & Becker, 1981). This gap has been studied frequently, but reported results are difficult to compare as the use of metrics has been inconsistent. As the aspiration-expectation gap widens, efforts to achieve aspirations are more likely to diminish (Hellenga, Aber, & Rhodes, 2002). In studies examining racial factors, it was found that White youth's occupational aspirations and expectations were similarly aligned, while Youth of Color's occupational expectations were significantly lower in both pay and status (Baly, 1989). In a study conducted on African-American adolescent mothers living in urban poverty, researchers found that those with an occupational aspiration-expectation gap had higher aspirations

and lower expectations than those who did not have a gap (Hellenga et al., 2002). This study also found that the young women who were experiencing anxiety and depression had a gap.

The literature reveals the benefits of realistically high aspirations and expectations in youth occupational attainment. Part of this challenge is that youth do not necessarily aspire to accessible careers like agriculture; therefore, they do not prepare for these careers in their education. Suggested interventions include occupational counseling to "improve the quality of life for the worker and help meet the productivity needs of employers" (Gottfredson, Holland, & Gottfredson, 1975, p. 144). Schoon (2001) calls for the recruitment of students into viable careers by sharing examples to make certain careers more attractive.

#### Statement of the Problem

In Haiti, the challenges related to widespread unemployment and low agricultural productivity are well published, but minimal literature is provided on vocational aspirations or expectations of Haiti's youth. Additional research is needed to formally identify youth attitudes toward agricultural careers. With this information, better-targeted interventions can be developed to reduce unemployment and increase agricultural productivity by preparing Haitian youth to enter and thrive in agricultural occupations.

#### CHAPTER II

#### THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The Possible Selves Theory (Markus & Nurius, 1986) served as the theoretical framework guiding this study. Possible Selves Theory refers to a type of self-knowledge that pertains to how individuals might envision their potential futures. This theory identifies a relationship between a person's self-concept, motivation, and behavior. Individuals develop positive, negative, and neutral possible selves based on perceptions of past and present selves. Markus and Nurius (1986) break down possible selves into three different profiles: who a person would like to become, who a person could become, and who a person fears they will become. These possible selves (PSs) are influenced by a person's past and present social, cultural, and environmental experiences (Hamman, Gosselin, & Bunuan, 2010).

The possible self of who a person would like to become describes hopes a person has for their future self. Examples given by Markus and Nurius (1986, p. 954) included "the successful self, the creative self, the rich self, the thin self, or the loved and admired self." These possible selves primarily are abstract in nature and reflect fantasies held by an individual without concrete knowledge on how to achieve this self (Yowell, 2002). For the purposes of this study, I defined this possible self as aspiration.

The most realistic possible self an individual ascribes for themselves would be categorized as who a person could become. This possible self would be the most concrete for an individual and may contain information or goals related to the

achievement of that self (Yowell, 2002). The more specific a possible self becomes, the more likely this self-concept will lead to action, and therefore this type of possible self is the most indicative of behavior (Markus & Nurius, 1986). In this study, this possible self will be identified as expectation.

The third possible self is who a person fears they will become. Markus and Nurius (1986, p. 954) give the following examples, "the alone self, the depressed self, the incompetent self, the alcoholic self, the unemployed self, or the bag lady self."

These possible selves are possible selves an individual wants to avoid and are often derived from outside role models (Feuer, 2009). The feared self serves to balance behavior leading to the expected self. While the fear may not directly cause an individual to engage in activity, it does promote avoidance of behavior that may lead a person to their feared self (Yowell, 2002). A balanced possible self provides the most ideal outcomes; this is conceptualized as an individual having fears, hopes, and expectations in the same domain. Oyserman, Bybee, Terry, and Hart-Johnson (2004) give a scenario of a balanced academic self where a student expects to be attending school and hopes to earn good grades, but fears dropping out. Both of these statements would motivate students to work hard in school and avoid bad academic habits.

Possible Selves Theory (Markus & Nurius, 1986) outlines factors influencing a person's aspirations, expectations, and fears and how it leads toward behavior. This theory may be applied to a study of the development of youth occupational aspirations and expectations; it may indicate the likelihood subsequent behaviors will lead to attainment. A study conducted by Feuer (2009) on Latino youth used Possible Selves

Theory to examine how the developed possible selves translate to educational or career outcomes. The study identified the role of barriers and support on student's outcome given their possible selves. Another study (Yowell, 2002) looking at Latino youth examined the predictability power of the possible selves in academic achievement. Results of the study indicated feared self was the strongest predictor of academic performance and confirmed that increased specificity of possible selves correlates with increased performance.

In a 2006 experiment by Oyserman, Bybee, and Terry, eighth grade low-income and minority students in the Detroit area were randomly assigned to be enrolled in a regular elective (control group) or School-to-Jobs (STJ) intervention group. Students enrolled in the STJ group received intervention sessions twice weekly for seven weeks. During the STJ interventions, students participated in activities acknowledging their academics possible selves (APSs). Activities included developing strategies to achieving APSs, identifying possible barriers to achievement, and learning how to overcome these barriers. The researchers developed a process model (Figure 2.1) on the utilization of possible selves to influence a person's self-regulatory behavior, thus affecting their outcome.

Data were collected at the end of the students' eighth and ninth grade year and compared to the baseline data collected prior to STJ intervention. The information collected from teachers and student participants included social identity, time spent on homework, occurrences of disruptive behavior, initiative-taking behavior, absences, grade point average, and prevalence of depression. Results demonstrated an overall

improvement in self-regulatory behavior for students in the STJ intervention group, therefore supporting the proposed process model in Figure 2.1.

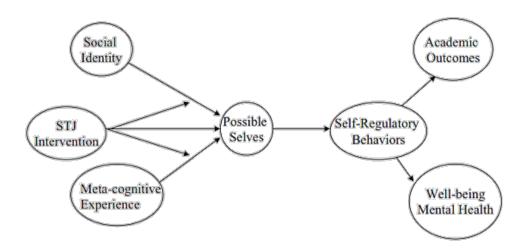


Figure 2.1. Process model. Theorized effects of the STJ intervention on PSs and of PSs on academic engagement, academic outcomes, and depression (Feur, 2009).

The research literature on possible selves begins to overlap with the concept of social capital. Social capital describes the value, both economic and non-economic, that exists within relationships (Coleman, 1988). The example provided by Coleman is the value of trustworthiness among a group; trustworthiness increases the productiveness of an activity as compared to a group lacking this trust. Social capital exists in relationships through the exchange of values, norms, goods, services, information, or support (Portes, 1998). Social capital can generate positive and negative consequences. Positive consequences that can affect achievement may include norms rewarding high academic success, access to resources, and safety (Coleman, 1988). Negative consequences hindering achievement might include norms discouraging upward mobility, restricted access to opportunities, and lack of freedoms (Portes, 1998).

Coleman wrote, "Both social capital in the family and social capital in the community play roles in the creation of human capital in the rising generation" (1988, p. S109). He goes on to define human capital as change in a person that generates skills and abilities (Coleman, 1988). Social capital may be used as an umbrella term for many of the social factors influencing the development of possible selves and subsequent actions.

The possible self theoretical framework has been widely applied to aspiration-expectation studies of youth, including those of poverty and minority groups (Kirk et al., 2012; Oyserman et al., 2006). Kirk et al. (2012) examined the interaction of PSs and the aspiration-expectation gap in his quantitative study of eighth graders at two urban middle schools. His findings reinforced the idea that when an individual has aspirations and expectations congruent with each other, they are more likely to attain their goals. Individuals with a gap between their aspirations and expectations tended to have lower academic self-perception and spent less time on their homework. The most notably significant difference in the study was of the motivation and self-regulation of those who did not have an aspiration-expectation gap. This further confirms the literature on possible selves regarding the importance of specific strategies in goal attainment. Based on the results of the study, Kirk et al. (2012) suggested the implementation of programs teaching self-regulatory behavior in youth rather than pushing for higher goal setting.

Rutherford (2015) built upon the literature that merges possible selves theory and aspiration-expectation gap research. She utilized datasets to explore the effects of aspiration-expectation discrepancies on middle and high school student well-being. Her analysis also examines the relationship of parental aspirations and student expectations

as well. In the study, well-being was measured with items about happiness, interest in life, and satisfaction. Overall, she found a trend in greater well-being with closer aligned aspirations and expectations. Among the age groups, middle school students' well-being was affected more by gaps between parental aspirations and their own expectations, while high school students' well-being was more affected by discrepancies with their own aspirations and expectations. This highlights the importance of parental influence on child well-being in their earlier years.

Additional research is needed to confirm the validity of Possible Selves Theory in countries other than the U.S. including lesser developed ones such as Haiti.

#### **CHAPTER III**

#### PURPOSE, OBJECTIVES AND METHODS

The purpose of this study was to examine and compare career aspirations and expectations of eighth grade students at Lassale School of the Christianville Foundation, Inc. in Gressier, Haiti. This research will benefit secondary schools in Haiti by providing educators and administrators with a better perspective of secondary-school children's' understanding of available careers, their career desires, and the barriers to the realization of their aspirations. By demonstrating the gap between aspirations and expectations, secondary schools may develop targeted vocational approaches to narrow this gap.

# Research Objectives

This study sought to identify the relationship of aspirations and expectations of Haitian secondary school children through the framework of the Possible Selves Theory to assist educators in closing any gaps.

- Describe career aspirations of 8th grade students at Lassale School in Gressier,
   Haiti;
- Describe career expectations of 8th grade students at Lassale School in Gressier,
   Haiti and;
- Describe career-related fears of 8th grade students at Lassale School in Gressier,
   Haiti.

## Research Design

A qualitative paradigm was chosen to be implemented in the study because it offers a deeper understanding of the phenomenon under investigation. Qualitative methods were more appropriate in the context of this study because of the emphasis it places on meanings constructed from social experiences (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008). By utilizing a qualitative paradigm, the research methodology provides opportunity to identify patterns influencing individuals' perceptions in their natural setting (Fraenkel, Wallen, & Hyun, 2011). A phenomenological approach was used in order to identify common perceptions among participants. The primary sources of data in this study were six students. The data were collected through a series of six structured face-to-face interviews at Lassale School. Interviews have been described as the most important part of qualitative data collection as they provide insight to the context of the situation being examined. The limitation of utilizing the phenomenological approach is the assumption that common themes would appear among participants (Fraenkel et al., 2011).

Qualitative research has become increasingly valuable in education studies (Fraenkel et al., 2011). The field of education finds this research design especially applicable because it calls for the researcher to conduct the study within the natural setting and with small sample sizes (Dooley, 2007). A study was conducted by Cook et al. (1996, p. 3373) on occupational expectations and aspirations. One source of data in this study was collected using individual face-to-face interviews with openended questions to "tap into a child's set of unconstrained occupational

possibilities" and to identify role-models given the element of spontaneity. Behnke, Piercy, and Diversi (2004) conducted a study on the educational and occupational aspirations of rural Latino youth. By using naturalistic, face-to-face, structured interviews with both parents and their children, the researchers were able to identify underlying themes present and the influences of family relationships on the aspirations of the youth.

Research conducted internationally benefits from qualitative approaches as this design can account for cultural contexts significant to the study at hand that would otherwise remain unexamined in a quantitative design (Fraenkel et al., 2011). Crossley and Vulliamy (1996) have noted the importance of conducting qualitative research when studying education in developing countries because the previous emphasis on positivist strategies has neglected to acknowledge the everyday contexts. When conducting crosslanguage, qualitative research, translators can be utilized not only to convert the interviews in a language applicable to the researcher, but also to devise underlying meanings from what is spoken that may be lost in verbatim translation (Temple & Young, 2004). Qualitative research has even been adopted by major international agencies such as World Bank (Crossley & Vulliamy, 1996). One such study looked at educational reform of primary schools in Columbia, Ethiopia, and Bangladesh (Dalin, 1994).

## Context Description

The country of Haiti is in the Caribbean, sharing the island of Hispaniola with the Dominican Republic; Haiti uses the western one-third of the island (CIA, 2016). Haiti is the poorest country in the western hemisphere with 40% of the urban population being unemployed and 75% of Haitians living on less than \$2 per day (USAID, 2016). This study was conducted within the city of Gressier which is less than 13 miles west of Haiti's capital, Port-au-Prince. Gressier has a population of 75,000 people and covers more than 41 square miles. Gressier's economy is based primarily on agriculture even though over half of the land in the area is not suitable for farming (CAGH Gressier-Haiti, n.d.). The research was conducted at Lassale School located on the Christianville campus. Christianville is a faith-based organization that serves to provide sustainable outreach programs to Gressier and surrounding areas. One of Christianville's major outreach sectors is education and the Lassale School is the organization's secondary school adjacent to the Christianville campus. Haitian public education is uncommon with 90% of the schools being privately run and secondary schools being even less prevalent. The Lassale School is regarded as one of the top ten schools in Haiti based on national exam performance. Part of the enrollment includes children who are sponsored by an outside donor to receive tuition, meals, and medical care (Christianville Foundation, Inc., n.d.). Students enrolled at the school are advantaged by their access to top tier education and resources that promote their well-being.

## **Research Participants**

The target population comprises of eighth-graders enrolled in the Lassale School at Christianville in Gressier, Haiti. Eighth-grade is a significant year of schooling at Christianville, as there is an observable increase in students dropping out of school at this level to support their families (E. Bird, personal communication, January 9, 2017). As of fall semester of 2016, there were 52 eighth- graders enrolled. Purposive sampling was used to select six (N=6) of the students to serve as participants in face-to-face interviews for the study. Of the six participants, half were male (M1, M2, M3) and half were female (F1, F2, F3). Their ages ranged from 13 to 16 with four of the six being 13 years old, with one male being 14 years old and one female being 16 years old.

## **Data Collection**

This study utilized six structured face-to-face interview with my question translated from English to Haitian Creole and responses given in Haitian Creole were then translated to English. Face-to-face interviews were used to allow the researcher to capture unforeseen trends that emerged through the dialogue with the key informants (Dooley, 2007). Six key questions were asked to collect data for this study with supplemental questions asked to encourage a full dialogue between me, the researcher, and each student participant. A Career Choice Photo Q-sort Instrument was presented, where students were shown pictures of six known community members in their work roles via smartphone and asked to describe the careers and select their most and least preferred careers among the six. Q methodology involves a ranking of given statements

or items by the participant (Brown, 1996). Because of the small sample and qualitative nature of this study, Q methodology is a valuable way to obtain information on human behavior (Brown, 1993). For the purposes of time, student participants only ranked the job they most preferred and the job they least preferred. These interviews were conducted in the country's common language, Haitian Creole (CIA, 2016). Because I did not speak the language, an interpreter translated my English in the interviews. The interpreter was carefully selected from the community in which the student participants resided and was a student and a graduate of the Lassale School. The interpreter was also a student of linguistics at a local college and had a comprehensive understanding of the nuances of both languages utilized during the interview, English and Haitian Creole. By selecting someone engaged with the community, rapport was established with the respondents, allowing the interviewer to obtain more accurate data (Dooley, 2007). Additionally, the translator's familiarity with the community allowed him to better interpret the interview by his knowledge of the cultural meanings tied to the verbal and non-verbal language used (Simon, 1996). These interviews were recorded and to allow for confirmation of the accuracy of the given translations (Temple & Young, 2004). The interviews were also transcribed in English to allow for further analysis.

Additionally, informal interviews were conducted with teachers and community members to gain a different perspective on the lives of Haitian youth in the schools.

Trustworthiness was established with the use of a translator who also served as a cultural interpreter (Dooley, 2007). This person was a former student of Lassale School and was studying linguistics at a local college. He acted not only to translate language verbatim,

but also to share insights onto the meanings of responses in the context of Haitian culture. Confirmability was established through the audio recordings of the interviews and transcriptions, as well as archiving of researcher field notes (Dooley, 2007).

The interviews were conducted over the course of two days in a classroom at Lassale School after classes ended in January of 2017. The students were interviewed individually to reduce peer influence on the dialogue (Cook et al., 1996). The student participants were notified of their rights prior to the start of the interview. Bracketing analysis was used to identify connections between themes that arose during the interview process (Dooley, 2007).

During the second part of the interview, students I asked to complete a Career Choice Photo Instrument. The instrument consisted of six photos of well-known people who worked at Christianville. People were selected per the recommendation of a Christianville employee based on likelihood of the students' knowledge of the person and diversity of career levels. Careers represented in the pictures were farm manager, kindergarten teacher, pastor, maintenance worker, guest services coordinator, and Christianville executive director. I presented students with these pictures organized into an album on a smartphone and allowed to scroll through and orally respond to two questions for each picture and two questions following the individual discussion of each picture. The purpose of this was to identify students' perspectives of careers they see in their everyday lives.

Naturalistic observations were also conducted by the researcher at Lassale School. By observing the physical and cultural environment in depth and taking field notes, the researcher is able to reduce bias (Fraenkel et al., 2011). The researcher observed student interactions at the school during a break and a ninth grade mathematics course.

## **Research Questions**

Questions were developed through a series of four pilot interviews in English to assess the understandability of the items. Pilot subjects included three ninth grade students, two from the Lassale School and one from a Texas public high school, and an international graduate student. The following questions were asked in the order given during the face-to-face interviews. Supplemental questions were asked to elicit further dialogue from the student participants.

- 1. What type of work does your family do to provide for themselves?
- 2. What level of education did your family members receive?
- 3. If you could have any job you wanted, what would it be?
- 4. How often do you think about what you will do after you finish schooling?
- 5. What type of work do you find least desirable for yourself?
- 6. When you finish school, what do you expect to do for work?

Additionally, students were presented with pictures of six well-known community members in their jobs via smartphone. The careers represent were farm manager, kindergarten teacher, pastor, maintenance worker, guest services coordinator, and Christianville executive director. Students were asked the following questions about each picture.

- 1. Can you describe this person's job?
- 2. What do you like or dislike about this job?

After answering both questions for each picture, students were asked to show the picture that represented their response for the following questions.

- 1. Of these jobs, which one would you like to have the most?
- 2. Of these jobs, which one would you like to have the least?

## **Study Limitations**

This study was conducted in a school that ranks among the top 10% in Haiti. While these children are still subject to the abject poverty and malnutrition occurring in Haiti, they are privileged in that they are able to attend secondary school (Christianville Foundation, Inc., n.d.). With the frequently spoken language of the area being Haitian Creole and the researcher's language being English, the language barrier presents an issue as meanings associated with the questions and answers may not have accurately transferred between all parties of this study. Additionally, the topic also brought in the sensitive subject of poverty and well-being; student participants may not have been forthcoming with honest answers and insights as to their realities. Racial and gender factors may have influenced the responses provided as well; the researcher conducting the interviews was a white female and the participants were black students, evenly mixed of male and female.

#### **CHAPTER IV**

#### **FINDINGS**

#### Observations

The school was located adjacent to the Christianville campus and was surrounded by a tall chain link fence. Outside the fence was a dirt road lined with vendors attending their carts and selling various snack items. A guard who worked for the school would watch who came in and out and greeted me, the interpreter, and the Christianville employee I was accompanied by. Inside the fence the school was organized into rows of concrete buildings with corresponding grade levels painted outside each classroom door. Children ran freely on the campus during each break each student dressed in uniforms corresponding to their age group. The smallest children wore all red outfits with their names written across their stomachs. Older children wore white shirt with red pants or skirts and the children in the secondary grades wore blue pants or skirts. The students spent this time interacting with other students of the same age group and gender until a bell rang and students scattered back to designated classes.

To gain perspective on the lives of the students in an academic setting, I arranged to observe a ninth grade mathematics class. The classroom consisted of four concrete walls with no decorations and window-like openings in the walls allowing light and air into the room. The front of the class had an empty desk for the teacher and the front wall was covered by two long chalkboards with "Bonjou" and "Bonjour" written on them, these words respectively translate to "hello" in Haitian Creole and French. Also

written on one board is "ceréales" followed by what appeared to be a list of grains: corn, millet, and rice. Three rows of wooden desks faced the board, with each desk covered with carvings of various names, words, and sketches.

Upon entering the classroom, I observed a group of boys sitting in the back table playing card games and laughing. Shortly after sitting down, the Lassale assistant director walked in and spoke to the boys hanging out in the classroom as if he was instructing them to leave, because the boys left immediately after the assistant director had spoken with them. Several minutes later students began to fill the classroom. Students walked happily in the room, chatting with others as they entered and found a seat. Boys found seats on the left side of the room and girls on the right with three tables in the middle also divided by gender. The math teacher entered and greeted us, he then called to a boy to erase what was written on the chalkboards. The teacher searched the textbook he carried in with him for a page and immediately began his lesson in French by defining fractions and providing a formula on the board. He then began to question the students on the formula written on the board and students loudly responded to their instructor in unison with the answer. Much of his lecture consisted of having his students finish his statements in this same manner. The teacher did not smile, but appeared content as he interacted with his pupils. As he lectured, he walked back and forth between the desk aisles working quickly through the information. The quickness and confidence in the responses of the students led me to believe this lesson was primarily a review.

The teacher moved through topics in his lesson by writing out fractions on the board and having the class provide answers for each step of simplification of fractions with exponents. Only a few students had textbooks out, and their books were observably worn and falling apart. Many of the girls were quietly chatting among themselves during the lesson. Students had varying levels of attention to the teacher and the lesson, but none appeared to be completely off task. As the lesson progressed, boys in the back corner of the room became distracted by an indistinguishable item on their desk. The teacher saw they were not on task and gave the boys what sounded like a verbal reprimand based on the sharpness of his tone. At this point the teacher stopped to find a new page in his textbook, while the students quietly talked among themselves. The teacher's textbook also appeared to be aged, but in better condition than the books of the students. During this time, the sound of students singing in the next classroom could easily be heard.

The lesson resumed as the mathematics instructor had copied five problems labeled A through E of increasing levels of difficulty on the board. The teacher called a boy to the front of the room to solve problem "A" and using a calculator, the boy quickly and independently worked through the problem. Once the student arrived at his answer, he immediately erased it to rewrite the answer in a neater and larger print. The teacher verified that the boy gave the correct answer and the classroom gave a quick round of applause in recognition. This pattern continued as another student was called forward to complete problem "B". At this point I noticed the students' reliance on the calculator for every step requiring division. They did not appear to have some of what I perceived as

simple division problems committed to memory, such as  $32 \div 2$ . Students followed along with these problems writing in graphing paper notebooks with pens. The level of difficulty increased for problem "C", and the teacher demonstrated the solution to the problem and continued his question-answer technique with the class. Once the problem was completed, the students applauded the instructor. He then moved on to the more challenging problem, problem "D", again calling out a student to solve it. This girl was the tallest in the class, being even taller than her teacher and appearing to be one of the oldest students in the class. The student seemed to struggle with the problem, taking more time to step back and examine what is on the board. Eventually, students started to call out to her to assist her with the problem. Once the student completed the problem, she was applauded and returned to her seat. The final student called to the board was a boy who wore his backpack up to the front, possibly anticipating class would end shortly. He moved through the problem just as the others students did and again ended with applause. The teacher pulled a phone out of his pocket to check the time. At this time, another instructor walked into the class to begin his lesson. The class stood and greeted the man in unison, and the mathematics instructor walked out concluding the time I had allocated to observe.

Based on these observations, I was first able to notice the separation by gender.

While the students were not assigned seats, they nearly had created a dividing line between males and females in the classroom. Students overall, were well behaved needing little disciplinary action from their teacher to stay on topic. The classroom was able to function with minimal resources, the teacher was able to lead lecture using his

textbook and a chalkboard. Students all had pens and paper with some having worn versions of the textbooks or calculators. During the lesson, I could see students seemed to understand the content at some level, even if they did need more level. These observations were valuable because I was able to see how gender played a role in that age group. I was also able to observe that students did take their education seriously as the students all paid attention and took notes in class.

Over the course of two afternoons, six eighth-grade students were interviewed with the assistance of an interpreter at Lassale School in Gressier, Haiti after classes were let out. Interviews were conducted in the students' classroom with the researcher and interpreter sitting across from the student being interviewed with males being interviewed on the first day and females on the second. Interviews occurred naturalistically and were framed around six structured research questions, followed by a Q-sort instrument utilizing pictures on a smart phone and oral feedback. Observations and structured questions sought to provide the researcher with background information and information regarding the students' possible selves. Additionally, the Q-sort instrument was provided to explore students' perceptions of careers they see within their community. Findings are presented based on these themes.

### Background Information

Students were asked two questions to provide background information on themselves. The intent of these questions was to identify relationships, if any, between family dynamics and student possible selves.

Research Question 1: What type of work does your family do to provide for themselves?

When asked this question, three of the students (M1, M2, F3) responded that their mothers were sales women. One student (F3) reported that both of her parents were in sales. Students explained their parents sold clothes (M2) and drinks (F3). A male student (M1) abruptly answered that he did not know what his mother sold. In Haiti, formal employment is not common and many Haitians provide for themselves by selling goods. Outside of Lassale School, many vendors line the gate daily with colorful carts selling various items such as clothes, popcorn, soft drinks, candies, and fried plantains.

Two females (F1, F2) reported that their mothers worked as cooks. One male (M3) explained "right now mom doesn't work...just stay at home." Three others (M1, M2, F2) reported on the careers of their fathers "my father is a teacher" (M1), "my dad is a taxi driver" (M2), and "my father is an engineer" (F2). In later questioning, one student (M1) revealed his father had previously worked as a mason. Two (M3, F1) also stated that their fathers' did not work in the country "when he was here in Haiti, he was a mason and right now he travels to work in Chile and don't know what he does there" (M3) and "my father is in the United States" (F1). A teacher at Lassale School expressed concern for the widespread trend of educated Haitians leaving the country to seek formal employment rather than staying to improve Haiti. Three students (M1, M3, F1) were not able to fully describe the work of their parents. The two students (M3, F1) who had fathers outside of the country did not know what their fathers did for work and

one male (M1) did not know what his mother sold. It was not clear whether the students (M1, M3, F1) did not know this information or were reluctant to share this with me.

Research Question 2: What level of education did your family members receive?

Of the responses to this question, only one student (M3) mentioned a parent finishing school, "I think my dad has finished with high school." Two students (M1, F1) reported their parents attending the 12<sup>th</sup> grade "My father reached 12<sup>th</sup> grade, he went to public school in Leogane" (M1) and "I know for my mom, she finishes 12<sup>th</sup> grade" (F1). The Haitian school system consists of 14 levels, ranging from kindergarten to Filo (Philo). Filo, also known as philosophy, is the 13<sup>th</sup> and final grade in Haiti. If the parent

has only finished 12<sup>th</sup> grade in Haiti, they have not completed their secondary schooling.

Only one student (M2) knew precisely which grades both his parents completed "my mom reached sixth grade and my dad reached ninth grade." Another student (M3) had an idea of how much each parent completed "I think my dad finishes high school and for my mom, she reaches maybe tenth or eleventh grade" (M3). Three females (F1, F2, F3) reported not knowing their parents level of education "I don't know for my dad" (F1) and "don't believe my mom or dad finished high school" (F3). Three of the students (M3, F2, F3) had parents who attended Christianville schools. One female (F1) added that she had two sisters "they are finished with high school; right now they are learning medical sciences."

### Possible Selves

Questions three through six were developed to reveal perceptions on each student's possible selves and to examine their familiarity with available careers and requirements to attain these. Question three, five, and six were framed specifically to answer what each student's aspirations, fears, and expectations (respectively) are in the domain of future careers.

Research Question 3: If you could have any job you wanted, what would it be?

When students were asked about the desired jobs, all three males (M1, M2, M3) and one female (F3) responded quickly and confidently that they would like to become a doctor. Students went on to add why they wanted to be a doctor "you take care of patients" (M1), "I like when doctor take care of patients in hospital that have accidents or a scratch" (M2), "I used to go to hospital and see doctor taking care of patients and this is where I get the idea" (M3), and "surgery" (F3). Three students (M1, M2, F3) stated that they knew a doctor "on movies I used to see doctors and my mom, she has a friend that's a doctor" (F3). One male (M3) even mentioned discussing the career with his father, "I had a conversation with my dad about being a doctor." After speaking with the males who all iterated that they wished to become a doctor, the interpreter explained that "doctor" does not necessarily have the same meaning to Haitians as it would to Americans. "Generally, in Haiti, people confuse the term 'doctor'. So they didn't know doctor is someone of a great level of study, having a doctorate or a master's. So when they say doctor they refer to someone who has a mask on them and takes care of patients. This is what they have in mind."

One female (F3) listed doctor as one of several careers she would like "when I finish high school, I would love to be a doctor, a painter, as well as a dress maker." The other two females (F1) reported the careers that they desired "I'd love to be president of a bureaucratic situation like the state" (F1) and "secretary" (F2). The female (F1) who responded with desires to become president enthusiastically and talking rapidly in Haitian Creole explained, "because I would love for the country to go and advance, to develop. I realize as a citizen, I have to act." This is observed here among the males who were all quick to respond with doctor as their desired profession.

Research Question 4: How often do you think about what you will do after you finish schooling?

Students were asked to tell how often they think about what they will do after school and answers varied in the amount of precision in which they responded. Five of the students (M1, M2, M3, F2, F3) responded that they do think about what they will do after finishing school. Two males (M1, M3) both reported that they think about their dream career "frequently" adding after further questioning, "maybe twice a week" (M1) and "often" (M3). One male (M2) responds to the question, "this is not something I have in mind every day, but when I am reading biology lessons or something that is connected with medicine, then I am reminded of becoming a doctor." Two of the female students (F2, F3) replied "yes…once a week" (F2) and "my whole life" (F3). The remaining student (F1) did not respond to the question when asked initially, I repeated the question and the interpreter translated once again. No response was given again and

the student avoided eye contact, I chose not pursue the question further on this student (F1).

Of the responses, two males (M2, M3) added they understood what it takes to become a doctor. Two students (M3, F3) went on to describe requirements for becoming a doctor "I know I have to study. I know that when you reach the university, you will have a lot of study to do and research about your job. And when you reach the level where you can practice, they will train you to the ability. Depends on your ability in medicine, not just theory but in practice, if you get the job" (M3) and "I need to finish high school and go to university to learn medical sciences" (F3). The female student (F2) who wished to become a secretary was able to describe the career and what she needed to do to attain that job "you have an office and you receive people with different tasks" and "I will need to finish with high school. After I need to go to university."

Research Question 5: What type of work do you find least desirable for yourself?

Of the responses to this question, only one career was repeated. Two of the male (M1, M2) students reported mason work as the least desired for themselves "like someone who builds houses, I don't like mason" (M1) and "this is not a good job... mason is hard work" (M2). Both males (M1, M2) went on to explain their reasoning behind their dislike for the career "I remember my father. Something like this happened to him. He was building houses and stairs and he fell through. It's too dangerous sometimes. People do not take care of what they are doing and when they are building house sometimes it becomes too dangerous" (M1) and "when I touch people's hands that practice mason they are hard" (M2). These two males (M1, M2) also added that they did

not want to be a "journalist" (M1) or a "taxi driver" (M2). The interpreter explains to me "it's not journalists that are played on TV shows. This is journalism that is going and taking information from the field. In Haiti, it's a very dangerous job. That is why most kids do not want to be a journalist." Clean hands are a symbol of status in Haiti; jobs that require a person to get their hands dirty are looked down upon.

The remaining responses were more difficult to obtain from the students. The remaining male (M3) simply responded "there are a lot of jobs people need to do; I don't like to be in situations to do this kind of job." Among all of the students interviewed, there was some reluctance to answer this question and the females were even more so hesitant to provide a response. Students were slow to answer and avoided direct eye contact during this question. One female (F3) was asked this question and she looked away avoiding giving a response. I did not pursue further questioning on this subject. Another female (F2) did not initially respond, I then reiterated with the question and received a response "CNA" (F2). The interpreter then clarifies what a CNA is "CNA is a type of work in Haiti where people get rid of trash". The student (F2) explains her dislike for the job "because sometimes you have got to use your hands to pick up trash". The remaining female (F1) responded with two careers she did not want "I don't want to be a cook or working as a woman who sees different boys". After later discussion with the interpreter, it was clarified the student (F1) was explaining she did not want to work as a prostitute.

Research Question 6: When you finish school, what do you expect to do for work?

Answers to question six were for the most part brief and came without hesitation from the students. For this question five out of the six students (M1, M2, M3, F2, F3) interviewed responded that they will have the career that they reported in research question three. This translated to four of the students (M1, M2, M3, F3) expecting to become a doctor and one student (F2) expecting to become a secretary. The remaining student (F1) was the only one who had a different expectation for herself. The career she expected of herself was "agronomist", while she aspired to be "president" (F1). The student (F1) explained her reasoning "because in Haiti we need to use our land for agriculture to develop".

#### Career Choice Photo Instrument

Following the oral interview students were asked to go through a set of six pictures on a phone of people of different careers at Christianville, describe each, and select the career they found the most desirable and the career they found the least desirable. The careers represented in the pictures were farm manager, kindergarten teacher, school pastor, maintenance worker, guest services coordinator, and executive director. The pictures were presented in the perspective order on a cell phone and students were allowed to scroll freely through the six pictures.

### Farm Manager

The first picture displayed on the phone was of the farm manager. Of the students interviewed, none were able to describe the work performed by the farm manager. After a career description was provided, only two students (F1, F3) responded

positively toward his career "as a future agronomist, I would love that job" (F1) and "I love anything on it" (F3). One male (M2) reported neutral feelings about this line of work "there's nothing weird about the job. I don't like, I don't dislike." Two students (M1, F2) gave negative responses toward the career. The female student (F2) who disliked his career as a farm manager assumed he was a driver "I thought he was a driver...I love to see him driving, but do not love his job." When the students being interviewed were given the opportunity to select the career they would like most none selected the farm worker. When asked which career they would least like to have one female (F3) select this role.

# Kindergarten Teacher

Because of nature of the role of a kindergarten teacher, only two students (M1, M2) who responded they did not know the teacher were asked if they knew what a kindergarten teacher does. Both students (M1, M2) responded in the affirmative to understanding the career role. All of the female students (F1, F2, F3) and one male student (M3) reported that they knew the kindergarten teacher. Four of the students (M1, M2, F2, F3) explained what they liked about the job of a kindergarten teacher "I like when teachers in kindergarten teach kids theory very good" (M1), "What I like the most is when they teach kids" (M2), "I love her because she teaches kids to sing and she teaches them different things. I love everything" (F2), and "I love what she does, she takes care of children. During the previous program I got to see her take care of children and this is what I love too" (F3). Four students (M1, M2, M3, F1) shared their dislikes for the career "The problem is with that job is when the kids make poo on themselves or

they make pee" (M1), "What I do not like, even though they are kids they are little kids, so they disturb the class too much and then the teachers talk too much" (M2), "The kids mess up too much" (M3), and "What I do not like about this job, women are not supposed to teach" (F1). When asked to select their preferred job of the six present, only one (F2) chose the kindergarten teacher. Another female (F3) attempted to select the kindergarten teacher in addition to another job as the one she would prefer most, but when instructed to choose only one she selected the executive director over the teacher. When students were asked to select the career they least preferred, two students (M2, F1) selected the kindergarten teacher.

#### Pastor

Responses to the career represented in the picture were unanimously positive. Every student knew of the pastor as he worked within the school. Each student shared what they liked about the career "I love that...when you are a pastor, you are a shepherd" (M1), "What I like the most is the education he gives to the people according to the law of God" (M2), "I would love being a pastor... Pastor teach people about the love of God. And teach people how to behave and not to go to hell" (M3), "I really, really like this job. Each verse he is teaching to the children is perfect for their souls and helping them to be saved" (F1), "during the devotion time he teaches the word of God" (F2), and "I like his job because he is the one that evangelize. He is doing a great job because he is teaching people to choose the right way" (F3). Students did not share any dislikes of the job. When students were to select the careers they liked or disliked, no one chose the career of the school pastor.

#### Maintenance Worker

Half of the students (M1, M3, F2) interviewed reported that they knew the school maintenance worker. Responses included four students (M2, F1, F2, F3) sharing what they like about this job "What I do like is this kind of people are helping people" (M2), "I love this job... I think if every place has someone like him, it would be very helpful" (F1), "I love his job because he used to install electric stuff" (F2), and "What I love in his job he is the one that takes care of houses and help people when there are blackouts when there is no electricity" (F3). The three male students (M1, M2, M3) shared that they would not like to work in maintenance. Two students (M1, F2) expressed a fear of electrocution related to this job "[I] don't like when they are electrocuted" (M1) and "I'm afraid one day [maintenance worker] might be electrocuted" (F2). When given the opportunity to select the career the student would most prefer, one male (M1) selected the maintenance worker. This does not match up with a response previously made by the student, that he would not want this job. Two others (M3, F2) selected the maintenance worker as the career they would least desire.

### Guest Services Coordinator

During the interviews with the male students (M1, M2, M3), the guest services coordinator was on the opposite side of the room interacting with these students before and after their interviews. Of the students responses, half (M1, M3, F2) claimed they knew the guest services coordinator previously and the other half (M2, F1, F3) reported they did not know of this person. None of the students knew what type of work was associated with the career. After explaining the career description, five of the students

(M1, M2, M3, F1, F2) report that they would like this job "this is something fair, something good to teach people helping know places they don't know" (M1), "What I love in her job, is she is doing a good job for the mission in the relation of foreigners and Haitian people" (M2), "This job is not too bad. I'd love it" (M3), "I would love her job too… she is helping people, this is a Samaritan job" (F1), and "I love everything she does" (F2). One male (M2) reiterated that he loved the job while looking back multiple times to where the guest services coordinator was standing. Only one student (F3) responded negatively toward the job "I don't love her job" and would not elaborate further. Three students (M2, M3, F1) selected the guest services coordinator job when asked to choose the one they would prefer. None selected the job as the one they would least desire.

#### Christianville Executive Director

When shown the picture of the executive director, each student recognized him immediately. None of the students interviewed understood what his current role was as the executive director, but three students (M3, F2, F3) knew of his previous role as a pastor "I know he was a pastor" (M3), I know his job, when [school pastor] cannot be here as pastor, [executive director] used to replace him" (F2), and "the same as [school pastor]" (F3). Two of the students (M1, F1) explained what they liked about the role of the executive director "Sometimes decisions can be good. When you make good decisions, people can be happy" (M1) and "I love his job. I love everything he does" (F1). Two students (M1, M3) also shared what they would dislike about the executive director job "When they make bad decisions, some people will be mad with you. It's not

good, this is the bad side" (M1) and "Too much stuff to take care of" (M3). Of the careers presented to them, only one student (F3) selected the executive director as the career they would most desire. Another student (M1) selected this job as the one they would least like to have. Table 4.1 visually depicts the results of the career choice Q-sort.

	Farm Manager	Kindergarten Teacher	Pastor	Maintenance Worker	Guest Services Coordinator	Executive Director
M1				О		X
M2		X			0	
М3				X	0	
F1		X			0	
F2		0		X		
F3	X					0
	O - Most preferred career X - Least preferred career					

Table 4.1 Q-sort career choice photo instrument results

Based on the answers provided within the Q-sort portion of the interview, rankings of career preference were established based on the proportion of positive and neutral results over those careers with negative results. The rankings are given in table 4.2.

Rank	Career		
1	Guest Services Coordinator		
2	Executive Director		
3	School Pastor		
4	Maintenance Worker		
4	Kindergarten Teacher		
6	Farm Manager		

Table 4.2. Q-sort career choice rankings.

### Researcher's Reflections

Upon reflection over the experience of observations and interviews at Lassale School, I noted three key themes that appeared to have influenced the career choices of the students. These themes were awareness of parent backgrounds, parental influence, and manual labor.

# Awareness of Parent Backgrounds

Students seemed to struggle when answering questions regarding the background of their parents, including work and education. All of the students interviewed described having some type of relationship with both their mother and their father, but family dynamics were not questioned in this interview. Most students were able to give broad answers about their parents' employment, but the ones whose fathers were not in the country were not able to provide a job title or description. The answer to the question of employment may be made more difficult as the workforce primarily consists of informal

employment or entrepreneurship. Educational backgrounds on the students' parents were even harder to collect. Only one student could provide a specific answer on the education level for both parents. Most were able to give estimates on the final grade level their parents achieved, being unsure if they had even finished high school. I found this surprising that a student would not know if their parent had finished high school.

# Parental Influence

When discussing careers that a student least would like to have, there was a notable trend of the student responding with the career of their parent. None of these student responded by directly stating they did not want the career of their parent. The careers least desired corresponded to the parent of the same gender's career as well, i.e. the male students did not want to do the work their fathers did and female students did not want to do the work their mothers did. Looking at the career aspirations and expectations of the students, none of the students answered that they would like or expect to have the career of either of their parents.

#### Manual Labor

A prominent theme noted by responses within the interviews and communications with the interpreter and other community members is a strong aversion toward manual labor. There is a stigma among Haitians of having dirty or calloused hands and students directly mention their aversion toward their hands touching anything they perceive is dirty. The type of work that requires people to get physically dirty is looked down upon among Haitian society. This is reflected in the student's responses of office based or medical work as their preferred jobs and fear of working in jobs

involving labor. Observing the hands of the students and members of the community, I could see an effort was made to keep hands and fingernails tidy. Students could frequently be observed at the hand wash stations at their school carefully scrubbing their hands. The stigma behind manual labor appeared to one of the strongest influence on the students' selection of careers.

#### CHAPTER V

#### CONCLUSIONS, IMPLICATIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

# Objective One

The first objective was to describe career aspirations of eighth grade students at Lassale School in Gressier, Haiti.

Conclusions Related to Objective One

The first objective was to define the career aspirations of eighth graders attending Lassale School. The findings from Objective One indicate that all students had high aspirations for themselves. Students did not provide any negative descriptions of their futures. All but one of the students' aspirational responses were based upon careers they have observed in their everyday life. This shows their aspirations are high, but also potential realities. Doctor was the most common aspiration even though there may be discrepancies in what a student perceives to be a doctor and an actual doctor who has completed medical schools. Each of these students aspired to careers that would require additional schooling beyond completion of high school. Eighth grade is a critical year in the Haitian education system, as it is when many students begin to drop out (E. Bird, personal communication, January 9, 2017). All responses given indicate students wish to complete their high school educations and continue on. The challenge of the students having career aspirations in professional fields is that this consumes a very small portion of the job market in Haiti as the majority of the employment opportunities are informal.

Implications for Objective One

### Parental Influence

Within the provided literature, there are diverging conclusions on the impacts of poverty on career aspirations. Several studies performed in developing nations found a correlation between poverty and low aspirations (Bernard et al., 2011; Frankenberger et al., 2007; MacLeod, 1995; Walker, 1997). The findings within the interviews are more congruent with a study on Nigerian youth, who were found to have aspirations of careers that consisted of a small amount of the workforce (Nwagwu, 1976). The implications of the study were a struggle of the youth to obtain employment in both their aspired career fields and undesired career fields. The researcher suggests a lack of occupational counseling as a contributing factor. Youth also aspired toward careers not related to those of their parents. Theories on social capital suggest that bridging social capital by connecting groups of different status is essential for reduction of poverty (Narayan, 2002). The school is mixed with students from several surrounding communities of varying socioeconomic statuses. One would conclude the school's integration of the communities is increasing the exchange of social capital such as norms resulting in all of the students holding high aspirations for themselves.

# Manual Labor

Students interviewed consistently desired careers in the professional workforce.

White (2012) described a paradox between the growth agricultural sectors of the developing world, while interest in this type of employment among youth diminished.

This situation can be observed within the information found in this study as

unemployment is largely attributed to unskilled labor, yet the students interviewed are not aspiring toward agricultural pursuits or other careers involving manual trades.

Career aspirations should be promoted among the youth based on the needs of the Haitian workforce to combat unemployment and poverty within the country.

Objective One Recommendations to Practitioners

In the case of this study, practitioners would be those involved with the educational system at Christianville, such as educators or administrators. Much of literature within this study reinforces the value of aspirations that are realistically high. Practitioners should include discussion of careers that are available within the community in the classroom. Schoon (2001) discussed the potential of utilizing career recruitment in making viable careers more attractive to youth.

Vocational education in school would also benefit the development of a workforce suffering from widespread unemployment and an unskilled labor force.

Agricultural education would a valuable component in any school system in Haiti as agricultural is the largest economic sector in the country (USAID, 2016). White (2012) attributed the lack of agricultural education at home to the lack of desire to work in this sector. A vocational education program was previously implemented for eighth graders at Lassale to encourage them to focus their studies and develop workforce skills. The program mirrored the offerings of the adult technical school of culinary arts, mechanics, and agriculture. Practitioners should keep this program going as well as enrich the areas with extracurricular offerings.

### Objective One Recommendations for Future Research

To reinforce information found in studies such as this one, research on the availability of careers in Haiti. The presence of a large informal job market skews the government collected data on economic opportunity. A community wide survey asking for description, length of employment, and education would help provide this data.

Additionally, a case study in Haiti describing the informal job market would provide beneficial information.

Long-term studies comparing career aspirations to actual attainment would further explain the implications of data collected by this method. These long-term studies may be enhanced through an experimental design component and mimicking studies such as Oyserman et al.'s (2006) study on the school-to-job intervention on academic possible selves and self-regulatory behavior. The ultimate goal of this type of research would be to identify interventions that would promote greater success of Haitian youth in the workforce. Other long-term studies contributing to the literature would include analyzing vocational aspirations as a child ages.

Qualitative studies would be necessary to add to the thick description describing more precisely the factors that have influence a participant's choice for an aspired possible self. Additional studies should also include parents to compare aspirations the parents have for their children versus the child's own desires. While any of the recommendations will be a valuable addition to the literature at hand, there is a need for studies conducted in Haiti to provide specific information to those in development work within the country. This may be best served by utilizing Hofstede's Cultural

Dimensions to analyze the how each of the four cultural dimension affects how a student chooses career aspirations (Hofstede & Bond, 1984).

# Objective Two

The second objective was to describe career expectations of 8th grade students at Lassale School in Gressier, Haiti.

Conclusions Related to Objective Two

The second objective revealed a lack of an aspiration-expectation gap for all but one student who was interviewed. Five of the six students interviewed expected to achieve their career aspirations. These expectations were thought out previously by the students as there was an understanding of the advanced education needed for every career given. Based on the interview responses, I would conclude each student expected to have a better career than their parents, particularly influenced by the parent of the same gender. The brevity of the five students who responded that they expected to achieve their aspired career indicates that students have not thought much about barriers to attainment of these careers.

Only one student discriminated among her aspirations and expectations. She dreamed of becoming the president, but expected to be an agronomist. The student selected two very different careers, but her responses indicate that she had selected both careers based on her sense of duty to her country. I could conclude this student was very

aware of existing conditions in Haiti and has put much thought into her aspirations and expectations as a means of further developing the country.

Implications for Objective Two

# Awareness of Parental Backgrounds

Findings from the interviews revealed that some of the students did not have a clear understanding of what their parents did for a living or the level of education their parents attained. Baly (1989) found that expectations are based on reality. Expectations are more likely to be attained when the student has specific strategies based on concrete knowledge within the domain of that aspiration. The implication of students not being fully aware of their realities could lead into failure to attain expectations. Even though many students were not able communicate their parents background, some students were able to specifically describe educational steps that they would need to take to achieve their goals. With the description the students provided on achieving their career goals, it can be assumed that the students may not have ever communicated directly with their parents about this subject or the students may feel ashamed of sharing certain details because of the stigmas placed upon their jobs or similar cultural taboos.

# Manual Labor

As previously mentioned all students aspired toward work that does not include manual labor. This avoidance toward manual labor is continued in their expectations as these were the same as their aspirations for all but one student interviewed. In regards to the workforce in Haiti, this presents a challenge as there is unmet need and that youth in

Haiti do not look to fill. As in Nwagwu's (1976) study in Nigeria, the discrepancy between workforce needs and youth ambitions, left youth in unemployment. The one student who did not have congruent aspirations and expectations did expect to work in labor as an agronomist. Hellenga et al.'s (2002) study found that large distances between aspirations and expectations will be more likely to result in decreased efforts toward achievement of the aspiration. This indicates the student will likely make less of an effort to achieve her aspiration of presidency than the other students toward their career aspirations. Additionally, the study finds those with an aspiration-expectation gap tend to have both higher aspirations and lower expectations than students who did not. This is reinforced in my findings as the student with the gap had the highest aspiration and culturally what would be considered a lower expectation than her peers who were also interviewed.

# Objective Two Recommendations to Practitioners

The recommendations from objective one for practitioners of increased vocational education will help students increase their awareness of fields available to them as well as provide a foundational skillset to enter into the workforce with. Specific strategies have been shown to be especially impactful on the attainment of both aspirations and expectations. Formalized occupational counseling should occur within the schools. Practitioners should establish an environment where students may discuss their future and learn about the viability of their goals and what steps they will need to start taking to accomplish their goals.

Educators should administer assignments encouraging a dialogue between youth and their parents. Assignments may include the student interviewing their parents regarding their parents' careers and education. Students should also be encouraged to discuss with their parents their own aspirational goals and listen to the aspirations the parents have for them. The attempt of these assignments would not be to discourage high goals, but have students recognize realities, possible barriers toward attainment, and create more defined possible selves.

The fact that one female did have career expectations in agriculture and development, provides optimism for the improvement of food security in Haiti. Targeted intervention for this female should include allowing her to shadow an agricultural career in order to promote her interest in the field and the food security of the country. This leads to the development of an overarching program that should be implemented across Lassale School. Internships or job shadowing opportunities among the careers existing on campus facilities or through local business partnerships would help students identify realistic careers and strategies to obtain these. This would also provide these students with social capital that may provide resources, such as a professional network, financial assistance, or knowledge, that will assist them developing the human capital that will allow them to reach their career goals.

Objective Two Recommendations for Future Research

From the findings, a need arises for a study examining Haitian youth's perspective on their life. As most of the students interviewed had concise goals and

strategies to meet attain the careers they aspired to or expected, this reveals an optimistic outlook on life. A qualitative description on how the youth attending the school in the study would contribute to the context and help researchers reduce their bias.

The literature, as well as this study would benefit from a defined metric for measuring gaps between aspirations and expectations. The development and implementation of more universal instrument would allow researchers to better compare studies. This would also allow for a meta-analysis to be conducted to possibly identify common themes within socioeconomic levels or geographic regions.

Beneficial information would also include an assessment of secondary schoolaged youth on their knowledge of skills, education, time, and money required for various sectors of employment. This study briefly delved into this information. A more indepth analysis would help practitioners identify gaps in career education that need to be filled.

# Objective Three

The third objective was to describe career-related fears of 8th grade students at Lassale School in Gressier, Haiti.

Conclusions Related Objective Three

The third objective looked to see if the students being interviewed possible selves were balanced in regards to career choices. In the interviews, half of the students chose a career their parent held as their least desired. This reveals the influence that parents

have on their children, whether it be intentional or unintentional. Information about the feared self of the students was difficult to obtain as there is cultural factor that discouraged the students to provided criticism. Feared selves also included career such as a prostitute, which is a difficult subject to discuss across many cultures.

Most of the feared selves from the students being interviewed were consistent with people they would have been exposed to in the everyday lives. Feared selves included careers such as mason, taxi driver, and cook. These are among the more common forms of employment and lower paid. Money did not appear to be an influencing factor for each possible self among the students. After conversations with other community members, status appeared to be a major influencer of each of the possible selves of the students, with the exception of one student who was more motivated by her sense of purpose.

Implications for Objective Three

### Parental Influence

A study by Feuer (2009) found that fears were typically derived from outside role models. The findings within the interviews would agree with that statement, as students selected careers of their parents or ones that would be commonplace within their community. Feared selves work in conjunction with aspired and expected selves in the same to guide self-regulatory behavior toward an individual's goals. In the context of this study, the presence of a role model in which the students have negative perceptions of their careers is a positive toward that student's future. The presence of this feared self

among the students will serve to guide academic behavior by discouraging actions such as dropping out or not completing homework.

#### Manual Labor

A repeated theme throughout the interviews and literature was the aversion toward manual trades. Each student who responded to the question provided dislike of work that literally required them to get their hands dirty. Additional feared selves were based off factors of danger and taboo, but students consistently shared the fear of employment in manual labor. Implications can be reiterated from objectives one and two, that this feared self his harmful to youth workforce development in Haiti. This feared self, shared among the students would discourage them from pursuing any of the trade skills, such as agriculture, that are in-demand in Haiti. This feared self, while helping balance a student's aspirations, is hindering the development of a 21st century agricultural workforce in Haiti that is necessary to mitigate challenges of food insecurity presently faced. If the students do not have the resources to attain the necessary education to meet their goals or employment is not available among their desired or anticipated career fields, the end result may be unemployment or underemployment for the students, as in the case of Nwagwu's study (1976) on Nigerian youth.

Figure 5.1 demonstrates how the effects of the aspiration-expectation gap coincide with the Possible Selves Theory. This figure shows within a specific domain how congruent aspirations and expectations with the input of specific strategies and balanced by fears can lead to the attainment of the best possible outcome within the specified domain of career attainment for the purpose of this study. Five of the students

portrayed the balance represented in the model, indicating these students have an increased probability of obtaining their career aspirations and expectations.

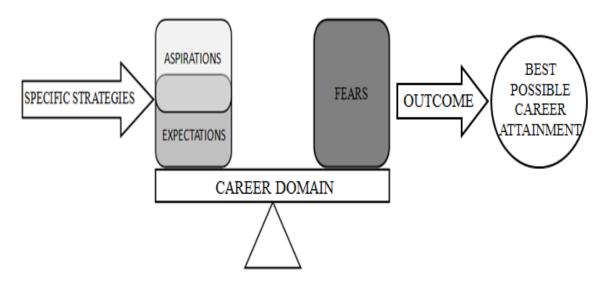


Figure 5.1. Theoretical model for attainment of best possible career outcome.

# Objective Three Recommendations to Practitioners

To minimize the feared self-involving manual labor among students, practitioners should conduct activities that glorify this type of employment. The promotion of vocational education within the school as mentioned in the recommendations for objective one and two would be one such activity. The inclusion of competitions displaying products of skilled-trades among the students would affiliate feeling of pride and excitement with this field. Activities may include gardening competitions or mechanics contest modeling the activities in 4-H or FFA. Leaders in the school and community should be recruited to become involved in hands-on activities;

this will provide examples to students of respected people getting their hands dirty, as to reduce this stigma.

Classrooms are currently bare-walled. Posters representing various careers should be displayed around the class to keep the concept of the students' aspired possible selves present in their minds frequently. Engagement with this concept can also be encourage through assignments involving career research and discussion of these possible selves in groups.

By working to shape each possible self and provide an awareness of specific strategies, Haitian youth can be better prepared to enter the workforce. Additionally, removing the stigma of manual trades, particularly agricultural, unemployment can be reduced and by increasing a skilled agricultural workforce Haiti may see the development of not only their economy, but their food security as well.

Objective Three Recommendations for Future Research

Future researchers would be encouraged to describe the influential factors in determining what Haitian society would deem a low status job. To expand upon some of the key findings within this study, researchers should conduct additional studies in Haiti comparing aspirations of children to parental employment to see if the theme repeats itself. This study should be repeated to include measurements of student self-regulatory behaviors and academic success to examine the effects of the possible selves on student behavior. Interviewing the same students in 10 years would also provide valuable information on the impacts of the students' possible selves and could serve to provide

information for the evaluation of the effectiveness of Lassale in providing an education that will lead to quality employment.

As much of the literature on possible selves is over aspirations and expectations, researchers should assess the effects of various interventions on a person's feared self and the resulting consequences. More research is also necessary on the value of an individual being aware of their possible selves as this was introduced as an intervention activity within Oyserman et al's., (2006) School-to-Job Intervention experiment.

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#### APPENDIX A

#### DIVISION OF RESEARCH

Research Compliance and Biosafety



**DATE:** June 01, 2015

MEMORANDUM

Gary Briers

ALRSRCH - Agrilife Research - Ag Leadership, Education & Communication

Dr. James Fluckey

FROM: Chair

TAMU IRB

SUBJECT: Exempt Approval

Study Number: IRB2013-0869

Title: Agricultural Education Needs in Haiti.

Approval Date: 02/14/2014
Continuing
Review Due: 01/01/2019
Expiration Date: 02/01/2019

On Wednesday, May 6, 2015, the TAMU Institutional Review Board voted to change studies

Comments: determined to be exempt to expire in 5 years, rather than 3 years. Once an exempt study reaches the end of the 5-year expiration, an exempt continuation form will need to be submitted to continue

the study for another 5 years.

This research project has been approved. As principal investigator, you assume the following responsibilities:

- Continuing Review: The protocol must be renewed by the expiration date in order to continue with the
  research project. A Continuing Review application along with required documents must be submitted by
  the continuing review deadline. Failure to do so may result in processing delays, study termination, and/or
  loss of funding.
- Completion Report: Upon completion of the research project (including data analysis and final written papers), a Completion Report must be submitted to the IRB.
- Unanticipated Problems and Adverse Events: Unanticipated problems and adverse events must be reported to the IRB immediately.
- 4. Reports of Potential Non-compliance: Potential non-compliance, including deviations from protocol
- and violations, must be reported to the IRB office immediately.

  5. Amendments: Changes to the protocol must be requested by submitting an Amendment to the IRB for review. The Amendment must be approved by the IRB before being implemented.
- Consent Forms: When using a consent form or information sheet, you must use the IRB stamped approved version. Please log into iRIS to download your stamped approved version of the consenting instruments. If you are unable to locate the stamped version in iRIS, please contact the office.
- 7. Audit: Your protocol may be subject to audit by the Human Subjects Post Approval Monitor. During the life of the study please review and document study progress using the PI self-assessment found on the RCB website as a method of preparation for the potential audit. Investigators are responsible for maintaining complete and accurate study records and making them available for inspection. Investigators are encouraged to request a pre-initiation site visit with the Post Approval Monitor. These visits are designed to help ensure that all necessary documents are approved and in order prior to initiating the study and to help investigators maintain compliance.
- Recruitment: All approved recruitment materials will be stamped electronically by the HSPP staff and
  available for download from IRIS. These IRBs-stamped approved documents from IRIS must be used for
  recruitment. For materials that are distributed to potential participants electronically and for which you
  can only feasibly use the approved text rather than the stamped document, the study's IRB Protocol
  number, approval date, and expiration dates must be included in the following format: TAMU IRB#20XXXXXX Approved: XXI/XXI/XXXXX

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<ol> <li>FERPA and PPRA: Investigators conducting research with students must have appropriate approvals from the FERPA administrator at the institution where the research will be conducted in accordance with the Family Education Rights and Privacy Act (FERPA). The Protection of Pupil Rights Amendment (PPRA) protects the rights of parents in students ensuring that written parental consent is required for participation in surveys, analysis, or evaluation that ask questions falling into categories of protected information.</li> <li>Food: Any use of food in the conduct of human subjects research must follow Texas A&amp;M University Standard Administrative Procedure 24.01.01.M4.02.</li> <li>Payments: Any use of payments to human subjects must follow Texas A&amp;M University Standard Administrative Procedure 21.01.99.M0.03.</li> </ol>
This electronic document provides notification of the review results by the Institutional Review Board.
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"Sharing Christ's love in Haiti"

Christianville Blvd Marechal Gressier, Haiti +509 4892-5551

Texas A&M University Institutional Review Board c/o Office of Research Compliance and Biosafety 750 Agronomy Road, Suite 2701 TAMU 1186 College Station, Texas 77843-1186

We formally authorize Katlin Keppler, a graduate student at Texas A&M, to conduct research at Christianville's Lassale School for her study, "Examining the Occupational Aspirations and Expectations of Haitian Eighth-Grade Students."

Katlin Keppler may come to our facility beginning on January 8th, 2016 and conduct research after school hours until her project end date of March 10th, 2016. She will conduct oral interviews with students accompanied by a translator as well as observations of student behavior on all students who agree to be part of the study. Our school administration will provide her with the roster providing names of all students enrolled in eighth grade at Lassale School. Katlin Keppler will contact students through their teacher to recruit them by Having their teacher pass out consent and assent forms that he/she will pick up after two school days. Katlin Keppler will have interaction with students through translated interviews and observation that will not to interfere with school activities. Katlin Keppler has also agreed to provide to my office a copy of the Texas A&M University IRB-approved, stamped consent document before she recruits any students, and will also provide a copy of her published study.

If there are any questions, please contact my office, operations@christianvillehaiti.com or 352.208-4847, Haiti +509.4474.1954

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Danette Philpot

Interim Executive Director

US Address PO Box 1056, Palatka, FL 32178 ~ www.christianvilehaiti.com



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On behalf of Christianville Foundation and our Haiti campus, we are welcoming a study of career aspirations. In Haiti, a family feels a level of success if there are able to educate their children. Majority of schools in Haiti are run by non-profit organization. Christianville is a unique organization that operates four schools; three that service K1-6<sup>th</sup> grade and our main campus serves K1-Philo (13<sup>th</sup> grade equivalent). Three years ago we expanded out education service to include a vocational technical school in the areas of agriculture, culinary arts and mechanics. We are anticipating the results of Ms. Keppler's research.

In review of Ms. Keppler's research thesis we have determined:

- 1. Subject Recruitment
- a. The method of a questionnaire with an educated national translator is socially acceptable and welcomed. The identified translator will be Raoul Kebreau, Director of CVET (Christianville Ecole Technique)
- b. The setting will take place in a classroom with Ms. Keppler, Mr. Kebreau and students. Guideline is no student will be in a one on one situation without the other adult present.
- c. The recruitment procedures will work best with a flyer. Not all parents have access to email. In Haiti, all communications with parents is done through meetings or through flyers.
- d. If offering compensation, is the amount/form of payment coercive to participants?
- 2. Consent
- The educated language or our schools is French. We are working to have the document translated into French for student understanding.

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- b. The format for parent consent form will be translated into French and Haitian Kreyol. Some parents are not literate to sign form. Those parents will be have document read to them for understanding.
- c. Yes, consent offers adequate privacy
- 3. Risk
- a. As stated in 1b, both adults will be present while conducting questionnaire. There will be no one on one communication.

Please contact me with questions or concerns at operations@christianvillehaiti.com or 352.208-4847, Haiti +509.4474.1954

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Danette Philpot Interim Executive Director Christianville Foundation, INC

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# APPENDIX B

# **Research Questions:**

- 1. What type of work does your family do to provide for themselves?
- 2. What level of education did your family members receive?
- 3. If you could have any job you wanted, what would it be?
- 4. How often do you think about what you will do after you finish schooling?
- 5. What type of work do you find least desirable for yourself?
- 6. When you finish school, what do you expect to do for work?